



Mary Immaculate College

Limerick

**ALIENS IN WARTIME: REACTIONS AND
RESPONSES TO FOREIGN NATIONALITIES AND
MINORITIES IN IRELAND DURING THE FIRST
WORLD WAR**

By

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I declare that, except where indicated through the proper use of references and footnotes, this is my own independent work.

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ABSTRACT

Ireland was a diverse society made up of various nationalities and ethnic minorities before the twentieth century. Relationships and tensions have developed between these various ‘foreign’ groups and Ireland’s host nation over the centuries. However, these relationships were put under pressure with the start of the First World War. Emergency legislation introduced by the British Government at the start of the Great War and the public hysteria, often created by Britain’s right-wing press, politicians and the official propaganda network all helped to fuel the flames of anti-alien fervour in Britain. During the first two months of war the daily lives of Ireland’s ‘enemy aliens’ were hugely affected, with anti-German rioting in Dublin and the arrests and detention of hundreds of enemy aliens throughout Ireland. Foreign accents and names would be treated with great suspicion by the host nation, leading to innocent citizens being wrongfully arrested or attacked by their neighbours during the first month of the war. Even though the British government alien legislation affected Germans, Austrians and Hungarians, labelling them enemy aliens and restricting their freedoms and movement within Ireland, the phases of public hysteria and rioting that occurred in Britain during the four and a half years of war was not evident in Irish public opinion and their actions did not imitate their British counterparts.

This study will examine the reasons behind the differing reactions in Ireland to enemy and friendly alien nationalities, especially Belgian refugees who were forced to seek refuge in Britain and Ireland due to the German invasion of Belgium, while also analysing how ethnic minorities like Ireland’s Jewish communities were affected by the British government’s wartime alien legislation. It will highlight the different alien individuals and professions that were targeted by Dublin Castle, the military and police authorities, while also emphasising the inconsistencies and communication problems that existed between the country’s decision-makers, when implementing the wartime legislation and the granting of travel and residence permits. By using the Chief Secretary’s Office Registered Papers (CSORP), local and national newspapers and County Police Monthly Reports, this research will examine the treatment of aliens in Ireland during the First World War, by the British government, authorities in Ireland and the Irish people. The study will also examine the public generosity and sympathy

towards enemy aliens from their Irish neighbours, as well as the frustrations and animosity felt by the Irish public towards friendly alien nationals residing in the country. In summary, the research to date portrays the various relations created and destroyed between Ireland's alien residents and the host nation, as a result of the First World War.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CoC	County Council/Councillor
CSORP	Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers
DI	Detective Inspector
<i>DIB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Irish Biography</i>
DMP	Dublin Metropolitan Police
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act (1914)
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
GPO	General Post Office
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Historical Journal</i>
<i>IHS</i>	<i>Irish Historical Studies</i>
INAA	Irish National Aid Association
IRA	Irish Republican Army
IRB	Irish Republican Brotherhood
IVDF	Irish Volunteer Dependents' Fund
JP	Justice of the Peace
LGB	Local Government Board
MMA	Merchantile Marine Association
MP	Member of Parliament
NAI	National Archives of Ireland, Dublin
NLI	National Library of Ireland, Dublin
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i>
<i>P&P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
POW	Prisoner of War
RDC	Rural District Council
TD	Teachta Dála

TGWU	Transport and General Workers Union
TNA	The National Archives (UK), Kew, London
WPA	War Prisoners Aid
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

Scholarly interest in Ireland and the First World War has increased considerably over the last three decades. There can now be found many studies of the various aspects of Ireland's involvement in the war, including the country's involvement in the war effort; the enlistment of Irishmen in British and imperial military forces; the causes and effects of the 1916 Easter Rising on Ireland and its relations with Britain; the effects of Sir Roger Casement's involvement with the Germans and his efforts to establish an Irish Brigade to assist in the Easter Rising; to name but a few subject areas.¹ Historians have asked whether the First World War was a conflict that the Irish people should have been involved in, and what were the reasons for Irish soldiers entering the war against Germany.² There seemed to be a greater sense of solidarity between British and Irish

¹ For selected works on Ireland's involvement in the First World War: Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War*, (Cambridge, 2000); John Horne (ed), *Our War? Ireland and the Great War*: The Thomas Davis Lectures, (Dublin, 2008); David Fitzpatrick, *Politics and Irish Life, 1913-192: Provincial Experience of War and Revolution* (Cork, 1998); Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012); Thomas P. Dooley, *Irishmen or English Soldiers?: the Times of a Southern Catholic Irish Man (1876–1916)* (Liverpool, 1995); Myles Dungan, *They Shall not Grow Old: Irish Soldiers in the Great War* (Dublin, 1997); Thomas Bartlett & Keith Jeffery (eds.), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996, 2006); Richard Grayson, *Belfast Boys: How Unionists and Nationalists Fought and Died Together in the First World War* (London, 2010). For selected works on the 1916 Rising: Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London, 2006); Fearghal McGarry, *Rebels: Voices from the Easter Rising* (Dublin, 2011) & *The Rising: Ireland, Easter 1916* (Oxford, 2010); F. X. Martin (ed.), *Leaders and Men of the Easter Rising, Dublin 1916* (London, 1967); Michael McNally and Peter Dennis, *Easter Rising 1916: Birth of the Irish Republic* (Oxford, 2007); Ruán O'Donnell (ed.), *The Impact of the 1916 Rising: Among the Nations* (Dublin 2008). For selected works on Roger Casement: Angus Mitchell, *Casement (Life & Times Series)* (London, 2003); Michael Keogh et.al., *With Casement's Irish Brigade* (Dublin, 2010)

² Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2005); Thomas Dooley, 'Politics, Bands and Marketing: Army recruitment in Waterford City, 1914-15', *Irish Sword*, Vol. 18, No 72 (1991); Thomas Dooley, *Irish men or English soldiers* (Liverpool, 1995); Anthony Kinsella, 'Notes. Wimborne and Kitchener letters on Recruitment, 50,000 Irish Recruits Wanted, 1915' *Irish Sword*, Vol. 26 (104), 2008, pp. 217-218; James McConnel, 'Recruiting Sergeants for John Bull? Irish Nationalist MPs and Enlistment during the early months of the Great War', *War in History*, Vol. 14 (4), 2007, pp. 408-428; Tadhg Moloney, 'British Army Recruitment during WW1', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol. 44, 2004, pp.25-38; Daniel Grace, 'Soldiers from Nenagh and District in World War 1', *Tipperary Historical Journal*, 1999, pp. 44-51; Terence A. M. Dooley, 'County Monaghan, 1914-18: Recruitment, the Rise of Sinn Fein and the Partition Crisis', *Clogher Record: Journal of the Clogher Historical Society*, Vol. 16 (2), 1998, pp. 144-158; David & Josephine Howie, 'Irish Recruiting and the Home Rule Crisis of August – September 1914', in Michael Lawrence Dockrill & David French (eds.), *Strategy and Intelligence: British Policy during the First World War* (London and Rio Grande, 1996), pp. 1-22; Terence Denman, "'The Red Livery of Shame": the Campaign Against Army Recruitment in Ireland, 1899-1914', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 29, 1994, pp. 208-233; Eoin McCarthy & Gerard O'Sullivan, 'Recruiting and Recruits in County Cork during the First World War, 1914-1918', *Times Past*, Vol. 7, 1990-91, pp. 7-19; Patrick Callan, 'Recruiting for the British Army in Ireland during the First World War', *Irish Sword*, Vol. 17, 1987-8, pp. 42-56; Pauline Codd, 'Recruiting and Responses to

people at the outbreak of the war on 4 August 1914. This was a surprising reverse from the 1913 Lockout, when police charges and arrests broke up peaceful demonstrations in Dublin, and the clashes at the end of July 1914 when on 26 July the King's Own Scottish Borderers fired on a crowd of Dublin civilians (who had been taunting the soldiers) on Bachelors Walk, killing four and wounding up to fifty civilians. This was linked to the Howth gun-running by radical nationalists, which the British military were attempting to prevent (while at the same time the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) did not face any retaliation from the British authorities after the April Larne gun-running incident). The Bachelors Walk killings led to a national day of mourning on 29 July with the funerals of three of the victims. Shops and businesses were closed. The funeral procession was watched by 200,000 people and encouraged brisk recruitment into the Irish National Volunteers.³ However, only a few days later, Britain's war against Germany quickly became Ireland's war too, with extensive mobilisation of Ireland to the war effort, with thousands of Irishmen signing up to the British Army. By the end of 1918 roughly 210,000 Irishmen had joined the British forces, even though most of these men joined during the first two years of the war.⁴ Irish Catholics and Protestants, from both the northern and southern sections of the country, joined the British Army and Navy to similar recruitment levels as other regions of the United Kingdom. What were the reasons behind Ireland's commitment to the war effort and the numbers of recruits that joined up during the war? The reason often given for Irishmen joining the British armed forces was to prevent militaristic Germany invading

the War in Wexford', in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Ireland and the First World War* (Dublin, 1986), pp. 15-26

³ Catriona Pennell, 'Going to War', in John Horne (ed.), *Our War? Ireland and the Great War. The 2008 Thomas Davis Lecture Series* (Dublin, 2008), p.38; Thomas P. Dooley, 'Politics, bands and marketing: army recruitment in Waterford city, 1914-15', *Irish Sword*, Vol. 18 (72), 1991, p.206; Charles Townshend, *Ireland. The 20th Century* (London, Oxford & New York, 1999), pp.66-7; Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ireland in 250 Episodes* (Dublin, 2008), pp.437-9

⁴ Keith Jeffery states that this figure 'consisted of three main categories. Firstly, in August 1914, in the British army there were 28,000 Irish-born regular soldiers and 30,000 reservists who were immediately called up back to the colours. Secondly there were what were known as 'Kitchener's men', people who responded to the urgent call for volunteers made by Lord Kitchener [from] ... August 1914 ... Between August 1914 and February 1916 (more or less when conscription was introduced in Great Britain, and just before the Easter Rising in Ireland) about 95,000 men joined up. Thirdly, there were those who joined up during the rest of the war, after the initial recruiting 'surge', up to November 1918. These men total about 45,000, including nearly 10,000 recruits in the last three and a half months of the war alone'. Jeffery states that these figures 'do not include all the Irish people who joined up. They do not include officers, nor do they include all of the Irishmen in the Royal Navy, and they do not take into account Irishmen serving in formations raised outside the United Kingdom ... nor even those in non-military services like the Merchant Marine, which participated and suffered in the Great War'; quoted from: <http://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/irishhistorylive/IrishHistoryResources/ArticlesandLectures/IrelandandtheFirstWorldWar/> and is discussed further in Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge, 2000).

smaller nations, like Belgium. Other reasons for enlistment included a need for adventure and excitement, pride of an individual's community (exemplified by the creation of various 'Pals Divisions' across Ireland) or economic reasons (taking the King's shilling).⁵

The moral reason given for Britain's declaration of war with Germany by Asquith's government was a fight for the liberty and freedom of small nations, like Belgium. However, socialist commentators, like James Connolly,⁶ Jim Larkin⁷ and William O'Brien⁸ believed it was a war between imperialist powers, to rescue old empires from a certain extinction (Austria-Hungary, Russia and the Ottoman Empire), flex the muscles of the established empires (Britain and France) and establish the new empires in the world's order (primarily Germany). There is no doubt that the First World War was a war created by empires and demagogues, but the war would also create opportunities for smaller separatist nationalities to establish themselves as independent nations. A radical Irish nationalist cliché suggested that the war, being 'England's difficulty' was 'Ireland's opportunity'. Was it a chance for nationalist Ireland to finally break from the shackles of British rule and into a new era of national independence? All the above questions provide historians with areas of debate, discussion and continued research for Ireland and the First World War. This was truly the first 'world war' which affected many nationalities and races.

This study will show that during the First World War Ireland was a more ethnically diverse society of not just Irish or British people but also included Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Turks, Belgians, Americans, Swedes, Norwegians, Poles, as well as the Russians and Lithuanians who made up the majority of the Jewish communities of Ireland. There is a common preconception that Ireland became multi-cultural only in the 1990s and 2000s with the economic boom of the 'Celtic Tiger'. But

⁵ Diarmaid Ferriter, Op.Cit.; Thomas Dooley, Op. Cit.; Gillian McIntosh, *The Force of Culture: Unionist Identities in Twentieth-Century Ireland* (Cork, 1999), p. 11; David Fitzpatrick, 'The Logic of Collective Sacrifice. Ireland and the British Army, 1914-1918', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Dec., 1995), pp. 1029-1030; Kevin Kenny, 'The Irish in the Empire', in Kevin Kenny (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004), pp.108-9

⁶ Ruth Dudley Edwards, 'Connolly, James (1868–1916)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37308> (18 October 2012)

⁷ Emmet Larkin, 'Larkin, James (1874–1947)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37656> (18 October 2012)

⁸ Arthur Mitchell, 'O'Brien, William (1881–1968)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52597> (18 October 2012)

this thesis will show that national and ethnic diversity is not a new phenomenon in Ireland and that the host nation has co-existed alongside other nationalities and ethnic groups long before independence. Although the overall percentage of foreign nationalities was as small as 0.37% of the overall percentage of Ireland's population before the start of the war, compared with 0.69% of Britain's population, the existence of these groups of individuals played a significant part in moulding wartime legislation between 1914 and 1918. I have chosen the First World War as an area of study, to investigate how relations between the host nation and their 'foreign' neighbours were affected by the crisis of war. The period 1914-1918 not only encompasses the First World War, but also the historically religious Catholic-Protestant and politically Nationalist-Unionist divisions of the country, the tumultuous events of the 1916 Easter Rising and ultimately what was the beginning of the end of British rule in Ireland. How difficult was it for 'foreign nationalities' to live in a country caught up in political, social and economic turmoil?

At the outbreak of the war the government and public reactions to the 'enemy' was much the same in Ireland as it was in the rest of Britain. In her recent book, *A Kingdom United. Popular responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland*, Catriona Pennell states:

the people of Britain and Ireland ... sought domestic scapegoats in order to purge their fears of the external German enemy, notably in the form of enemy spies and aliens, responded to myth and rumour, and imagined and then actually encountered violence and loss ... [as the public] adjust[ed] to economic dislocation and the breaking of daily routines and rituals.⁹

Hundreds of German, Austrian and Hungarian residents and visitors in Ireland were quickly rounded up and imprisoned without trial at the outbreak of the war. They were given the collective label of 'enemy aliens', although many of the individuals had lived for most of their lives in the United Kingdom, had married Irish or British spouses, and had children who were British-born and would end up fighting and dying for Britain at the Front. A number of individuals, who had been born of enemy alien nationality but had become naturalised British citizens, were also treated with the utmost suspicion by the authorities and the public alike.

⁹ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United. Popular responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2012), p. 2

It seems strange to use the analogy ‘alien’ to describe these individuals who had lived in Ireland or Britain for a significant proportion of their lives, often calling Ireland their home. The concept of Germans residing in Ireland certainly was not alien to Irish society. In fact German communities had existed in Ireland since the end of the seventeenth century, when thousands of Protestant German refugees from the Palatinate region, who had seen their cities, towns and villages sacked and burnt to the ground by invading French forces, were sent to Ireland by the British monarchy of Queen Anne to seek refuge.¹⁰ They were sent to be housed in the various Protestant landowning estates throughout the country, with a significant proportion of the refugees sent to live on Lord Thomas Southwell’s estate in Rathkeale, Co. Limerick.¹¹ Half of the 3,000 settlers left for America after a few years, unhappy with the conditions in Ireland, but the remainder stayed and integrated into Irish life.¹² The Palatine settlers were also credited with starting the Irish linen industry, introducing cider-making to Ireland and also shared Irish superstitions and beliefs in fairies, banshees, elves, gnomes and ghosts. From the 1800s onwards intermarriage of Irish Palatine couples began to dilute the Palatinate communities and by the start of the twentieth century many of the Germanic names had changed to adopt a more Irish/English-sounding surname (expressing a desire to assimilate fully into Irish life). However, the Palatine heritage could still be spotted occasionally in Ireland - most famous was the Switzer family name associated with Ireland’s largest department store.¹³

However, with the establishment of Germany as a unified nation in 1871 and the quick expansion of its infant empire, Germany’s military and industrial strength soon began to become a concern for Britain and Europe’s other major powers. France had previously been Britain’s biggest threat in Europe, with British politicians, journalists, authors and propagandists often writing about the French menace as the threat to the country and its freedom.¹⁴ However, after France’s defeat to Prussian/German forces in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), British writers

¹⁰ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 10-11

¹¹ Matthew Kilburn, ‘Southwell, Thomas, first Baron Southwell (c.1665–1720)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26068> (17 October 2012)

¹² Sean G. Ronan, ‘The Palatines in Ireland’, lecture given to the German-Irish Society of the Rhineland-Palatinate in Bonn, 8 February 1973 – electronic version, <http://www.gladleh.com/gen/ambassador.htm>; Dr. Richard Hayes, ‘The German Colony in Co. Limerick’, *North Munster Antiquarian Journal* (October 1937)

¹³ Michael Shine, ‘A Look at the Palatines’, *Mallow Field Club Journal*, Vol. 21 (2003), pp. 138-52

¹⁴ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 32

thereafter began to write about the threat that Germany posed to Britain's power, status and freedoms. In 1871, George Chesney's *Battle of Dorking* depicted a German force conquering England. In 1900 William Le Queux published *England's Peril: A story of the Secret Service* and in 1903 Erskine Childers wrote *The Riddle of the Sands* in which a German plot to invade Britain was uncovered by a British Foreign Office official while he was on a yachting holiday in the Baltic Sea. In 1906 the *Daily Mail* serialised William Le Queux's novel, *Invasion of 1910*, before it eventually was published the next year. Leo Maxse's *National Review* became one of the main sounding boards for anti-alien (especially anti-German and anti-Jewish) propaganda between 1905 and 1911. As more spy and invasion novels appeared in bookstores and were serialised in newspapers, they caught the imagination of politicians like the War Secretary, Richard Haldane, and Lt.-Col. John Edmonds who, in October 1906, became head of MO5, the 'Special Section' of the War Office dealing with espionage. These events led to the establishment of a Secret Service Bureau in 1909, the Official Secrets Act of 1899 was amended in 1911 and a general increase of demands and recommendations for the implementation of controls on aliens was heard from many sections of society.¹⁵

Britons (predominantly English) had up to the 1870s identified themselves more with German characteristics and traits than with the Celtic characteristics of Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Victorian historians like J. R. Green and Charles Kingsley¹⁶, emphasised the Germanic foundations of the English monarchy, the Germanic heritage of Queen Victoria and attributed the principle of constitutional monarchy to the Saxon genius. They saw Germany as Britain's 'natural ally' and many were sympathetic to the idea of political 'Pan-Germanism'.¹⁷ Up to, and including, 1891 the Germans constituted the largest single immigrant group in Britain. Only the mass Jewish immigration from the 1880s onwards changed this situation.¹⁸ But as Germany's status as a major international power emerged and expanded, the

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 30-38

¹⁶ Charles Kingsley, *Hereward the Wake: 'Last of the English'* (London, 1866); *The Roman and the Teuton: A Series of Lectures delivered before the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge & London, 1864); Edwin Bulwer Lytton, *Harold. The Last of the Saxon Kings* (London & Leipzig, 1848); John Mitchell Kemble, *The Saxons in England* (London, 1849); J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People* (London, 1874)

¹⁷ John S. Ellis, 'Celt vs Teuton. Race, Character and British National Identity, 1850-1918', from J. Fischer, P. Ó Dochartaigh, H. Kelly-Holmes (Eds.), *Irish-German Studies. Yearbook of the Centre for Irish-German Studies, 2001-2002* (Limerick, 2004), p. 15; L. P. Curtis, *Anglo-Saxons & Celts: A Study in Anti-Irish Prejudice in Victorian England* (Bridgeport, 1968), p. 32

¹⁸ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 11

enthusiasm for England's Germanic racial heritage was undermined and the growing economic competition and imperial rivalry with Germany during the final two decades of the nineteenth century foreshadowed the fierce Anglo-German antagonism that was exacerbated after the turn of the century.¹⁹

Even though attitudes toward Germany and the volatile Kaiser Wilhelm II changed to one of distrust and suspicion of their intentions in the first decade of the twentieth century, many German civilians continued to go to Britain and Ireland to further their economic futures. The vast majority of people who left Germany for England during the nineteenth century did so for purely economic reasons, often connected with business opportunities, economic advancement, temporary work and education (learning English provided a chance for many to reach their dream of moving to America, the 'land of opportunity').²⁰ Commercial agents came over to the financial and industrial centres of Britain and Ireland: London, Manchester, Bradford, Nottingham, Dundee, Belfast and Dublin. Others arrived as apprentices or as temporary employees. The most common occupations for German immigrants were as waiters, clerks, office workers, apprentice bakers and in other trades, which enabled these migrant Germans to later set up their own businesses in the textile trade, chemical industry, German banking and the hotel and restaurant industry.²¹ German migrants also entered the educational system as teachers, governesses and students. German communities were established in various British cities and towns and often integrated themselves into everyday life in Britain. Germans even became leading figures within British and Irish communities. Sir Ernest Cassel²² made his name in international banking; Sir Edgar Speyer²³ followed a similar path; and Sir Felix Semon²⁴ became the Court Physician of Edward VII. Belfast elected Otto Jaffe²⁵ as its Mayor in 1899 and 1904 and the constituency of Belfast East returned G. W. Wolff (of the Harland &

¹⁹ John S. Ellis, 'Celt vs Teuton', p. 21; Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism, 1860-1914* (London, 1980), p. 390

²⁰ Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800*. (Harlow, 2010), pp. 73-93

²¹ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 14-15; Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 66

²² Pat Thane, 'Cassel, Sir Ernest Joseph (1852-1921)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2008), electronic version at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32323>, (25/1/2009)

²³ Theo Barker, 'Speyer, Sir Edgar, baronet (1862-1932)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36215> (26 September 2012)

²⁴ F. de H. Hall, 'Semon, Sir Felix (1849-1921)' (revised by Neil Weir), *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), electronic version at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36016> (11 October 2012)

²⁵ Art Byrne and Sean McMahon, *Great Northerners* (Swords, Co. Dublin, 1991), pp. 112-3

Wolff shipbuilders company)²⁶ as its MP between 1892 and 1910.²⁷ Many of these individuals became naturalised Britons and assimilated into the native population.

When examining pre-war attitudes towards Germans in Britain and Ireland they have to be examined as a complex intertwined mesh of alliance and distrust of the Teuton. As Panikos Panayi states, ‘we should not see hatred of Germans within Britain as a steadily growing plant which bore fruit in 1914. Instead ... a smouldering fire which occasionally came alight prior to the War, but [ultimately], with the outbreak of hostilities, exploded’.²⁸

The official and unofficial actions of government, press and public opinion against Ireland’s German population is necessary to explore as no comprehensive study of Irish-German relations in the First World War has yet been done, while the findings will also complement the studies of German and enemy aliens in Britain and other dominions of the British Empire during wartime. Clare O’Neill’s doctoral study of ‘The Irish Home Front, 1914-1918’ (2006)²⁹ had a chapter on enemy alien captivity, while John Reynold’s article, “‘It’s a Long way to Tipperary’”: German POWs in Templemore’ (2008)³⁰ and John Smith’s study of ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918’ (2010)³¹ gives comprehensive treatment of the internment of Ireland’s enemy alien population. My study will complement and extend these existing studies on enemy alien populations in Ireland by examining the contributions and roles played by Germans and other enemy alien nationalities in Ireland between 1914 and 1918. The perceptions of and reactions to these enemy aliens in Ireland are important to emphasise, especially in the context of world war, while the country had to also deal with political crises, and economic and social upheaval created during the war years. I will also examine how this complex and confusing atmosphere created difficulties for

²⁶ Michael S. Moss, ‘Wolff, Gustav Wilhelm (1834–1913)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), electronic version at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/38146> (11 October 2012); M. Moss and J. R. Hume, *Shipbuilders to the world: 125 years of Harland and Wolff, 1861–1986* (Belfast, 1986)

²⁷ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 21 & 25

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 41

²⁹ Clare O’Neill, ‘The Irish Home Front 1914-18 with Particular Reference to the Treatment of Belgian Refugees, Prisoners-of-war, Enemy Aliens and War Casualties’, (PhD, NUI Maynooth, 2006)

³⁰ John Reynolds, ‘It’s a Long Way to Tipperary’: German POWs in Templemore’, *History Ireland*, Vol. 16, Issue 3, (May-June 2008) - <http://www.historyireland.com/volumes/volume16/issue3/features/?id=114232>

³¹ Smith, John. ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918’ *Ríocht na Míde [Journal of the County Meath Historical Society]*, Vol. 21 (2010)

the authorities and the Irish public in describing foreign nationalities and ethnic groups as enemy aliens.

Defining which of the foreign nationals who resided in and visited Ireland during the First World War should be categorised as ‘friendly aliens’ was equally troublesome for the authorities and the public. The categorisation of friendly alien nationalities was complicated by naturalisation laws, the mixed ancestry of an individual, the nationality legislation of other belligerent countries, the emergence of separatist nationalist groups within the Triple Alliance countries (such as Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians and Armenians) and issues such as the co-operation between Americans and Irish nationalist groups up to April 1917 (when America entered the war on the side of Britain and the Allies). As Ireland was an island and part of the United Kingdom before and during the First World War, the country’s trading ports frequently had foreign visitors from all over the globe. When war broke out many of these visitors were caught up in the emergency alien legislation and had to co-operate with the wartime restrictions imposed on the country by the British government. The lack of understanding and general poor communication that developed between the British government, Ireland’s authorities, and its business sectors from the outset of war, meant the country’s foreign nationals experienced problems because of their inability to reside, travel and work in the United Kingdom during the conflict. Their presence often led to suspicion and hostility of ‘the foreigner’ and even to arrests of friendly alien individuals due to the wartime anti-alien hysteria. This study will detail the chronological development of the roles, relations and problems encountered by friendly aliens throughout the war period, showing the increasing hostility and restrictions which Ireland’s friendly alien population had to face as the attitudes of Ireland’s rulers and people changed between 1914 and 1918.

Friendly aliens experienced different degrees of animosity in Ireland and at different periods, according to their nationality or ethnic background. Russia had been viewed by Britain as the enemy and Russian nationals were treated with suspicion before 1914 due to their pre-war rivalries manifested from the Crimean War (1853-6) to the bloody, anti-Semitic Russian pogroms of 1903-1906.³² Negative feelings remained towards Russia despite the signing of the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907. Only after

³² Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, pp. 68-9. The pogroms saw many Russian Jews escape persecution and seek refuge in Western Europe, Britain, Ireland and America.

the outbreak of war did public perceptions of Russia change to a positive one, as Russia's mass army fought Germany on the Eastern Front. As many Russian immigrants were Jewish political refugees escaping the pogroms and anti-Semitic laws from the 1880s in Russia, an initial sense of sympathy followed their arrival.³³ But as the numbers of Russian Jewish refugees increased, sympathy turned to concern, leading to the Aliens Act (1905) which imposed restrictions and immigration controls on further immigrants entering Britain, mainly those from Eastern Europe. Right-wing, anti-Semitic politicians, journalists and authors were quick to align themselves with the immigration controls against the influx of Jewish immigrants and the 'alien', or 'foreigner' into British society.

The arrival of immigrants during the late Victorian and Edwardian decades essentially created a new Jewish community in Britain, whose most obvious manifestations included the extent of ethnic concentration. The poor Ashkenazi Jews from the Russian Pale of Settlement moved into inner city areas to develop settlement patterns similar to those of their Irish predecessors. In 1911, 43,925 of the 63,105 Russians (overwhelmingly Jews) recorded in the census for England and Wales, lived in the East End Borough of Stepney. Such inner city concentrations also developed in other big cities where the new Eastern European arrivals settled. In Glasgow, for instance, about 4,000 out of the 6,000 Jews resided in the Gorbals. Dublin and Belfast also experienced the development of Jewish enclaves within their inner cities.³⁴ According to the 1911 Census reports 4,936 Jews were recorded as living in Ireland, with Dublin having the largest population totalling 2,899, followed by Co. Antrim (including Belfast) totalling 1,128, while Cork (401 Jews) and Limerick (123) were the other counties with considerable Jewish communities.³⁵

³³ The background to the causes of Jewish immigration into Britain and Ireland is detailed in Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce. A Socio-economic History* (Princeton & Oxford, 2006), pp. 21-29; Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland. Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork, 1998), pp. 6-25.

³⁴ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 97; David D. Warm, 'The Jews of Northern Ireland' in Paul Hainsworth (ed.), *Divided Society. Ethnic Minorities and Racism in Northern Ireland* (London, Virginia, 1998), pp.222-238

³⁵ These figures can still be considered somewhat inaccurate as one has to take into consideration that Jewish individuals did not always record their religion on the census form, or give the correct religion. Therefore, it is quite possible that there were more Jews in Ireland. An example of this is Arthur and Marie Jaffe in Belfast, County Antrim, who were two individuals who refused to provide the information on religion as noted on the Census form:
http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Antrim/Cromac/Deramore_Drive/159340/

Irish community has been built around the belief and moral guidelines of Christianity, with the Catholic Church being the main focal point of community in Ireland. Catholicism has proved to be pivotal to the continued strength of national and historical identity for many Irish people.³⁶ Irish people have turned to the Bible for guidance, solace and spiritual education. With biblical phrases such as ‘love him as yourself, for you were once strangers in Egypt’ (Leviticus 19:33-34 and Exodus 22:21) and the romantic openness of Christianity’s belief in the notion of the ‘other’ (Jesus taught each man to love his neighbour as himself – Mark 12:31), there is an expectation that Irish people are generally welcoming and accommodating towards strangers and alien arrivals. Often, however, this notion has been limited with the ‘other being loved as self’ only if he/she was also Christian.³⁷ With the Irish people sharing a history of oppression and invasion with other oppressed nationalities, such as Poles or Czech people and ethnic and religious minorities like the Jewish populations of Russia and Lithuania, a sense of a ‘shared common ground’ was evident between the Irish people and these other nationalities and ethnic groups.

Irish Catholics, like Ireland’s settled Jews, had been excluded from the British Parliament until 1829; Jews not being allowed admittance to Parliament until 1858. Both communities had a shared history of oppression. Unsurprisingly, Christian society in Britain became less accommodating to the newly established Jewish communities as soon as the number of refugees increased to an alarming and more threatening degree for many Britons. Ireland experienced the same increase of Russian and Lithuanian refugees throughout the same period. Jewish refugees settled in various cities and major towns across Ireland, including Dublin, Belfast, Cork and Limerick, forming enclaves and communities within working-class districts. Although Ireland experienced occasional episodes of anti-Semitism in the first decade of the century, such as the 1904 Limerick ‘pogrom’³⁸ and the anti-Semitic articles written by radical

³⁶ Not excluding the north of Ireland, Frank Wright (*Northern Ireland: A Comparative Analysis*, Totowa, N.J., 1988) called Ulster an ‘ethnic frontier ... In Ulster the three main communities were defined by religion – Catholic, Episcopalian or Presbyterian’ (quoted from A. C. Hepburn, *Ireland 1905-25. Volume 2. Documents and Analysis* (Newtownards, 1998), p. 11). Therefore, Christianity proved to be a focal point in Irish society.

³⁷ Edna Longley & Declan Kiberd, *Multi-culturalism: the view from the two Irelands* (Cork, 2001), pp. 45-74

³⁸ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 26-53; Pat Feeley, ‘Aspects of the 1904 Pogrom’, *The Old Limerick Journal* (Summer 1982), pp. 18-19; Des Ryan, ‘The Jews, Fr. Creagh and the Mayor’s Court of Conscience’, *The Old Limerick Journal*, No. 38 (Winter 2002), pp. 49-52; Des Ryan, ‘The Jews of Limerick’, *The Old Limerick Journal*, No. 17 (Winter 1984), pp. 27-30. The year 1904

nationalists like Arthur Griffiths and Oliver St. John Gogarty in 1906, published in the *Sinn Fein* newspaper,³⁹ a general public tolerance of their new Jewish neighbours existed throughout the country. Empathy for each other's plight over their oppressors and both the Irish and Jewish search to claim a national (or religious) homeland emphasised the similar histories shared by each group. Jews, like Catholics, sought to overcome religious and social discrimination through entering the merchant and trading professions (this included peddling and money lending, as well as the more legitimate trades of tailoring, cabinet and watch-making, jewellers and health professions).⁴⁰ As the descendents of the first Jewish arrivals settled into Ireland's cities and towns (as the religious and social orthodoxy of the first immigrants prevented social interaction with their hosts), they began to integrate into the country's political, economic and social sphere's and began building relationships with the host nation. Jewish individuals (such as Abraham Spiro and Michael Noyk) even began to penetrate some Irish radical nationalist groups, which had anti-Semitic tendencies. Social mobilisation of the Jewish communities from the working class to the middle class opened up further avenues for Irish-Jewish integration and assimilation.

Ireland was always seen as a country of emigration rather than immigration. By the 1911 census report only 18,905 foreign-born (non-UK) residents existed in Ireland, with two-thirds of this number being born in America. The largest number of non-UK residents consisted of 1,985 Russian-born residents (nearly all of whom were of Jewish ethnicity), 1,104 French residents, 963 immigrants were from the territories of the German Empire, 417 Italians, 283 from the Low Countries and 312 from Scandinavia. Ireland's Jewish population had increased from 285 immigrants in 1871, to 5,148 in 1911. Almost 3,000 Jews lived in Dublin, 1,139 in Belfast and 340 in Cork.⁴¹ As the largest ethnic minority in Ireland by the beginning of the First World War, they too will receive attention in this study, to compare how this minority, consisting of various enemy and friendly alien nationalities amongst their numbers, was perceived and dealt with by the British government, Irish authorities and the Irish public.

experienced a spate of anti-Jewish attacks in Limerick city resulting from the anti-Semitic sermons of Father John Creagh.

³⁹ Robert Tracy, 'The Jews of Ireland', *Judaism* (Summer 1999), online version, <http://www.ucc.ie/icms/irishmigrationpolicy/Judaism%20The%20Jews%20of%20Ireland.htm>

⁴⁰ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 6-25; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, pp. 45-71

⁴¹ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, pp. 9-29; 1911 Census Report in Ireland.

I have referred to the analysis of foreign nationalities and immigrant groups that were already settled in Ireland before the declaration of the First World War. The Belgian refugees were an alien community that was established in Britain and Ireland *due* to the outbreak of war and were clearly regarded as temporary visitors because of the German invasion of their territory in August 1914. A history of Belgian-Irish co-operation had existed before 1914. Many Irish priests, monks and nuns had studied at Belgium's Catholic universities for centuries going back to the introduction of the oppressive Penal Laws of the end of the seventeenth century. With the invasion of Belgium by the German Army in August 1914, these Irish ties with Catholic Belgium were renewed as many Belgians were forced to seek refuge.

Throughout the war the United Kingdom accommodated over 250,000 Belgian refugees, with Ireland providing sanctuary for over 3,000 of these temporary visitors. Throughout the chapters I will analyse Irish reactions to the plight of Belgium, Irish responses to the reported German atrocities, the effect that these real and imagined stories of German barbarity had on the Irish relief effort, as well as the levels of sympathy and generosity shown by the general public and the Irish authorities to their Belgian brethren as the war progressed. The extent of the efforts made by various national and local authorities, charitable organisations and the general public during the first eighteen months of the war was considerable. The charitable funds collected by various individuals and groups in Ireland, the work done by official organisations like the Belgian Refugee Committee and its regional sub-committees, the Irish Local Government Board (LGB) and the regional Boards of Guardians who had been in charge of the country's Poor Law Unions, workhouses and fever hospitals throughout the country all contributed to aid the relief and accommodation of Ireland's Belgian refugees. Individual and community assistance was vital for these official avenues to succeed with their aims and objectives.

However, the question that ultimately arises is how Ireland's political climate and the prolonged war affected the generosity and accommodating spirit shown by its people before and after the Easter Rising of 1916? Did Ireland remain committed to relieving the plight of 'Brave Little Belgium', or did the country's political tensions, people's fears of conscription and general war weariness take its toll on the country's Belgian refugee relief efforts? The chronological structure of the chapters will assist in

describing how Irish views developed towards Belgian refugees as wartime society adapted and changed to the differing issues and events throughout the war.

The issues surrounding permanent alien residents and temporary visitors coalesced around the presence of American nationals in Ireland during the war years. American citizens, many of Irish origin, settled in Ireland long before the outbreak of war. As nationalist politics became more radicalised in Ireland, Irish-Americans became entwined in the politics and organisation of the Irish Volunteers, Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and other separatist organisations in both Ireland and the U.S.A. Contingents of American citizens also arrived in Ireland as servicemen supporting the Allied cause after America's declaration of war on Germany in April 1917. This ultimately created a lot of confusion as to how Americans in Ireland should be viewed. Were Americans supporters of Irish nationalism or were they now defenders of the British Empire? This also became significant in explaining the shifting change of attitudes towards Americans in Ireland by both the British authorities and the various political sections of Ireland from the pre- to post-1917 period.

There had always been strong Irish-American links dating back to the eighteenth century and even before then. American-Irish political and social organisations often supported both the constitutional Home Rule and radical nationalist movements.⁴² These movements often depended on economic support from the fund raising endeavours carried out in America and were given a voice and stage that Britain found almost impossible to quieten from across the Atlantic divide. Irish-Americans were entangled in and contributed to the Rising in 1916, as a number of Irish-Americans were interned alongside the Irish Volunteers in British detention camps.

However, the entry of the United States of America into the war in April 1917, fighting alongside Britain as their ally and the fact that a large percentage of America's servicemen were Irish-Americans, represented a stumbling block for Sinn Fein and Ireland's nationalist groups. No longer could Irish-Americans be relied upon totally for support, financially and politically, as America fought alongside Ireland's age-old oppressor, Britain. Attitudes towards American servicemen stationed in Ireland were

⁴²For more information on Irish-American political and social organisations read, Úna Ní Bhroiméil, *Building Irish Identity in America, 1870-1915: the Gaelic Revival* (Dublin, 2003); Úna Ní Bhroiméil, 'The Irish-American Press and the South African War', in Simon J. Potter (ed.), *Newspapers and Empire in Ireland and Britain: Reporting the British Empire c.1857-1921* (Dublin, 2004)

mixed. According to the radical nationalist supporters of Sinn Fein, American servicemen stationed in Ireland epitomised the militaristic and oppressive presence of Britain on Irish shores, while competition for local women in Cork, Wexford and other areas where American servicemen were stationed, also became a problem, leading to occasional skirmishes between groups of Americans and local Irishmen.⁴³ Was this only the opinion of the nationalist minority? Or did many Irish people welcome the arrival of American servicemen, who brought life and an economic boost to many of the localities which became a temporary home after April 1917?

Other enemy and friendly nationalities will be discussed throughout the chapters, as the war touched all elements of Irish society. Different wartime developments affected different groups in different ways and all these factors will be taken into account throughout this study.

Methodology and evidence

Official and private papers, newspapers and journals from a range of local, national and international archives provide a balanced account of how the host nation and the authorities in Dublin and London dealt with the management of a diverse society during a time of war. As well as revealing the Irish outlook on both the enemy alien and the friendly alien nationalities that visited and resided in Ireland during wartime, my research also explores how various local communities accepted and provided for the Belgian refugees and accommodated the prisoners-of-war who arrived in the country between 1914 and 1918.

The historiography on Ireland's alien groups is very small. Studies of the experiences and relations of alien nationalities and immigrant groups with the Irish people during the First World War is almost non-existent, except for John Smith's article on Oldcastle enemy alien civilian internees, John Reynold's *History Ireland* article detailing enemy alien POWs held at Templemore, Peter F. Whearity's two articles on Ireland's Belgian refugees (but the account only goes up to 1916) and finally Clare O'Neill's PhD thesis on Ireland's 'self-mobilisation' during the First World War,

⁴³ John Borgonovo, *The Dynamics of War and Revolution: Cork City 1916-1918* (Cork, 2013); John Borgonovo, "Exercising a close vigilance over their daughters": Cork women, American Sailors and Catholic Vigilantes, 1917-18', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 38 (149), 2012, pp. 89-107

which includes chapters on enemy alien captivity and internment, and Ireland's Belgian refugees.

Therefore, I have had to turn to British historiography for an understanding of the treatment of enemy and friendly alien communities during the First World War. The subject area has been extensively covered in Britain by historians such as Colin Holmes's *John Bull's Island: Immigration & British Society, 1871-1971* (1988) and *Immigrants & Minorities in British Society* (1978), Cate Haste's *Keep the Home Fires Burning. Propaganda in the First World War* (1977)⁴⁴ and Panikos Panayi's *The Enemy in Our Midst. Germans in Britain during the First World War* (1991). Case studies of prisoner-of-war groups in Britain and Ireland have also been carried out, such as Leslie Smith's *The German Prisoner of War Camp at Leigh, 1914-1919* (1986), supported by John Reynold's article "'It's a Long way to Tipperary': German POWs in Templemore' (*History Ireland*, 2008), which focused on the same group of German prisoners during the First World War. Various studies have also been carried out examining the arrival and relocation of groups of Belgian refugees throughout Britain, such as McMurtrie & Schlesinger's *The Birtley Belgians* (1987) and John G. Bygate's *Arms and the Heroes* (2006), which described the creation of the Belgian refugee compound of 'Elizabethville' in Birtley, Co. Durham and analysed the developing relations and tensions with the local community.

There is a wide variety of secondary literature concerning ethnic minorities in Britain, racism and discrimination against groups such as the Jewish, black and Asian communities. But while there has been more work focusing on ethnicity and racial issues produced by Irish social scientists over the last twenty years, very little research has been carried out concerning the interaction of these ethnic groups and the host nation during the First World War period. Even the extensive work written on Ireland's Jewish community – the largest single ethnic minority in Ireland at the turn of the

⁴⁴ There is extensive research carried out on propaganda in Ireland, including: Ben Novick, *Conceiving Revolution: Irish Nationalist Propaganda during the First World War* (Dublin, 2001); Brian P. Murphy, 'The Easter Rising in the context of censorship and propaganda with special reference to Major Ivon Price', in Gabriel Doherty & Dermot Keogh (eds.), *1916: The Long Revolution* (Cork, 2007), pp. 141-168; John S. Ellis, 'The Degenerate and the Martyr: Nationalist Propaganda and the Contestation of Irishness, 1914-1918', *Éire-Ireland*, Vol. 35 (3/4), 2000-2001, pp. 7-33; Ben Novick, 'The Advanced Nationalist Response to Atrocity Propaganda, 1914-1918', in Lawrence W. McBride (ed.), *Images, Icons and the Irish Nationalist Imagination* (Dublin, 1999), pp. 130-147

twentieth century – the 1914-1918 period seems to have been largely overlooked by historians studying Ireland’s Jewish communities, such as Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland. Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (1998), Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland. A Social History of Jews in Modern Ireland* (2003), and Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce. A Socio-economic History* (2006).

The subject of ethnicity and race relations in Ireland has become an increasingly researched topic from the 1990s, as Ireland’s economic boom coincided with the reality that people were living in a more diverse society. My research not only uncovers the fact that Ireland was a multi-national society as early as the First World War, but also provides a different Irish perspective to the existing research of British historians, such examples being Panikos Panayi’s research on Germans in Britain, *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (1996), *Immigration, ethnicity, and racism in Britain 1815–1945* (1994), *The Enemy in our Midst* (1991); Ben Braber’s, ‘Within Our Gates: A New Perspective on Germans in Glasgow during the First World War’, *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 2, (November 2009), John Bygate, *Of Arms and the Heroes* (2006), Simon Fowler, ‘Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War’ in *Family and Local History Handbook* (2005), Tony Kushner’s research on Belgian refugees in Britain, ‘Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain During the First World War’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, 18 (1999), Tony Kushner & Katherine Knox, *Refugees in an age of Genocide: Global, National and Local Perspectives During the Twentieth Century* (1999), plus the extensive work of Colin Holmes, *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society* (1978), *John Bull's Island: Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (1988), *A Tolerant Country?: Immigrants, Refugees, and Minorities in Britain* (1991), on the country’s Jewish communities. My study will also stand alongside other international research carried out in Canada (Grant W. Grams, ‘The Deportation of German Nationals from Canada, 1919-1939’, *International Migration & Integration*, Vol. 11, (2010)), Australia and North America (G. Fischer, *Enemy Aliens Internment and the Home Front in Australia 1914–20* (Queensland, 1989); K. Saunders & R. Daniels (eds.), *Alien Justice. Wartime Internment in Australia and North America* (Queensland, 2000)). Thus my research is wholly original within the context of Irish history and my research can serve as a stepping stone for further historical study

outside the chronology of the First World War period and provide a useful study for comparison with research from other countries.

Panikos Panayi's comprehensive studies of the treatment of German communities in Britain during the conflict have been extremely useful in adding a comparative context to my research on enemy alien treatment. It has been fundamentally important to discover whether Ireland reacted in the same ways as Britain to these enemy aliens; whether Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Turks were affected to the same degree by British government legislation; whether the Irish authorities instigated the measures to the same degree and commitment and whether the spates of hysteria and violent outbursts by the British public occurred at the same times and for the same reasons in Ireland. Panayi believes the official and unofficial xenophobia and legislation led to the 'ethnic cleansing' of Britain's German and enemy alien communities. This phrase has also been used to describe the anti-Jewish policies of Russia's Tsarist regimes of the late nineteenth century, or the policies and actions of tyrannical regimes such as Adolf Hitler's early initiatives towards Germany's Jewish population during the 1930s, and more recently the policies and practices conducted in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. 'Ethnic cleansing' (the forced deportation, population transfer and the ridding of the political, economical and social identity of a particular ethnic, religious, or national group from the host country) should not be confused with 'genocide' (the intentional murder of part or all of a particular ethnic, religious, or national group), which separates the actions and initiatives of the British Government towards its enemy alien communities during the First World War, from the genocidal atrocities inflicted by the Turkish Ottoman Empire's ruling elite on its Armenian subjects during the same period. Is 'ethnic cleansing' too drastic and misplaced a phrase to describe the intentions and actions of the British Government towards its enemy alien communities during the First World War? The truth remains that these communities had become almost non-existent by the start of the 1920s and it took almost two decades for these communities to re-establish themselves within British society. The question remains whether this was the outcome for Ireland's enemy alien communities during the same period? Is Panayi's 'ethnic cleansing' hypothesis misplaced when explaining the consequences of Ireland's enemy alien minorities – communities that were even smaller in size and proportion to the rest of the British Isles – or is viable and necessary to separate Ireland's enemy alien population

from their compatriots in England, Scotland and Wales? Did the exigencies of war, the closeness of the Lusitania sinking in 1915, the events of the 1916 Rising, and the Nationalist-Unionist political conflict, affect Irish people's opinions of their enemy alien compatriots, or did Ireland mimic the reactions coming from the rest of Britain? The following chapters will examine whether or not Ireland's enemy alien population experienced differing attitudes and reactions in a country that had to acclimatise to its own political, economic and social problems as well as being embroiled in a world war.

There are fewer studies of friendly alien communities during the First World War in Britain and Ireland, except for several local and national studies of Britain's Belgian refugees. The first difficulty for a historian of the First World War in examining the issue of friendly aliens is determining which individuals fit into this category. This was also a problem for contemporary politicians and authorities during the conflict, as many of the belligerent countries were made up of separatist national minorities. These minorities, while officially recognised at the beginning of the war as part of the German, Austro-Hungarian, Ottoman, Russian, French, or British Empires, by the second half of the war, they began to organise themselves and be affiliated with separatist organisations fighting for freedom and independence from these empires. Someone who was considered a German national at the start of the war was by 1917 being recognised as a Pole, Alsatian or Lorrainer. Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians or other national minorities began to be recognised as friendly aliens as they fought alongside the Entente countries against the crumbling Austro-Hungarian Empire. Armenians sought refuge from the brutality of their Turkish oppressors after the massacres of this minority group in 1915 (a second phase of Armenian deportations and massacre also occurred after the conclusion of the war). This minority group had to be given the same treatment as the Belgian refugees who sought help and refuge during the conflict.

It will sometimes be necessary to examine individual cases of foreign nationals separately from their national or ethnic grouping. By looking at individual case studies it allows us to gain a clearer perspective of how complicated and confusing the categorising of foreign nationals and ethnic minority groups got for the authorities in Ireland during the conflict. In researching the pressures felt by individual enemy and friendly aliens in Ireland, a combination of newspaper articles, official records and private papers assist in providing a comprehensive picture of their lives during wartime.

The main question at the start of my research journey was whether enough evidence still existed in the archives and newspapers to make it a viable topic. By analysing the residence and travel permit applications discovered in Dublin Castle's Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers (CSORP), held at the National Archives of Ireland (NAI) and which had never been consulted by other scholars, as well as the local and national opinions expressed in the various newspaper archives, it was immediately evident that the topic was relevant and was extensively reported during the war. The CSORP provide a wealth of evidence of official documentation and public correspondence concerning wartime legislation and restrictions. Appeals for release of enemy aliens and their residence and travel permit applications are some examples found. The CSORP Indexes for 1914 to 1918 include entries of files concerning aliens, Belgian refugees, restriction orders, and internment and repatriation orders, to name a few topics. Unfortunately, these indexes are still not electronically recorded and as the destruction of a considerable amount of British government material during Ireland's war of independence and civil war period a significant proportion of official historical material remain missing. The British Cabinet papers (MIC/219 documents on microfilm) held at the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI) and invaluable materials held on the electronic catalogue uncovered further invaluable evidence on the various groups.

Historians examining Ireland during this period are fortunate in respect of the range of official opinion deflected in other material that survived. As 'governmental concern about political and agrarian discontent from the middle of the nineteenth century, meant that constabulary inspectors had to report to the Chief Secretary's Office on conditions in their districts'.⁴⁵ The RIC files in the British in Ireland series consists of monthly police reports commenting on various aspects of the war, while another section offer reports on Sinn Fein and Republican suspects during the first twenty years of the century. 'The CO 904 papers, as they are more commonly known, track paramilitary activity, demonstrations, parades, anti-recruitment campaigns, and meetings, as well as commenting on economic distress and unemployment, in an effort to combat the efforts of nationalist organisations to secure Irish independence'.⁴⁶ Information on Belgian refugees was officially documented by the Local Government

⁴⁵ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, p. 8

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Board, Ireland (LGB), and regional Boards of Guardians who dealt with the workhouses and fever hospitals that provided accommodation to Belgian refugees in Ireland. Belgian refugee committees and relief funds also provides historians with information. Charitable organisations and relief committees also provide information on enemy alien internees and their dependents.

To support my findings from the National Archives and the CO 904 papers, I conducted a search of the national and local online newspaper archives, for specific names, dates and locations of the individual cases. The search engines provided by databases, such as the Irish Newspaper Archives, have proved to be an invaluable time-saving tool in the initial stages of collating information on individuals and incidents of the war. Newspapers and journals provide an alternative perspective on Irish attitudes towards the foreign nationalities that resided in Ireland. Attitudes, beliefs and opinions in newspaper reports and public letters to the editor can be textually analysed, providing evidence that negative reactions co-existed alongside a community's sympathies and co-operation toward alien groups, due to the exigencies of war. Local archives and county libraries also have useful newspaper and journal collections that I have examined throughout my research to provide further regional evidence. As Catriona Pennell states in her recent book, *A Kingdom United* (2012), 'newspapers provide an excellent foundation for establishing popular reactions to war in Britain and Ireland. Although any one newspaper in isolation is of limited value, taken together and treated with care, they remain an irreplaceable and historical source.'⁴⁷ Problems such as inherent bias, lack of authority, and inaccuracies, are outweighed, in my opinion, by the benefits of this source.⁴⁸ National and local newspapers contain multiple forms of public opinion, from editorial comments to individual letters from readers. They offer analysis and criticism to the issues of the day, relying on the opinions and beliefs of their readers to assist in their sales. Pennell continues:

While editors and owners might seek to mould and at least influence the latter, the relationship also works in the other direction ... the market mediates the relationship between the press and public opinion. Newspapers with different political and regional loyalties, therefore,

⁴⁷ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, p. 6

⁴⁸ Jane-Louise Secker, 'Newspapers and Historical Research: A Study of Historians and Custodians in Wales' (PhD, University of Wales, 1999) describes the advantages and difficulties of newspapers in historical research.

offer a reliable representation of the varying British public perceptions of the war.⁴⁹

Newspapers also record wartime public behaviour, such as the immediate reactions to the outbreak of war in August 1914 and especially the public riots and demonstrations that happened throughout Ireland during these first two months. Newspapers therefore are very valuable to the researcher of ‘history from below’ and the historian of popular opinion. However, when examining the national and local newspapers between 1914 and 1918, consideration of government influence and propaganda has also to be taken into account when dealing with the wartime content of newspapers and journals. When propaganda coincided with popular feeling, independently generated and independently sustained, then it had a real force.⁵⁰

Throughout the study the term ‘Britain’ and ‘British’ is used to refer to the three nations of England, Scotland and Wales. The term ‘United Kingdom’ includes Ireland within this kingdom. Understanding how the British and Irish people embarked on the war requires a detailed chronology that takes account of the constantly changing nature of the conflict and allows the study to analyse the change in attitudes towards the different alien groups and ethnic minorities in Ireland. The thesis also recognises ‘how intertwined Britain and Ireland were in wartime ... Until the Easter Rising of 1916, citizens in Ireland took to the war with as complex feelings and justifications as their compatriots across the Irish Sea’.⁵¹ Comparisons can also be drawn at certain periods of the war between Ireland’s reactions to enemy and friendly alien nationalities, and ethnic minorities like the Jewish community, and reactions of other nations, such as Britain, America, France, and other dominions like Canada, Australia and New Zealand. These national comparisons will help to give an international dimension to the treatment and reactions of enemy aliens, friendly aliens and ethnic minorities.

This project also utilises quantitative data, such as regional alien registration booklets and official data collated by Dublin Castle and the country’s police authorities during the First World War, held at the NAI. The 1901 and 1911 Census Returns have offered valuable information on the numbers, locations and occupations of many foreign nationalities living in Ireland before the First World War. Combined with the

⁴⁹ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, p. 6

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7; Jay Winter, ‘Propaganda and the Mobilisation of Consent’, in Hew Strachan (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the First World War* (Oxford, 2000)

⁵¹ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, pp. 2-3

material from the Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP), Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) and Dublin Castle, these facilitate further identification of the background to the friendly and enemy alien cases, which have contributed to the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the research.

Other specialist archives, such as those at Templemore Barracks, have provided evidence to investigate the POW camp that was created for captured soldiers; the local studies archives at Oldcastle, Co. Meath has added to the research of the civilian detention camp erected for Ireland's enemy aliens. Various diocesan archives have aided in the examination of the extent of the co-operation and assistance offered by the country's church authorities to the Belgian refugees who sought refuge in Ireland during the war. There has been a long established link between Irish Catholic clergy and Belgian Catholic educational institutions, which became more evident when Germany invaded and bombarded the Catholic institutions in Louvain and other important Catholic landmarks at the beginning of the war. The Sisters of the Holy Faith archive at Drumcondra, Dublin has also provided valuable information on their German collector, John Joseph Steiner, who was prevented from travelling the length and breadth of the country to collect for the Convent's charity and fostering scheme for the region's orphaned children. PRONI's electronic catalogue has also provided online access to the private diaries of Lady Lillian Spender⁵² and Mrs Charlotte Despard.⁵³

To conclude, the study of wartime reactions of enemy aliens, friendly nationalities and ethnic minorities requires an analysis of how the war affected the post-1918 society in Ireland with regards to these alien and immigrant groupings. Did immigrant communities remain in Ireland after 1918, or was a dilution, or at worst an 'ethnic cleansing', of the enemy alien communities the end result of the wartime

⁵² 'Personal Diaries of Lady Lillian Spender', D1633/2/19-20 (PRONI) – covering Lady Lillian Spender's personal diary entries from February 1914 to September 1915; Margaret Baguley (ed.), *World War I and the Question of Ulster: the correspondence of Lilian and Wilfrid Spender* (Dublin, 2009). Lillian was married to Sir Wilfred Spender (knighted in 1929), who was a member of the Ulster Volunteer Force, a general staff officer to the new 36th Ulster Division during the First World War, Secretary to the Northern Ireland Cabinet, 1921-25, and Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Finance, 1925-44. Lillian and Wilfred were married on 9 September 1913 in London. After honeymooning in Norfolk they moved to Belfast, as Wilfred was drawn to Ulster because of his strong support of the Unionist cause. By February 1914, they were ensconced in a rented house in Adelaide Park from where, and later other houses, Lillian continued with her diary. Between 1915 and 1918, Wilfred Spender served with the British Army in France.

⁵³ 'Diary entries of Mrs Charlotte Despard, 1914', D2479/1/2 (PRONI). Charlotte Despard was the sister of Field Marshal Lord French (later to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland), but herself, a suffragist before the war, an opponent of the British government's recruitment and conscription campaigns throughout the war, and also a Sinn Fein activist.

legislation and public reactions? How did the Irish Free State deal with alien minority groups? Was Ireland more tolerant after the war, than their British counterparts, who extended their alien legislation with the Aliens Act of 1919? The fact that Irish history has been recovering from a condition of historical amnesia with regard to Ireland's contribution to the First World War means that more diverse outlooks on different aspects of Ireland's involvement in the conflict is necessary to bring Irish history to the same level of British, French, German and other national histories of the First World War period. I hope that this study of enemy and friendly nationalities and immigrant groups in Ireland during the First World War will help in adding to the expanding history of Ireland during the 1914 to 1918 period.

CHAPTER 1

August – December 1914: Enemy Aliens

The restrictive legislation introduced by the British Government in August 1914 had an immediate effect on the lives of both enemy and friendly aliens throughout Ireland. From the very outbreak of war, legislation was introduced by the British Government to restrict the areas of residence and movement of all non-British residents within the British Isles. Within four days of war being declared, Asquith's Liberal Government introduced one of the first pieces of legislation, the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) on 8 August 1914. This piece of legislation was to give the Government a series of wide-ranging emergency powers and it had the primary intention of 'securing public safety and the defence of the realm'.¹ This included putting in place public restrictions, such as prohibiting the lighting of bonfires, flying kites – which could attract Zeppelin raids – or discussing naval or military matters, while also introducing social control mechanisms, such as the censorship of the national press and the country's publishing companies.

To accompany the Defence of the Realm Act (1914), legislation that Panikos Panayi labelled 'the most draconian legislation ever enacted by a British Government',² the next major piece of legislation was the Aliens Restriction Order, passed by Parliament on 5 August and implemented on 24 August 1914. The act directly affected alien subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland, often through residence or travel restrictions. Various areas around the British Isles were labelled as 'prohibited', especially to civilians of foreign origin, as they were often in very close proximity to Britain's naval, military and intelligence organisations. The areas in Ireland labelled 'prohibited' included ports such as Dublin, Belfast and Cork; and military bases, such as the Curragh camp. It also affected other industries of importance to the nation's

¹'Copy of the Defence of the Realm Consolidation Act, 27 November 1914', TNA, MUN 5/19/221/8 (Nov 1914), online edition, http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/firstworldwar/first_world_war/p_defence.htm

² Panikos Panayi, *Germans in Britain Since 1500* (London, 1996), p. 116

security, such as the rail network, ship-building, munitions and telecommunications facilities, such as the Marconi wireless facilities situated around Ireland.

Panikos Panayi states in *Germans in Britain since 1500* (1996), that: ‘during the First World War Britain virtually became an autocracy, which the State took direct action to deal with any perceived threats’.³

The treatment of enemy aliens at the start of the war.

Civilians of German or Austro-Hungarian descent now had to register themselves as enemy aliens with the local police office. If an enemy alien also wished to travel outside the five mile radius of his/her home address, the individual had to apply for a travel permit.

ALIEN PERMIT. No 82410

TRAVELLING.

To All whom it may concern.
By Virtue of the Powers vested in me under the Provisions of the Aliens Restriction Order, 1914, I hereby grant Permission for the Alien described below to proceed at his own risk and charges

from Saltide Lurgan
to Mount Caulfield Bessbrook

This Permission to hold good for:—
until for 2nd Novr 1914

(Specify hour (a.m. or p.m.), day and month).

Description of Holder.

Registered as Serial No. 52 in the Police Registration District of Lurgan
Surname CHOLEWA Sex F Age 20²/₂
Christian Names Hilda
Nationality Austrian
Registered Postal Address C/o S. G. Bell, Derrykeahard, Lurgan.
Occupation or Trade Governess
Height 5 ft. 8 ins.
Build Medium
Hair, colour, &c. Sh Brown
Beard, moustache, &c. _____
Eyes, colour Dark
General descriptive remarks _____

PHOTOGRAPH OF PERMIT HOLDER
must be attached here; or left thumb mark, taken according to the finger print system.



C. C. Oulton Insp.
Signature and Rank of Issuing Officer
Place Armagh
Date 29 10 14

Signature of Holder Hilda Cholewa

Penalty for misuse of this Permit a fine not exceeding One Hundred Pounds (£100) or imprisonment for six months with Hard Labour.

Example of a travel permit issued to Hilda Cholewa (November 1914) NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

³ Ibid.

Above is an example of a travel permit for Austrian governess, Hilda Cholewa, who wanted to travel twenty-six miles from Solitude, Derrylisnahavil, Lurgan, where she was employed by the Bell family, prominent Quakers and owners of the linen factory of the town (the Lurgan Weaving Company Ltd.), to Mount Caulfield, Bessbrook, Co. Armagh, where she was accompanying the children of Mr and Mrs Bell, on holiday to the Richardsons, owners of the great house and estate around the area. The Richardson family were a Quaker family linked with the prosperous linen industry of Bessbrook, Co. Armagh and James Nicholson Richardson III⁴ was the head of the family estate at the outbreak of the war. He was elected Liberal M.P. for Co. Armagh in 1880 and although he was offered the post of Junior Lord of the Treasury he refused the position. Poor health cut short his political career and he succeeded his father as chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bessbrook Spinning Company and held that position until his death in 1921.⁵

As the above example shows, Hilda Cholewa's travel permit was granted for her short stay in Bessbrook, no doubt due to the power and influence that the Bell and Richardson families held within Co. Armagh and Co. Down. Unfortunately, Cholewa's circumstances quickly changed as the Austrian governess sought a second travel permit at the start of November for her return to Austria, via London. As Mr and Mrs Bell could not 'keep her any longer and she probably would not get another post in England', the family sought assistance from Lady Aberdeen (the wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland) to secure Cholewa's safe passage to Austria. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) had also organised a party of female enemy aliens to leave London for Austria on 19 November, of which Cholewa was hoping to be one of that number. With little further information available from the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers (CSORP), it is not known whether Fräulein Cholewa succeeded in her plan to return to her homeland.⁶

⁴ Emily Boyle, 'Richardson, James Nicholson (1846–1921)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48150> (18 October 2012). Richardson was also a member of the Quaker Society of Friends, a charitable group who set up the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress at the start of the war.

⁵ <http://bessbrook.bravehost.com/bessbrookheritage/richardsons.html>; Kathleen Rankin, *The Linen Houses of the Bann Valley. The Story of their Families* (Belfast, 2007) pp. 164-170; <http://www.craigavonmuseum.com/research/localhistory/lurgan.shtml>

⁶ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

Hilda Cholewa was not the only enemy alien employee of Ireland's landed families, parliamentary representatives and military personnel. The granting of her travel permit was an example of how an individual's relations with influential families could often aid in an enemy alien's efforts to gain residence and travel permits after the outbreak of the war.⁷ This case also highlights the efforts and support offered by charitable organisations (especially charities set up or led by women, such as the Young Women's Christian Association) to individuals who found themselves destitute or in need of help and assistance during the war, whether they were enemy or friendly alien.⁸ Other charitable organisations which were established or aided in the assistance of enemy aliens in the United Kingdom included the Central Council of United Alien Relief Societies, which had grown out of one of the largest pre-war alien charities, the Society of Friends of Foreigners in Distress (later to be named the Society of Friends Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress'). Assistance to women of enemy alien nationality or married to enemy aliens who were later interned, deported or returned to fight for their native country, was provided by organisations like 'Frauenverein' (Women's Society) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the International Women's Relief Committee (which grew out of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance); all of which helped to 'assist foreign women who are stranded in England as a result of the war'.⁹ The Association of German Governesses provided general relief work, assistance for Belgian refugees in Holland, repatriation of German and British women, the provision of information on the war and the tracing of missing persons for families in Britain and Ireland. The Association of German Governesses received many applications for help during August 1914 from German and Austrian women, governesses, teachers and clerks who were thrown out of employment, often left alone and penniless after their German Reservist husbands had been called up to fight for the Kaiser.¹⁰

There are other examples of Germans and Austrians living in Ireland who managed to get residence or travel permits, due to their connections with influential individuals within Britain and Ireland. One such individual was Fräulein Charlotta

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ The work of Ireland's women and charities will be highlighted further in this and the following chapters.

⁹ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst...*, pp.259-265

¹⁰ Ibid.

Weiss, a governess of a neighbouring family of Beville Stanier's residence in Shropshire, England and residing on holiday at Newtown, Rostrevor, Co. Down at the outbreak of the war. An application to return to England was received by the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin Castle by 26 August for Charlotta Weiss's safe return to either Shropshire or Shrewsbury (where she had also been employed by Mrs Hayes of Harcourt Manor, Shrewsbury). With several letters to and from prominent people, such as the Right Hon. Lord Kenyon¹¹ and Beville Stanier M.P., permission and a permit was granted in a very short period of time between 26 and 31 August 1914.¹²



Photograph of Beville Stanier M.P.¹³

Another example was that of Mrs Elizabeth Lubschan, a British born lady married to an interned Austrian in Manchester. She wished to travel to Ireland in November 1914 and stay with her uncle, John O'Toole, in Phibsborough, Dublin, for the entirety of the war, due to her financial plight resulting from her husband's internment. The influential factor in allowing Lubschan the travel permit was a letter

¹¹ Lloyd Tyrell-Kenyon, 4th Baron Kenyon, (5 July 1864-30 November 1927), was a British peer and Conservative politician.

¹² Ibid. In 1908, Beville Stanier had been the successful Unionist candidate for the Northern (Newport) Division of Shropshire.

¹³ Photograph of Beville Stanier M.P. found at <http://privatewww.essex.ac.uk/~alan/family/N-BevilleStanier.html>.

from her uncle, who stated that she was ‘the daughter of the late James Perry, 1st Class Inspector in the D.M. Police [Dublin Metropolitan Police (DMP)], who died in Aug. 1899’. O’Toole also stated in the letter that he was once ‘an ex-police officer’; in fact, he signed his name ‘Ex-Supt DMP’.¹⁴

However, these individuals were the exception to the rule for a lot of other enemy aliens who applied for residence and travel permits within Ireland. Foreign nationals were often caught up in precarious situations when many Irish ports and much of the coastline were labelled ‘prohibited areas’ by the British Government. One such example was that of Christian Hellwege, a German sailor, who arrived in Cork on 9 August 1914 on board the S.S. *Remembrance*, along with other sailors of non-British nationalities. They were all arrested and appeared in court by 15 August for not being registered with the police authorities when entering Cork. Hellwege and his fellow sailors were then sent on to Cork’s Detention Barracks (located at Victoria Barracks, later Collins Barracks).¹⁵ A *Southern Star* article on 26 September mentioned that once Hellwege was registered with the local police he was then forced to move inland to the town of Macroom, when Cork was named a prohibited area. Unfortunately for Hellwege, Macroom offered nothing to him and was not a very attractive place for a sailor as it was far from the coast. On Sunday 20 September, Hellwege returned to Cork city and was arrested again the following day and subsequently charged ‘under the Aliens Act with having entered a prohibited area without having a permit from the Registration Office’. Hellwege was sentenced to two months hard labour for this offence.¹⁶

Another example of an enemy alien being caught up in the legislation of the Aliens Restriction Order (1914) was the story of John Joseph Steiner. Steiner was born in Liebenzell, Württemberg (South West Germany) in 1832 to a German Lutheran family. In 1844, at the age of twelve years, he was left an orphan; as John Joseph recalled: ‘The policeman’s bell clanged outside ... it was my own name I heard – my own auction he was calling: “the twelve-year-old John Steiner is to be given, not to the highest, but to

¹⁴ ‘Files of enemy and friendly aliens’, NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

¹⁵ *Southern Star*, 18 August 1914, article entitled “Germans Arrested in Cork. Proceedings in Police Office.” The names of other non-British individuals arrested include Rhost, Mohoer, Kempfold, Lowert, Sombaens, Hellwege, Demmoceh, Rolite & Micks.

¹⁶ *Southern Star*, 26 September 1914

the lowest bidder”.¹⁷ He lived with kind foster parents, where he trained as a tailor before he decided to come to Ireland in 1856 at the age of twenty-four. The Lutheran tailor was received into the Catholic Church soon after arriving in Ireland and for the next thirty-eight years he walked the length and breadth of the country assisting the work of Margaret Aylward,¹⁸ Father Gowan and the Sisters of the Holy Faith, collecting funds for St. Brigid’s Orphanage in Dublin.¹⁹



(<http://www.holyfaithnetwork.net/linksarchives/27>)

The next piece of information on Steiner can be found in the 1901 Census return, which shows that he was living in 19 Quay Street, Donegal and his occupation was recorded as a tailor.

¹⁷ Autobiography (MS original and MS copy) of John Joseph Steiner, 27 December 1914 (H.F.A., Steiner papers, File JS/BC/09, Sisters of the Holy Faith Archive, Dublin); L. G. Ó Dearbhaill, ‘Beggar Man for Babies’, Centenary Celebrations, 1967, (Sisters of the Holy Faith, Dublin, 1967); <http://www.holyfaithnetwork.net/linksarchives/27>

¹⁸ For more information on Margaret Aylward read Jacinta Prunty’s *Margaret Aylward, 1810-1889: Lady of charity, Sister of faith* (Dublin, 1999) and Maria Luddy, *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland* (Cambridge, 1995). Also look at: Mary Cullen, and Maria Luddy (eds.), *Women, power and consciousness in 19th century Ireland* (Dublin, 1995). See also Margaret Gibbons, *The Life of Margaret Aylward, Foundress of the Sisters of the Holy Faith* (London, 1928)

¹⁹ See Steiner Autobiography Op.Cit.; Dearbhaill, ‘Beggar Man for Babies’ Op.Cit. Sister Alice Aylward, archivist at the Holy Faith Convent, Glasnevin, Dublin kindly explained to me on one of my visits that Margaret Aylward’s Orphanage was more a fostering service, providing shelter for children who found themselves homeless or orphans. The Orphanage would care for the children until a suitable home was found, often provided by the wealthier subscribers to the orphanage collection. I have to thank Sister Alice for all the help and hospitality she gave me on my visit.

CENSUS OF IRELAND, 1901.
(Two Examples of the mode of filling up this Table are given on the other side.)

FORM A.

No. on Form B. 4

RETURN OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS FAMILY and their VISITORS, BOARDERS, SERVANTS, &c., who slept or abode in this House on the night of SUNDAY, the 31st of MARCH, 1901.

NAME AND SURNAME.	RELATION to Head of Family.	RELIGIOUS PROFESSION.	EDUCATION.	AGE.	SEX.	RANK, PROFESSION, OR OCCUPATION.	MARRIAGE.	WEEKS ABSE.	IRISH LANGUAGE.	IF DEAF AND DUMB? (Mark only) (State in Remarks or Notes on separate sheet.)
1. Maggie McKeogh	Head	R. Catholic	Read & Write	46	♀	Housekeeper	Married		Irish & English	
2. Anne McKeogh	Wife	R. Catholic	Read	30	♀	Housewife	Married		Irish & English	
3. Joseph Murray	Boarder	R. Catholic	Read & Write	69	♂	Collector	Married		Irish & English	
4. Owen Leary	Boarder	R. Catholic	Read & Write	40	♂	Transporter	Married		Irish & English	
5.										
6.										
7.										
8.										
9.										
10.										
11.										
12.										
13.										
14.										
15.										
16.										

I hereby certify, as required by the Act 43 Vic., cap. 4, s. 6 (1), that the foregoing Return is correct, according to the best of my knowledge and belief.

I believe the foregoing to be a true Return.

Michael J. Leary, Signature of Enumerator. Maggie McKeogh, Signature of Head of Family.

20

The 1911 Census seems to confirm that Steiner was a travelling collector for St. Brigid's Orphanage. The census return shows that he was living in Dunleer, Co. Louth, as the boarder of Frederick Murray, a hotel manager. As can be seen from the census return, Steiner was registered as a Collector and was aged 78 years (this was an administrative error, as his actual age was 79 years) in 1911.

CENSUS OF IRELAND, 1911.
(Two Examples of the mode of filling up this Table are given on the other side.)

FORM A.

No. on Form B. 1

RETURN OF THE MEMBERS OF THIS FAMILY and their VISITORS, BOARDERS, SERVANTS, &c., who slept or abode in this House on the night of SUNDAY, the 2nd of APRIL, 1911.

NAME AND SURNAME.	RELATION to Head of Family.	RELIGIOUS PROFESSION.	EDUCATION.	AGE (See Remarks) and SEX.	RANK, PROFESSION, OR OCCUPATION.	PARTICULARS AS TO MARRIAGE.	WEEKS ABSE.	IRISH LANGUAGE.	IF DEAF AND DUMB? (Mark only) (State in Remarks or Notes on separate sheet.)
1. Frederick Murray	Head	Roman Catholic	Read & Write	45	♂	Hotel Manager	Single		
2. Edward Murray	Wife	Roman Catholic	Read & Write	44	♀	Process Apprentice	Single		
3. Frederick Steiner	Boarder	Roman Catholic	Read & Write	78	♂	Collector	Single		
4.									
5.									
6.									
7.									
8.									
9.									
10.									
11.									
12.									
13.									
14.									
15.									
16.									

I hereby certify, as required by the Act 22 Edw. VII., and 1 Geo. V., cap. 11, that the foregoing Return is correct, according to the best of my knowledge and belief.

I believe the foregoing to be a true Return.

Michael J. Leary, Signature of Enumerator. Frederick Murray, Signature of Head of Family.

21

²⁰ 1901 Census Return, 19 Quay Street, Donegal
²¹ 1911 Census Return, Dunleer, Louth

Steiner was the victim of the Aliens Restriction Order when war broke out in August 1914. His wartime story was described in four *Irish Independent* articles, the first of which was on 14 October with the headline:

**ALIEN ENEMY" DANGER
ORPHANAGE COLLECTOR FINED £10** ²²

The eighty-two year old Steiner was arrested for travelling more than five miles from his residence, St Anne's Road, Drumcondra, without a travel permit. (Steiner's address was only one mile from St. Brigid's Orphanage at 46 Eccles Street – next to the Mater Hospital). The police sergeant commented during the Northern Police Court hearing on 13 October, that when Steiner was arrested he stated that: 'he had been 58 years in Ireland and did not think the Aliens Order referred to him'.²³ A fine of £10 was imposed on Steiner for being: 'an unregistered alien enemy and travelling more than 5 miles from his place of residence without a travel permit'.²⁴

Incidentally, under the sub-heading of the same article, Lord Charles Beresford²⁵ was quoted as saying:

The crowd of alien enemies in our midst ... are creating a real danger to the State ... the present regulations are futile ... prohibited areas, which are defined and regulated, have been made out on systems which are childish in their innocence ... [More drastic steps should be taken] for preventing aliens being able to give information to our enemies. ²⁶

The article clearly demonstrated the xenophobia that was building momentum in Britain and Ireland towards the enemy alien nationalities, as well as the 'spy-fever' that was being created by the British Government in the first few months of the war. This

²² *Irish Independent*, 14 October 1914. The same article also mentioned the arrest of a German waiter at the Dolphin Hotel, by the name of Joseph Bohn. Bohn's offence was giving false particulars, stating to the police that he had never served in the German military forces.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ V. W. Baddeley, 'Beresford, Charles William de la Poer, Baron Beresford (1846–1919)', rev. Paul G. Halpern, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30723> (18 October 2012).

²⁶ *Irish Independent*, 14 October 1914. Lord Charles Beresford was a British Admiral, Conservative MP and second son of John Beresford, fourth Marquess of Waterford. He was a leading member of the British Parliament's "Radical Right" group, alongside individuals like Leo Maxse (editor of *The National Review*), Arnold White (journalist and author of *The Hidden Hand*, 1917) and William Joynson-Hicks (M.P. for Brentford), in Panikos Panayi's book *The Enemy in Our Midst. Germans in Britain During the First World War* (New York & Oxford, 1991), pp.40, 63, 67 & 76-7

culminated in further tensions being created and even physical violence in some cases between the alien population and the host nation throughout Britain and Ireland.

The next article associated with John Joseph Steiner is a letter received and printed by the editor of the *Irish Independent* on 20 October 1914. The name of the author of the letter was not given, but the sympathy for Steiner's case was more than evident.

VENERABLE GERMAN FINED, WELL KNOWN IN THE NORTH-WEST

Poor old John Joseph ... [the] little silver-haired, kindly-faced man, in clerical garb, he was generally known by no other designation than 'the wee old Brother' ... the children regarded him with 'inexpressible reverence'. What an exemplary life this beautiful old man has led, journeying from town to town, tramping hills and valleys always rejoicing, always speaking of God's goodness, rising for first Mass every morning when a church was near, labouring hard all day, and a familiar figure at the evening devotions ...

Poor John J. Steiner's only worldly concern was the cause of the orphans ... He was in this country 3 years before the Kaiser was born and 15 years before the formation of the German Empire and the Franco-Prussian War. But in the eyes of the law he is an 'alien', and ... brought before Dublin Court for failing to comply with the provisions of the Aliens Registration Order, 1914 ...

Anybody who knows the old man can easily understand his forgetfulness or ignorance in a matter of this kind, and nobody could think of associating him with the occupation of a spy. But the law is the law and the dear old man must pay the penalty.

There is not a Catholic in Ireland who will not sympathise with this venerable worker for the cause of poor children.²⁷

The next day's edition of the *Irish Independent* (21 October 1914) had another letter from John Robert O'Connell²⁸ of Dublin, clearly showing that the spy-fever and the

²⁷ *Irish Independent*, 20 October 1914. This page of the newspaper also contained an article stating 'Fierce Anti-German Riots' in London, where many German-owned shops were damaged on High Street, Old Kent Rd and other South London locations. Thirty men and women were charged at Greenwich Police station – including two British soldiers. The incident happened after public houses closed and 350 men of the Army Service Corps had to be called in to quell the riot.

²⁸ Daire Hogan, 'O'Connell, Sir John Robert', online version, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a6564&prev=prev> (25 October 2012)

xenophobia being created by the British Government and the press had not permeated all aspects of Irish society:

To the Editor, Irish Independent,

as an old friend of St. Brigid's Orphanage I have been familiar with the self-sacrificing and unwearied labours for many years of Mr. John Joseph Steiner ... Immediately on hearing of the fine of £10 imposed upon him by Mr. Mahony I took the liberty of writing to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant ... to ask him to remit a fine, which though doubtless technically justifiable, could only have been imposed by a magistrate who knew nothing of John Joseph Steiner's work and worth.

On learning ... that the fine had not been remitted and had not been paid, and that a warrant for his arrest was about to be issued against Mr. Steiner ... I personally called at the Police Courts and paid the money, so that Mr. Steiner is now relieved from any further anxiety or from any trouble by reason of his devotion to the cause of Irish Catholic orphans.

John Robert O'Connell.

34 Kildare Street, Dublin, 20th Oct., 1914.²⁹

Unfortunately, John Joseph Steiner did not see peacetime. Steiner passed away at the age of 84 years, on 29 March 1916. His death notice in the *Irish Independent* (30 March 1916) read:

STEINER—March 29, 1916, at the Mater Hospital, John Joseph Steiner; born at Liebenzell, Wurtemberg, in 1832, came to Ireland in 1856, was for 58 years a devoted collector for St. Brigid's Orphanage, 46 Eccles St., Dublin. Deeply regretted. R.I.P. 30

He was buried in the Convent Cemetery in Glasnevin in recognition of his crucial contribution to St. Brigid's Orphanage - the same cemetery where Margaret Aylward (founder of the Orphanage appeal) and Father Gowan (of St. Brigid's Orphanage) were also buried.

²⁹ *Irish Independent*, 21 October 1914

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 30 March 1916



http://www.irishgraves.com/new_page_21.htm

Many of the cases of Ireland's enemy alien applications for travel and residence permits can be found in the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers (CSORP) now at Dublin's National Archives. Around 41% of registered correspondence to and from the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin between 4 August and 31 December was concerned with enemy aliens and their incarceration, compared with only 10% of correspondence discussing the activities of the Volunteers, the paramilitary force founded in 1913 to ensure that Home Rule was passed, and 8% concerned with dissent amongst advanced nationalists.³¹ An aspect of these case reports which was surprising was the length of time that some of the applications took to be granted or rejected. For example, there is a considerable number of letters and other correspondence collected by the Chief Secretary's Office regarding Fräulein Helene Strassacker, a German governess employed by Lt. Col. Burdett Moroney and family. Strassacker was specifically applying for a travel permit to travel, via train, with Lt. Col. Moroney's wife and family and be allowed to reside in the Curragh – an area that was considered a prohibited area by the British authorities, as it was the main head-quarters of the British Army in Ireland. The letters dated from 29 August to 6 October 1914 and involved a number of individuals, local authorities and British government departments. Acting on behalf of Helene Strassacker was the Moroney family, who owned the landed estate

³¹ Pennell, 'Going to War', p.47

of Miltown House, situated at Miltownmalbay, Co. Clare. After Strassacker's initial travel permit request to travel with the wife and family of Lt. Col. Moroney, by train, from Miltownmalbay to the Curragh camp, Co. Kildare, a series of letters followed (refer to Appendix 1).³² By 3 October, over a month after the initial application for a travel permit was requested, the Chief Secretary's Office Minutes noted that Lt. Col. Burdett Moroney be informed that the military authorities had refused the travel permit of Fräulein Strassacker to reside in the Curragh district, due to it being a proclaimed area under the Army Order of 19 September 1914.

The reason why I have chosen to give an account of Strassacker's travel permit application is to show the time-consuming process that German and Austrian residents had to go through to move residence, change employment, or travel over the regulation five mile distance that was permitted to foreign nationals within the British Isles after the outbreak of the First World War. This case also highlighted the number of individuals and departments that were often involved in the decision-making process which, on occasion, could lead to poor communication among the various authorities, as well as the misinterpretation of the wartime legislation that was so quickly introduced at the outset of the war. When the applications involved the prohibited areas of Ireland, travel permits were obviously complicated further.

Strassacker's case also highlights the suspicion that quickly manifested itself among the various authorities during the first few months of the war. With the advent of anti-German propaganda appearing in the British and Irish newspapers within the first week of August 1914 and intensifying thereafter, due to incidents like the devastation caused by the German military to the citizens of "Poor Little Belgium", a hysteria materialised among sections of the Irish people towards Germans and Austrians found in Ireland.³³

³² 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

³³ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, p. 92, states, 'When societies go to war, their world-view becomes polarised into "us" versus "them". The positive collective self ... is directly juxtaposed with the enemy'.



<http://www.theeasterrising.eu/230WorldWarOne/ww1.htm>

Norman Lindsay, cartoonist, in *The Bulletin* (1916)

When Panikos Panayi analysed the concept of ‘Britishness’ in Britain, in his book *An Immigration History of Britain. Multicultural Racism Since 1800* (2010), he stated:

As a liberal democratic state many of the ideas of Britishness and the creation of concepts of outsiders come from the press, which plays a central role in the evolution of policy towards ethnic minorities in both peace and wartime, either by influencing governments to pass immigration legislation in peacetime or by pressuring the state to take draconian measures against them in wartime.³⁴

British Government and press propaganda highlighted the key events of war, such as the Zeppelin raids on Britain’s eastern coastal towns, the German U-boat attacks on neutral vessels and finally the German ‘atrocities’ on innocent civilians following Germany’s invasion of Belgium, which had led to Britain’s declaration of war against Germany. The ‘demonisation of the enemy’³⁵ created the mass hysteria that the

³⁴ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 208

³⁵ John Horne & Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, 2001), p. 291. As Pennell states in *A Kingdom United*, p. 94, ‘Germans were seen as immoral, unlawful and barbaric and under the 1907 Hague Convention on Land Warfare British academics mobilised around the themes of law-breaking and immorality’. Also read Stuart Wallace, *War and the Image of Germany: British Academics 1914-1918* (Edinburgh, 1988), pp. 60-66

propaganda was intended for. Due to the success of the propaganda campaign in creating public hysteria and animosity towards enemy aliens the decision was made by the British Government to initiate a series of mass arrests on the German and Austrian nationals who found themselves in Britain and Ireland during the first week of the war. This allowed the British authorities to arrest known suspects and collate numbers of enemy alien subjects, before deciding who should be returned to their native countries and which individuals were a threat to the nation's security. Hundreds of arrests were made of Germans and Austrians in Ireland, carried out during the first week of the war. According to an *Irish Independent* article on 13 August 1914, up to 100 Germans were arrested in Dublin:

**GERMANS IN IRELAND
LOOKING FOR THE SPIES
WHOLESALE ARRESTS IN DUBLIN.**

According to the article there were only 230 Germans residing in the capital and 160 Germans residing in Co. Dublin. Those enemy aliens arrested were 'handed over to the military authorities, who, it is reported, have lodged their prisoners in Arbour Hill Detention Barracks'.³⁶ German waiters working in various Dublin hotels were particularly targeted during the arrests and even several Russian Jewish pedlars – Russian nationals were considered as friendly aliens – were mistakenly arrested in Mullingar. Bernard Seventhall was subsequently released but Abram Winberg was detained further.³⁷ This also shows that anti-German fervour could quickly spill over into anti-Semitic sentiment, with potentially serious repercussions for Ireland's Jewish community during wartime. The effect of the First World War on Ireland's Jewish community will be examined later on in this chapter. Several Germans were charged with espionage and other arrests also occurred around other counties of Ireland and the U.K.

The sudden decision to arrest all enemy aliens throughout Britain and Ireland created immediate problems for the British government and its authorities. Reporting on the actions of the British government, military and police authorities during the first month of the war, the Home Secretary, Reginald McKenna wrote in a Cabinet report

³⁶ *Irish Independent*, 13 August 1914

³⁷ *Ibid.*

that on 7 August the War Office issued instructions for the internment of ‘all male Germans and Austrians between 17 and 42 years of age, except those ... exempt from military service’.³⁸ The next day these orders were amended to restrict the arrests to ‘only Germans and Austrians seen as dangerous’ to the country as the various difficulties of the original order was already being highlighted by these nationwide arrests – British-born wives of enemy aliens losing their family’s sole bread-winner, British Army recruits having their fathers arrested, employees of important business sectors lost through detainment – but most importantly a lack of detainment accommodation for these large numbers of enemy aliens. By 27 August the Commissioner of Police had reported that large numbers of aliens had been thrown out of employment and ‘he feared that these were rapidly becoming destitute and dangerous; and he asked for authority for their internment.’³⁹ On 7 September the Secretary of State, Kitchener, decided to intern all German and Austrian Reservists, but due to the lack of space to accommodate them, arrests became piecemeal. This would be a continuous problem for the Government to be able to react to the various calls for the wholesale arrest of all enemy aliens in Britain and Ireland throughout the final months of 1914, even leading to 1,100 enemy aliens being released into society in December due to the lack of internment space. By the end of 1914 a total of 12,400 enemy aliens had been interned throughout the British Isles, but 25,500 males remained at liberty (only 2,200 enemy aliens remained at liberty outside London).⁴⁰ The establishment of enemy alien internment camps was one solution to the accommodation problem, such as the camps at Douglas and Knockaloe on the Isle of Man. With the consent of the War Office these two camps were set up under the care and supervision of the Destitute Aliens Committee (appointed by the Home Office) and the LGB paid for the maintenance of the inmates once they arrived at the camp.⁴¹ In Ireland, the makeshift military camp at Templemore and various prisons around the country provided a temporary solution until the internment camp at Oldcastle, Co. Meath was opened in 1915.

³⁸ ‘Internment of Enemy Aliens’ report written by Reginald McKenna, 7 December 1914 (PRONI, MIC219/37, No. 182)

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid.

Dublin's anti-German riot, 15 August 1914

Suspicion and hysteria permeated sections of Irish society, appearing in differing forms of anti-German sentiment. One such incident was Dublin's anti-German riot of 15 August 1914, when a mob looted a number of German-owned shops. The three owners who were most affected by the looting were Frederick Lang, George Retz and Charles Seezer, all of whom were German pork butchers. The first historian who noted the significance of this incident was Manus O'Riordan, during his 'Justification of James Connolly' lecture in May 2006, the 90th anniversary of the Easter Rising:

When James Connolly categorised British policy in August 1914 as 'The War Upon the German Nation', it was also a war upon any German national who could be found. It is a remarkable fact that all of the historians and journalists who have sought to re-create and celebrate Irish involvement in England's Imperialist War have either overlooked or studiously ignored one very dramatic event during the first fortnight of that War – the Dublin pogrom of August 15th, 1914.⁴²

On 17 August, the *Irish Independent* published several articles and letters detailing the 15 August lootings that caused damage and disruption to the three Dublin pork butchers' shops on the south side of the city:

GERMAN PORK SHOPS, RAIDED BY DUBLIN CROWDS⁴³

The first report of the incident, published in the *Irish Independent* on 17 August 1914, maintained there was a 'jeering crowd of youths' at Lang's pork butchers shop at 39 Wexford Street. The crowd was excited further when 'a figure appeared at an upper window after the place was closed pouring hot water and throwing missiles on the crowd of men and women, and children.' This was when the damage to the shop and

⁴² Manus O'Riordan's 'Justification of James Connolly' lecture (May 2006) (the 90th anniversary of the Easter Rising) can be found at <http://www.indymedia.ie/article/76009>. By using the word 'pogrom' in his lecture O'Riordan was attempting to make comparisons between the anti-German attacks of 15 August 1914 and the 1904 Limerick 'pogrom' (when public animosity towards Jews and particularly their alleged money-lending practices spilt over into attacks on members of Limerick's Jewish community). By using this phrase O'Riordan is intimating that the Irish public often failed to differentiate between German and Jew. The incident is also mentioned in Catriona Pennell, 'Going to War', p. 42; Horne & Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914*; Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front 1914-18 with particular reference to the treatment of Belgian refugees, prisoners-of-war, enemy aliens and war casualties', (PhD thesis, NUI Maynooth, 2006), p. 88-9; and the *Meat Traders Journal*, 20 August 1914, cited in Sue Gibbons, *German Pork Butchers in Britain* (Maidenhead, 2002), pp. 40-43

⁴³ *Irish Independent*, 17 August 1914

its upstairs premises was done.⁴⁴ This statement would later be questioned by Frederick Lang himself, in a letter to the editor of the *Sunday Independent*, published on 23 August where he stated:

The Wexford Street Scenes.

To the Editor "Sunday Independent."

Sir—Re your article in last Sunday's "Independent," I wish to draw your attention to certain facts. At the time this destruction was going on, I can assure you, there was no mankind on the premises, so there was no possible chance of them throwing either hot or cold water on the mob.

As I was at the Terenure premises until after 11 o'clock I wasn't even aware of what was carrying on until after the above hour. I think the mob took the advantage of seeing no man on the spot.

Hoping you will give my explanation the same publication,

FR. LANG.

Pork Butcher.

Terenure, Sunday, 16th August.

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The mob also travelled to the shop of another German pork butcher, George Retz (sometimes spelt Reitz), 61 South Circular Road where they proceeded to cause malicious damage to the property. Charles Seezer's pork butcher's shop at 40 Thomas Street (pictured below), was another victim of the mob. Another *Irish Independent* newspaper report from 1 September 1914 also mentioned that Wm. T. Morton's tobacconist shop, at 61b South Circular Road, was also damaged by the mob, although no more was reported on this property.⁴⁶ Pennell states that 'hapless locals were [sometimes] the scapegoats for crowds unable to vent their hatred against the real enemy'.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Sunday Independent*, 23 August 1914

⁴⁶ *Irish Independent*, 1 September 1914

⁴⁷ Pennell, 'Going to War', p. 42



A photograph (left) taken on 17 June 2011 of what used to be Frederick Lang's butchers shop at 39 Wexford Street, now part of a cycle shop. The picture on the right is of Charles Seezer's shop at 40 Thomas Street⁴⁸

It has been difficult to find the exact route the mob took; however, Manus O'Riordan does state that Reitz's shop at Leonard's Corner was the last to be targeted and the fact that the mob was exhausted from their rampage, which included a hefty twenty minute walk from Thomas Street and Wexford Street, meant that this fact also prevented the Jewish shops of Lower Clanbrassil Street being attacked. O'Riordan states that:

Moreover, in the two days prior to the anti-German pogrom in Dublin the press had made it clear that the xenophobia against aliens that British war hysteria was now whipping up would make little distinction between German and Jew.⁴⁹

O'Riordan supports his statement with the fact that several arrests were made of Russian Jewish pedlars, reported in the *Irish Independent* on 13 August (already mentioned above).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ The photograph of Frederick Lang's shop at 39 Wexford Street was taken by the author on 17 June 2011. The photograph of Charles Seezer's pork butcher's shop in Thomas Street, Dublin found at <http://www.dublin.ie/forums/showthread.php?8686-New-to-Dublin.ie-forums-and-Rialto/page7>

⁴⁹ O'Riordan, 'Justification of James Connolly', Op.Cit. Manus O'Riordan has written extensively on James Connolly and his socialist/nationalist ethos. Such works include 'Connolly Socialism and the Jewish Worker', *Saothar*, Vol. 13 (1988), pp. 120-30; 'James Connolly Reassessed – the Irish and European Context' (January 2005) – electronic version, <http://irelandsown.net/connolly19.html>; also his MA Thesis, 'James Connolly in America: The Political Development of an Irish Marxist, as seen from his Writings and his Involvement with the American Socialist Movement, 1902-1910' (MA Thesis, University of New Hampshire, 1971)

⁵⁰ *Irish Independent*, 13 August 1914

Jim Larkin and William O'Brien, the prominent Trade Union leaders in Ireland at the time, openly showed sympathy for the German inhabitants of Dublin and condemned the attacks of 15 August. At a meeting on 16 August at Croydon Park, Dublin, their socialist views on the war (similar to the views of James Connolly) were clearly evident. Although initially supporting the work of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) for trying to offer assistance to the workers who had been thrown out of their posts due to the war, O'Brien stated that it was the greed of 'the financiers and money-grabbers of Europe [that had brought about the war] and the workers whom it would most injuriously affect.'⁵¹ Larkin made sure to add that:

He would not be sorry if the German Emperor and his autocratic domineering gang were wiped out, but the world owed much to the German people and it was mean and cowardly to raid German shops and to attack individual Germans. It was...the duty of Dublin workers to start an agitation such as would compel the Government to find adequate employment for them and a sufficiency for their families.⁵²

The attacks made on a section of Dublin's German community had brought to the fore the question of the rights of the enemy alien population and the responsibilities of the host population towards their German and Austrian neighbours. Certainly the socialist viewpoint in Britain and Ireland was that the war was the result of the greedy ambitions of the autocratic rulers of the empires of Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, France and Britain, and not the fault of the German or Austrian people who were trying to live and work in a country that now labelled them as enemy aliens through the legislation and propaganda of its government.

The anti-German riot in Dublin was the only reported anti-German (or enemy alien) riot throughout the whole of Ireland during the war. Why Dublin was the city that experienced rioting, and not Ulster Unionist Belfast, can be explained by Kevin Kenny in *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004):

'economic motives for enlisting were paramount ... 70-80% of those who enlisted were unskilled labourers and Dublin, because of its high unemployment, was better recruiting ground than Belfast ... other reasons to sign up ... war was widely perceived as a positive good ...

⁵¹ *Irish Independent*, 17 August 1914

⁵² *Ibid.*

people all over Ireland evidently retained considerable loyalty to Britain and the Empire in a time of need.⁵³

Along with high levels of unemployment within an area come higher incidents of unlawfulness. Therefore, with many Dubliners finding themselves out of work at the start of the war, struggling financially, watching family members and friends go off to war to fight the enemy and generally looking for any way of filling their days, it gave an ideal atmosphere for any individual with a purpose or hatred towards the enemy to gather together a riotous mob on the streets of Dublin.

Several members of the mob were subsequently arrested and charged with the Dublin attacks; twelve individuals were charged in connection with the attack on Frederick Lang's shop and six individuals charged with the attack on Reitz's shop. One particular individual, John O'Neill, of Cuffe Street, had actually only joined the British Army a short time before. O'Neill's request to be discharged was refused by the bailiff.⁵⁴ O'Riordan pointed to this pro-Redmond, British Army recruit as the ring-leader of the mob, although I have found no evidence to back up this statement.⁵⁵ Three other males pleaded guilty to the Lang attack, while a mother and daughter were charged with handling stolen property – the pork stolen had been sold on the streets to women 'for a nominal fee'. Among the six people charged for damage to Reitz's shop, were two women – one of the women (Eliza O'Neill) pleading guilty during the October hearing.⁵⁶ The same *Irish Independent* article also stated that while a few of the accused had been released due to lack of evidence, the rest of the accused were indicted for forming a riotous crowd and bound over until sentence was heard on 19 November; if any of the accused were to be found interfering with either Lang or Reitz, the accused would be sentenced to two years hard labour. Sentences were reserved until 19 November.⁵⁷

An article in the *Freeman's Journal* of 20 November stated '3 fellows and 3 girls' were found guilty, but as 'there had been no manifestations of hostility to

⁵³ Kevin Kenny, 'The Irish in the Empire', *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004), pp.108-9

⁵⁴ *Irish Independent*, 13 August 1914

⁵⁵ Manus O'Riordan, 'Justification of James Connolly', Op.Cit. In a later article (*Irish Independent*, 17 October 1914) O'Neill (who was now enlisted into the British Army) gave evidence in court on behalf of the defence of other rioters and admitted to 'being at the scene and carrying away a side of pig: [although] he saw none of the prisoners there'.

⁵⁶ *Irish Independent*, 18 August 1914 and 17 October 1914

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

merchants of German nationality' since the October hearing the Recorder would 'bind the defendants in their own bail for 3 years'. This was a very lenient sentence for six people found guilty (from a considerably larger riotous crowd) for hundreds of pounds worth of damage to the shops of innocent Dublin citizens. The Recorder also 'felt indebted to the Police of all ranks for great assistance'.⁵⁸ O'Riordan does not share the Recorder's view:

The fullest account of the attack on George Reitz's premises appeared in the 'Irish Worker' on August 22nd, 1914. Under the heading of 'German Baiting: The Police Cowardice' the correspondent described a classic pogrom scene. Having first arrested Reitz himself, the Dublin Metropolitan Police then left his premises unprotected and allowed the mob to proceed unhindered in destroying that shop and robbing its contents. Meanwhile, the DMP themselves stood "idly by" and laughed away the night as they observed the 'sport' of the Redmondites plundering to their hearts content.⁵⁹

An *Irish Independent* article on 2 October reports the full extent of the damage done to the businesses of Lang, Reitz and Seezer on the evening of 15 August. Lang claimed £117 13s. 5d. under the L. G. Board (Ireland) Act 1898 for injuries done to the property. This included the £14 taken from the cash register and £14 worth of pork – mentioned in the *Irish Independent* article on 1 September 1914. George Reitz's application for damages came to £223. The total again included £20 stolen from the cash register and jewellery, mentioned in the article of 1 September. Charles Seezer's application for damages totalled £7 19s.⁶⁰

The respondents to the claims were the Dublin Corporation and the Rathmines and Pembroke Urban Councils, whose legal representatives clearly stated that because Lang was an enemy alien he was not entitled to sue during wartime (another regulation of the Alien Restriction Order, 1914). Lang's legal representatives then argued that he was '23 years a ratepayer in Ireland, had married an Irish girl, [who, incidentally, would be regarded as an enemy alien under the Act] and intended remaining here. He had acquired a British domicile by long residence and was not subject to the rules relating to alien enemies.' The respondents of the local authorities countered this argument with 'he [Lang] had the means of becoming a British subject, but had not availed of them ... if ... Mr Lang went to Germany he would get a uniform and be put

⁵⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 20 November 1914

⁵⁹ Manus O'Riordan, 'Justification of James Connolly', Op.Cit.; *Irish Worker*, 22 August 1914

⁶⁰ *Irish Independent*, 1 September, 2 October 1914

into the Landsturm.⁶¹ In conclusion, the Recorder of Dublin regretted the incidents, but said the violence shown in Dublin on 15 August was ‘very mild compared to what occurred in Berlin’, comparing the incidents to the attacks on British subjects in Germany even before the war broke out. The Recorder finally stated:

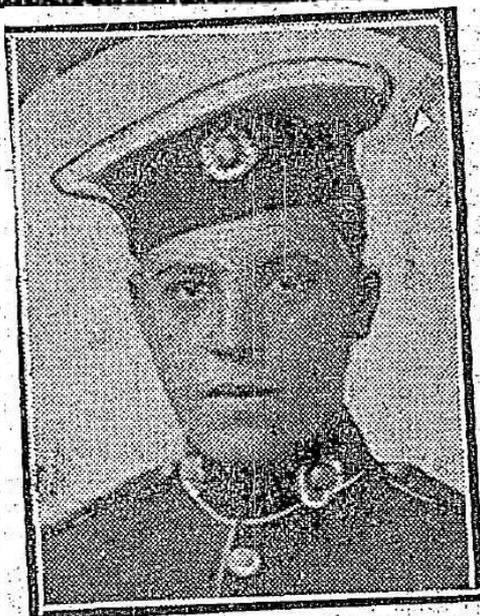
The applicant has been protected since, and was able to carry on his business. The case was quite unsustainable and should be dismissed with costs ... Very few Englishmen had been allowed to do business in Germany. If these claimants had any right to sue it was suspended during the war.⁶²

Unfortunately, this was just the start of the losses that Frederick Lang experienced during the war. An article in the *Irish Independent* on 20 October 1914 stated:

AN INCIDENT OF THE WAR



FREDERICK LANG.



AUGUSTINE LANG.

Mr. Lang, pork butcher, Wexford street, Dublin, yesterday received official notification of the death of his son, Frederick, aged 18, of H.M.S. Impregnable. His other son, Augustine, was with the Royal Marines at Antwerp. Mr. Lang, who is of German nationality, but a resident in Dublin for many years, had his shop wrecked and looted by a crowd a few weeks ago.

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⁶¹ The Landsturm (‘Land Storm’) soldiers were the Reservists of the German Army, which comprised of older (sometimes quite elderly) men and youths.

⁶² *Irish Independent*, 2 October 1914

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 20 October 1914

If this tremendous loss for Lang and his family was not enough, on 30 October Lang appeared in court, ‘in reply to an application for his committal to prison for disobeying an order of the court directing him to pay an instalment of £2 per month on foot of a judgement debt for £8 due for purchase of a gas engine from Messrs. Crossley Bros.’⁶⁴

Lang explained that he had been arrested for being an alien enemy; that his premises had been attacked; that £23 was taken from his till; Lang’s lawyer stated Lang’s takings were £20 per week. The judge ordered Lang that he ‘should pay an instalment of £2 on the 1st December, or in default go to prison.’⁶⁵

The next piece of evidence in connection with Frederick Lang can be found in the Chief Secretary’s Office Registered Papers (CSORP). This file contains a petition (dated November 1914) and letter (dated 9 December 1914) from Lang to the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Dublin Castle.⁶⁶ Linked with the appeal letter and petition was the case report from S. Wickham, Superintendent of A. Division, the Dublin Metropolitan Police (D.M.P.), Chancery Lane Station, Dublin, dated 19 December 1914 – ‘Frederick Lang’s memorial, file 9253/14’.⁶⁷ Whether he was the subject of constant abuse simply because of his nationality, or whether he was bringing problems on himself by the past history of his family affairs, Lang’s name was being blackened every time he appeared in court, or appealed against his charges. Wartime legislation also continued to work against Lang in his appeals. His problems continued into 1915, with two other cases against him.

The *Irish Independent* of 13 May 1915 described a court case where Lang was ordered to pay the full amount for a dishonourable £10 cheque he once paid to E. Kiernan, a horse dealer, for a horse sold to Lang in 1913. During the hearing, it was also mentioned that Lang still owed £1 for the sausage machine (gas engine) and he ‘had a big overdraft in the bank’. Lang commented that ‘I have met with awful luck lately ... my business is gone to nothing, although I gave my two sons to the navy, and one of them got killed. My business in Wexford Street is not one-tenth of what it used

⁶⁴ *Irish Independent*, 31 October 1914

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ ‘Frederick Lang’s memorial (file 9253/14) plus an appeal letter and petition addressed to Lord Aberdeen’, NAI, CSORP/1914/22558. See Appendix 2, Document A.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* See Appendix 2, Document B.

to be and it is not good in Terenure'.⁶⁸ The *Irish Independent* of 28 May described a third case where Lang – described as ‘the prisoner’ – was charged with having assaulted John Bloomer, a Private in the Irish Guards, and also with having made a ‘statement likely to cause disaffection to his Majesty.’ The magistrate remarked during the Court hearing that the case ‘was a most contemptible one which should never have been brought and that it is making a farce of the Defence of the Realm Act’.⁶⁹ The final article concerning Lang was in the *Irish Independent*, dated 5 August 1915, which stated that Mr Justice Pim made an order in favour of the horse dealer, Mr Kiernan, a sum for the injured horse, to be paid by an insurance company and Lang should still be liable for the payment of £10 for the dishonourable cheque.⁷⁰

Finally, George Reitz was also caught without a travel permit in September 1914, when he travelled more than five miles from his residence in Bannow Villa, Cullenswood, Rathmines and according to an article in the *Irish Independent* on 16 September 1914, the courts imposed a fine of £5 or alternatively two months imprisonment. It is not known what option was taken by Reitz.⁷¹

The Dublin anti-German riot was an isolated incident. Ireland did not experience any other rioting against German residents or any other enemy aliens during the entirety of the war. This was different to the xenophobic attitudes of the rest of the British Isles, where Germans experienced riots in August and October 1914, May 1915, June 1916 and July 1917. Therefore, it may be concluded that xenophobia was not really an issue for enemy aliens to concern themselves with in Ireland, as was the case in the rest of Britain.

However, there were many other cases of discrimination against German, Austrian and Hungarian residents in Ireland due to the wartime legislation, implemented by the various authorities within Ireland (Dublin Castle, the Dublin Metropolitan Police (D.M.P.), the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.) and the Home Office, in London), and the hysteria created in Ireland by the British Government and

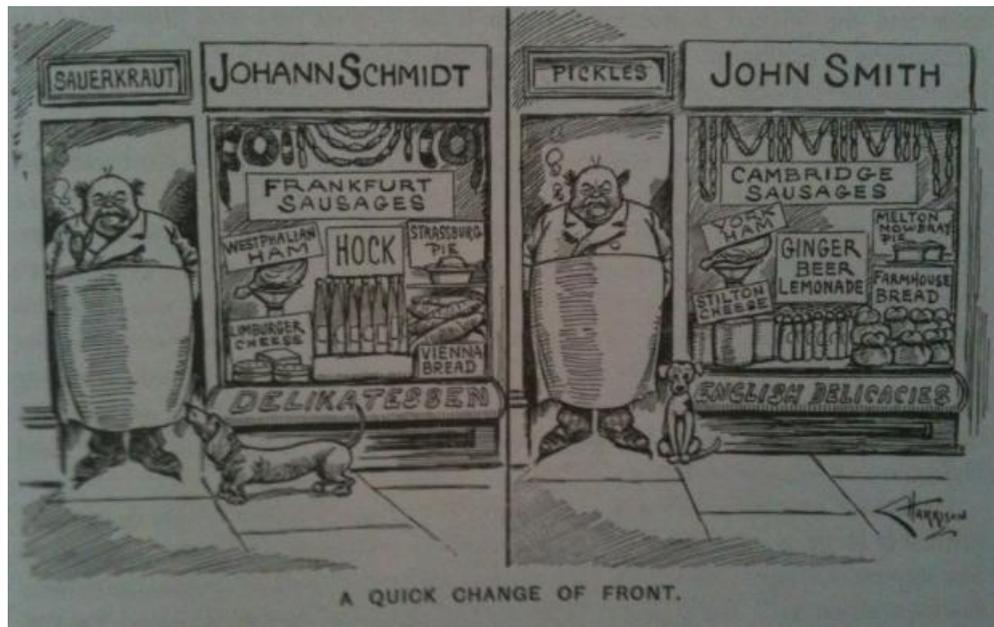
⁶⁸ *Irish Independent*, 13 May 1915

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 28 May 1915

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 August 1915

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 16 September 1914

the press certainly permeated into the mentalities of many Irish people throughout 1914 and 1915.⁷²



One example of anti-German press propaganda that circulated throughout Britain and Ireland was the *Punch* cartoon, 'A Quick Change of Front' (19 August 1914), which emphasised the efforts made by German businesses to 'anglicise' their names and replace any symbols of Germany.⁷³

Spies and 'spy fever' within Ireland

Another aspect of the British press-led hysteria was the spy-fever created throughout the British Isles. Restrictions on owning and carrying cameras, binoculars, maps, books of military or naval significance, wireless or signalling equipment, carrier pigeons, or flying kites and lighting bonfires were all introduced by DORA. People's suspicions were heightened further by British Government propaganda regularly found in newspapers and journals. The local inhabitants of the various prohibited areas became more suspicious of strangers and residents of foreign extraction.

Although the Dublin mob showed their discontent about the enemy aliens residing in their community during the first month of the war, the people of Belfast and

⁷² Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, pp. 97-8, makes a valid point that neither Austria-Hungary or the Ottoman Empire 'could compete with Germany as Britain's absolute enemy [and] ... Both public and private sources made little or no comment about Austria-Hungary being an enemy during [the first five months of the war and] ... the Ottoman Empire was [only] more visible as an enemy ally following its entry into the war on 5 November 1914.' Turkey did not present a real threat, firstly because there were few Turkish immigrants in Britain and Ireland before the war, and secondly, the Ottoman Empire was commonly referred to as the 'sick man of Europe' and held no threat of invasion for Britons.

⁷³ 'A Quick Change of Front', *Punch*, 19 August 1914; the image was taken from Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, pp. 100-101

Ulster were no less suspicious of enemy aliens at large in the northern counties. On 7 August the sighting of a German spy was reported in the *Irish Independent*. A German was found sketching the lines of the Belfast Waterworks and observatory tower when he was arrested. The same newspaper reported on 10 August that the arrest of Paul G. Wentzel took place in Bangor, Co. Down, while Robert R. Dandt (German) and John Mickobeck (Austrian) were also remanded in the town. Documents were seized by the police at Wentzel's premises in Belfast and he was returned for trial on 20 August on a charge of espionage.⁷⁴ That same week more German spies were reported in the *Irish Independent* by an anonymous member of the Ulster Volunteers who stated that Ulster had been 'overrun with German secret agents' and he had had personal contact with a German Army officer in the coastal town of Larne.⁷⁵ A German photographer was also arrested in Dromore, Co. Tyrone.⁷⁶ So quickly had opinions of Germans and Germany changed; from assisting with gun-running for both the Ulster and National Volunteers before the war, to suspicion of any German residents and visitors throughout the country after 4 August. John Horne states in *Our War. Ireland and the Great War* that in other countries war brought the suspension of politics in 1914, but in Ireland 'the war in fact reactivated politics as nationalists and unionists pursued their opposed goals by participating in the war effort ... talk of unionist and nationalist "war cultures"'⁷⁷ brought into focus the role of enemy aliens within Ulster Unionist and Irish Nationalist politics. Both sides were anxious to further their own political reputations by linking the other with enemy alien intrigue. One example was a *Southern Star* article in 12 September edition, with the title of 'Ulster pro-Germans', which stated that Edward Carson and his Ulster Unionist supporters would rather see an Ireland ruled by Germany than to accept Home Rule for Ireland. This viewpoint was subsequently supported in the article by pre-war quotes by leading Ulster Unionist politicians and supporters, such as Captain Charles Craig (M.P for South Antrim and brother of James Craig), James Chambers (M.P. for South Belfast) and Major Frederick Hugh Crawford⁷⁸ who had been a leading organiser of the shipment of German Mauser rifles

⁷⁴ *Irish Independent*, 21 August 1914. Documents found among Wentzel's belongings included cipher codes, sketches of a semaphore station, plans of a fort, the drawing of a heavy gun, a map of Belfast harbour, docks and the channel, a map showing Aldershot military camp and other documents. The *Irish Independent* reported on 11 December of the result of Wentzel's court case at the Belfast Winter Assizes, where he was found not guilty on charges under the Official Secrets Act.

⁷⁵ *Irish Independent*, 22 August 1914

⁷⁶ *Sunday Independent*, 23 August 1914

⁷⁷ John Horne (ed.), *Our War. Ireland and the Great War* (Dublin, 2008), p.8

⁷⁸ James Quinn, 'Crawford, Frederick Hugh', *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009)

into Larne in April 1914. On the other side, the radical Irish nationalist involvement with Germany was also used as political ammunition for the Ulster Unionists during the war. German and Austrian residents in Ireland ultimately suffered from being the focus of political controversy as enemy aliens were used as political tools as well as emphasising an individual's or political group's patriotism about the Union and the war effort.

Many Germans and Austrians throughout Ireland were in occupations such as waiters, teachers and governesses, all of whom could have access to information of military importance from the family members of officers, politicians and important officials. Naturally, British Government legislation was introduced to protect the country from the alleged German spy networks within the country, which Britain's Secret Service Bureau had been monitoring since its formation in 1909. However, the Secret Service, in collaboration with the police authorities and nation's postal service, had done all the ground work on the spy networks and most of the arrests had been carried out the week before the war had been declared. This poses the question: was the emergency war legislation introduced after 4 August 1914 a necessity for the nation's security, or was it primarily used to stoke the fire of hysteria and rouse public support for the war?

In answer to this question one could surmise that there were individual spies and serious threats to Britain's national security that were successfully uncovered in Ireland because of the legislation imposed – such as those of Carl Hans Lody and Roger Casement⁷⁹ – but the introduction of the emergency legislation, such as D.O.R.A. (1914), the Aliens Restriction Order (1914), Trading with the Enemy Act (1914) and the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act (1914) also seriously affected innocent Germans and Austrians living in Ireland, who were under increased scrutiny simply because of their foreign name or accent. By the start of September 1914, the British Government was beginning to put pressure on all local authorities (including the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin Castle and all police forces in the British Isles (including Ireland's D.M.P. and R.I.C. Divisions) to gather together and report on the numbers of friendly and enemy aliens residing in each district. A message received at the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin from the Under-Secretary of State, at the Home Office,

⁷⁹ D. George Boyce, 'Casement, Roger David (1864–1916)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32320> (16 August 2012)

dated 4 September 1914, asked: 'Could you wire me as soon as possible (1) numbers of aliens of all kinds in Co. Dublin (2) numbers of alien enemies i.e. Germans and Austrians in Co. Dublin'.⁸⁰ This message was subsequently sent out to all divisions of the D.M.P. throughout Dublin City and County. The next significant telegram was sent to the Inspector General at Dublin Castle from the County Inspector at Howth, reporting that 'there are seventeen alien enemies ... [of the] thirty-five aliens of all kinds in County Dublin'.⁸¹ The next report from the D.M.P.'s city districts came into Dublin Castle the same day and reported:

I beg to state the approximate number of (a) friendly aliens residing in the Dublin Metropolitan Police District who are 16 years old and upwards is 911, and (b) the number of alien enemy subjects who have registered is 311.

The return of friendly aliens has been compiled very hurriedly and consequently may not be absolutely accurate.⁸²

That same day, the Chief Secretary's Office was made aware of a telegram from the Home Office in London which was going to be sent:

To all Police Forces in Great Britain:

Please report by telegram tomorrow morning how many Germans, Austrians and Hungarians have returned themselves in your register as Reservists, excluding those already in military custody.

The Home Office desire to obtain similar information as regards Ireland.⁸³

The reply stated that in the Dublin Police District there were 21 returned as Reservists and 22 in the rest of Ireland, by 5 September 1914. By 7 September, the Home Secretary, Reginald McKenna,⁸⁴ in a Question in Parliament session requested that all police in England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland furnish numbers of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians registered in their areas, distinguishing in each case the number of males, females and children. The following figures were received and transmitted to the Home Office in London on 8 September, in time for the Parliamentary question the following day:

⁸⁰ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ D. M. Cregier, 'McKenna, Reginald (1863–1943)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34744> (26 October 2012)

'Numbers of Alien Enemies Registered in the Dublin Metropolitan Police (City) District' (the figures in red were added by hand to include the R.I.C. total for the remainder of the counties):

Nationality	Males	Females	Children	Total
Germans	167 (238)	122 (211)	209 (219)	498 (668)
Austrians	69 (63)	23 (43)	46 (50)	138 (156)
Hungarians	6 (4)	2 (1)	1 (1)	9 (6)
Totals	242 (305)	147 (255)	256 (270)	645 (830)

The figures given for all Ireland were:

Nationality	Males	Females	Children	Total
Germans	405	333	428	1166
Austrians	132	66	96	294
Hungarians	10	3	2	15
Totals	547	402	526	1475

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The hotel and catering industries of Great Britain and Ireland were especially targeted by the British Government since many hoteliers and restaurateurs had been providing employment to foreign nationalities of enemy alien extraction, who could pose a serious threat to the nation's security. The following article from the *Irish Independent*, 19 October 1914, was an example of the suspicion that existed:

The German Spy System.

Several important hotels have agreed to issue a statement to the effect that no German or Austrian servants are employed there, and by a process of elimination the public will soon find out where there is a danger of the German spy system still prevailing. One effect of this policy, which will, doubtless, be extended to Ireland, will be that Irish waiters, hairdressers, and other servants will have a better chance of securing employment at reasonable wages in their own country.

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⁸⁵ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

⁸⁶ *Irish Independent*, 19 October 1914

The suspicions of the British Government and its Secret Service (MO5 and later to be renamed MI5), of the German presence in the country's service industries had relevant precedents in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71), which had been won by superior German military tactics and the effectiveness of Germany's intelligence and counter-espionage services. France's German population provided 'an effective network of agents' working in France as barbers, waiters and other occupations, while conveying information back to the German military.⁸⁷ Major James Edmonds⁸⁸ (Head of MO5 from 1907) and Supt. William Melville⁸⁹ consistently harboured suspicions of German espionage on British shores and also on Germany's increasing naval threat throughout the first decade and a half before 1914.⁹⁰ A Secret Service Bureau was established in 1909 and the individuals selected by the War Office to head the Bureau were Captain Vernon Kell⁹¹ (dealing with espionage on Britain's home front and security matters - the Security Service, or MO5(g)) and Commander Mansfield Cumming R.N.⁹² (concerned with all foreign matters – Secret Intelligence Service, or SIS). In particular, Kell and his department were highly influential in uncovering much of the German spy network within Britain before and during the First World War.⁹³

Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, in his PhD thesis on 'The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-

⁸⁷ Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm. The Authorized History of MI5*. (London, 2009), p. 1

⁸⁸ Cyril Falls, 'Edmonds, Sir James Edward (1861–1956)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32972> (18 October 2012)

⁸⁹ Michael Hassett, 'Melville, William (1850–1918)', *ODNB* (Oxford, September 2010) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/95664> (18 October 2012). Melville was born in Sneem, Co. Kerry, trained as a baker by his father, before joining London's Metropolitan Police in 1872. Melville succeeded in working his way through the police ranks and into the CID. In 1887 he helped to foil the Fenian plot to assassinate Queen Victoria during her jubilee celebrations at Westminster Abbey. He eventually became the head of the Metropolitan Special Branch in 1893. Throughout his career he was heavily involved in thwarting bombing plots and assassination attempts on political and royal dignitaries visiting London, including in 1901 when Melville worked with Gustav Steinhauer of the German secret service to thwart a plot against the Kaiser during the funeral of Queen Victoria. (Steinhauer became the Kaiser's leading spy during the First World War.) Melville retired from the Metropolitan Special Branch in 1903 to take up a leading position in the newly established MO2 and MO3 departments of the Directorate of Military Operations at the War Office. When the Secret Service Bureau was set up in 1909, in response to concerns about the extent of German espionage, Melville continued as chief detective under the military head of the new bureau, Vernon Kell. He was referred to by his initial, "M." (a title that later became synonymous with Ian Fleming's British secret agent novels and chief character James Bond, "007").

⁹⁰ Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, pp. 5-11

⁹¹ Nicholas Hiley, 'Kell, Sir Vernon George Waldegrave (1873–1942)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37625> (18 October 2012)

⁹² Christopher Andrew, 'Cumming, Sir Mansfield George Smith (1859–1923)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37331> (18 October 2012)

⁹³ Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, pp. 21-52

2000: An Oral History (Volume 2/3). From Ancient Ireland to 21st Century Dublin' (2009), has done considerable research on the figures of employees of foreign nationality within the Dublin restaurant and hotel industry, using the 1901 and 1911 Census returns.

Census Year	1901			1911		
Population of Dublin County & City	448,206			477,196		
Working in Domestic Service in Ireland	193,620			151,534		
Working in other Service in Ireland (includes Hotels etc.)	25,798			19,216		
Occupations of foreign-born persons working in Ireland:	German		Austrian	German		Austrian
Hotel Proprietor, Inn Keeper, Publican			63			
Coffee, Eating-house Keeper			18			
Inn, Hotel Service	139	74	21	119	25	18
Chef			7			
Cook (not Domestic)	29			68	14	4
Confectioner, Pastry Cook			73			
Ice Cream Vendor or Dealer			66			
Total	168		414			
Cooks (not Domestic)	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dublin	105	144	249	89	72	161
Suburbs	16	21	37	16	43	59
Total Dublin	121	165	286	105	115	220
Total Ireland				163	275	438
Hotel Keeper	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dublin	107	123	230	71	95	166
Suburbs	15	8	23	11	4	15
Total Dublin	122	131	253	82	99	181

Information from 1901 and 1911 Census.

Source: Central Statistic Office 1901 and 1911 Census Reports⁹⁴

Of the 139 foreign nationals of the 'Inn, Hotel Service' in 1901, 74 were from the German Empire and 21 were from Austria. The 1901 Census unfortunately did not provide a country-by-country breakdown of the 29 foreign members employed as 'Cook (not domestic)'. However, in 1911, of the 68 cooks (not domestic), 14 were from the German Empire and 4 were from Austria.⁹⁵ Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire states

⁹⁴ Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine on Public Dining in Dublin Restaurants 1900-2000: An Oral History (Volume 2/3). From Ancient Ireland to 21st Century Dublin' (PhD Thesis, School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology, Dublin Institute of Technology, 2009), p. 139

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 139-40. The remainder of the foreign nationalities who worked in the 'Inn, Hotel Service' sector in 1901 were 10 French, 10 American, 8 Swiss, 8 Italian, 3 Danish, 2 Swedes, and 1 each from Belgium, Norway and Portugal. From the 1911 Census return of the same category there were 60

that Germans and Austrians held a dominant presence as waiters in the hotel and restaurant industry by 1911 (24 of the 31 foreign-born waiters working in Dublin in 1911 were of German or Austrian nationality), but by the outbreak of the war in August 1914 these numbers were decimated by the introduction of wartime legislation, coupled with the public agitation to drive these individuals out of the profession. On 17 October 1914, the London *Evening Standard* newspaper wrote the headline ‘Ridding London Hotels of the Enemy’, and listed those hotels that were ‘today officially declared clear of Germans and Austrians’.⁹⁶ These events in London were replicated in every city and town throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

One of the first reports of arrests of waiting staff in Ireland was on 13 August when the *Irish Independent* reported on the

Wholesale arrests [which] created quite a stir in the city [of Dublin], particularly in hotels, where a number of Germans were stopping ... Fifteen Germans, including a number of hotel employe[e]s [sic.] were arrested in Kingstown last night and conveyed to Dublin.⁹⁷

On 17 August, another *Irish Independent* article reported that a German head waiter at the Station Hotel, Limerick Junction, had been arrested. The headline of the article read ‘Espionage in Ireland. A Strange Story from Co. Clare’.⁹⁸ A week later the *Southern Star* told of five German waiters from various hotels in Killarney, County Kerry, who were also detained.⁹⁹ The *Freeman’s Journal* reported on 4 September that the German waiter, P. Zimmer was sentenced to six months hard labour after being arrested in Newcastle, Co. Down, being found in possession of a revolver. He had been a waiter in the Slieve Donard Hotel on the Co. Down coast. Over the coming weeks and months, many more cases were reported in the Irish press. A resolution was passed by the Regular Hotel Workers Union in August 1914, urging patrons of hotels, clubs and restaurants in Dublin to ask to be served by English or Irish attendants in

Americans, 9 French, 4 Swiss, 2 Swedes and one Italian. From the 1911 Census, concerning the 68 ‘Cooks (not domestic)’ category, the remainder of the foreign nationalities included 23 French, 10 Swiss, 8 American, 5 Italian and one each from Belgium, Denmark, Holland and Asia.

⁹⁶ Martin Gilbert, *The First World War* (London, 1994), pp. 90-2

⁹⁷ *Irish Independent*, 13 August 1914

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 17 August 1914. The headline was referring to an incident at Kildysart, where a German, Englishman and Welshman were arrested, after deserting a Norwegian vessel after it had left the Shannon, landing at Knock and travelling to Kildysart. When all three individuals were being escorted through Ennis ‘they were hooted as “German Spies”’.

⁹⁹ *Southern Star*, 22 August 1914, the title read, ‘Alleged Sale of Secrets’.

preference to those of German or Austrian nationality. The resolution was handed to the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin who passed the motion in its next meeting.¹⁰⁰

All of Ireland's German and Austrian consuls were relieved of their positions and duties by the end of August 1914.¹⁰¹ All consular files and work were often passed on to their American Consul colleagues, in order to provide assistance to foreign nationals residing in Ireland.¹⁰² An *Irish Independent* article on 7 August reported that the German (also Jewish) Consul of Belfast, Sir Otto Jaffe, J.P., had to hand over all documents relating to German affairs to the American Consul, the Hon. Hunter Sharp, in accordance with instructions from the German Consulate of London.¹⁰³ The main task asked of the American consuls in Ireland after the outbreak of war was to aid Germans and Austrians to return to their native countries, to either sign up for military service, or to seek transport out of the British Isles and avoid possible prosecution from British and Irish authorities once war was declared. Each consul was given a timescale for their duties to be concluded before assistance to enemy aliens was declared a criminal and treasonable offence by the authorities. The Chief Secretary's Office files contain various examples of German and Austrian residents calling on the assistance of the American Consuls of Ireland to return them to their native countries. One such example referred to the attempts of Dublin's American Consul, Edward F. Adams, to get travel permits for German and Austrian waiters stranded in Dublin (declared a prohibited area since the start of the war), to return to their country of birth, or to a neutral country, like the United States of America. All the reasons given by the applicants were to seek alternative employment (often after being released from their

¹⁰⁰ *Minutes of the Municipal Council of the City of Dublin, 1914*, NLI, IR94133 D9, p. 407, cited in Clare O'Neill, *The Irish Home Front*, p. 90

¹⁰¹ Manz, Stefan, "'Our Sworn, subtle, savage, implacable and perfidious foe'". Germanophobia and Spy-fever in Scotland, 1914-1918', in Joachim Fischer, Pól Ó Dochartaigh, Helen Kelly-Holmes (eds.), *Irish-German Studies 2001-2002, 'Part 1: The Celtic Dimension of the Anglo-German antagonism* (Limerick, 2002), pp. 28-37; Rudolf Agstner, 'Austro-Hungarian Honourary Consulates in Munster, 1845-1914', *North Munster Antiquarian Journal*, Vol. 44 (2004), pp. 39-51

¹⁰² Bernadette Whelan, *United States Foreign Policy and Ireland. From Empire to Independence, 1913-29* (Dublin, 2006), pp. 73-80, gives a comprehensive summary of the American consuls and consulates situated in Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Londonderry and Galway before and during the First World War. She states, 'in 1914 the consul's duties were expanded greatly ... in Ireland ... US consuls took the role of diplomat and intelligence officer along with assisting, protecting and evacuating Americans and other nationals'.

¹⁰³ *Irish Independent*, 7 August 1914. It was not until the *Irish Independent*, 7 November 1914 that it was reported that F. L. Heyn, J.P., of the Ulster Steamship Company, Belfast, resigned his position as Consul of the Ottoman Empire - a position that was held by his family for the past seventy years previous to the war.

positions as waiters at various Dublin hotels). Adams sent letters from 23 August to the Under-Secretary at Dublin Castle. The correspondence was then forwarded to Major Ivon. H. Price,¹⁰⁴ Intelligence Officer at the Irish Command Head Quarters in Parkgate, Dublin, asking whether the American Consul was able to make the travel permit requests for enemy alien subjects and whether they could be granted at such a time of crisis. Eight travel permits were requested in total and the reply from Major Price stated:

It would be highly undesirable to turn these 4 men loose in England without employment. They are much safer, and easier supervised here. However, if they actually intend to sail from Liverpool to America they can make their arrangements for their passage in Dublin, and produce their passage papers to you. Then there is no objection to their being granted permits to leave by North Wall to Liverpool.¹⁰⁵

On 27 August a return letter from E. N. Cooper, the Superintendent Aliens Officer (London), to the Under Secretary at Dublin Castle stated:

Sir,

I am in receipt of your letters ... 25th and 26th Aug[ust] ... I am to state that the Home Secr[etary] has directed that permits cannot be granted to Germans over 18yrs of age unless they are domiciled in the United States. The arrangements you propose for granting permission to proceed to Liverpool are quite unsatisfactory.¹⁰⁶

The next day, the Chief Secretary's Office drafted a letter to the Under Secretary of State. The letter stated the objections from the Home Secretary from a previous letter and duly requested:

[a] suggestion with consent of military authorities, permits have already been issued by L.L [Lord Lieutenant] to 8 alien enemies, all waiters out of work, to allow of their leaving Ireland to embark at Liverpool tomorrow, Saturday, having first produced their passage tickets to New York as evidence that they really intended to leave UK, and not remain in England. In opinion of military it would be a hardship to refuse to allow these men who have paid their passage money to embark. Could instructions be issued [from the] Home Office to [the] Aliens Officer at Liverpool as regards these particular cases? He has been furnished with list of names.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Brian P. Murphy, 'The Easter Rising in the context of censorship and propaganda with special reference to Major Ivon Price', in Gabriel Doherty & Dermot Keogh (eds.), *1916: The Long Revolution* (Cork, 2007), pp. 141-168

¹⁰⁵ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

The list included names and the particulars of aliens and the travel permit requests issued to the Chief Secretary's Office from 17 August. These individuals included:

3 French (1 = Valet – 1 unknown)
3 Austrians (1 waiter & 2 music hall troupes)
12 Germans (2 waiters & 2 music hall artistes, 1 musician, 6 music hall troupes – 1 unknown)
6 Swiss (2 chefs, 1 maid, 1 cook & 1 Governess – 1 unknown)
1 Japanese (student)
3 American (all unknown – possibly tourists)
4 Russians (all unknown – including 1 child)
1 Spaniard (merchant)
1 Swede (sailor)

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The regional police at the incoming ports were warned of each enemy alien entering England and permits were issued to the Chief Secretary's Office. Unfortunately, on 29 August, the Home Office wrote to Dublin Castle stating permits were not to be issued by the Chief Secretary's Office, but permits for friendly aliens could still be permitted from prohibited ports by the Under Secretary. On 9 September, both Kingstown and Holyhead were made approved ports for aliens.¹⁰⁹

This is a clear example of the confusion and poor communication that clearly existed between the various authorities and governing bodies of Britain and Ireland at the start of the war. Dublin's American Consul was right to ask the question whether he was justified in requesting travel permits to enemy aliens and he uncovered a cauldron of doubts, misconceptions and misunderstandings that existed towards the emergency legislation that had just been passed by the Government. There were also questions raised by Dublin Castle concerning Bohemians (who were grouped within the enemy alien bracket but often opposed to the German Empire due to their historical background) and other enemy alien nationalities, such as the Czech-Slovaks and the other minority nationalities that found themselves within the Austro-Hungarian Empire (but again opposed to the ruling autocracy). These cases were sent on to the Home Office for clarification about their being granted travel permits to England and the United States, but only seldom (due to extenuating circumstances) were these aliens allowed to travel during the first two months of the war.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

In October 1914, Emily Esch, the wife of Mr. J. A. Esch (or Eich as was reported in some letters to the Chief Secretary's Office, Dublin), a German and manager of the Golf Links Hotel in Lahinch, County Clare, attempted to gain a travel permit to leave England and join her spouse at the seaside resort of Lahinch. The Ennistymon R.I.C. reported on 11 October that the officer in question knew 'Mr Eich' for

The past five years, during which period his conduct was good [and that he] ... has been manager of the above hotel for the past 4 yrs. He is 53 yrs of age, a German, and a native of Cologne, and has been residing in Britain and Ireland since 1891, having been employed in various hotels [in Britain and Ireland].¹¹¹

The police officer went on to state that:

On the 14th Aug last, I arrested a said German waiter named Fred'k Hartle and he is a POW in Cork detention barrack; and on the same day, at same time and place, I arrested a Frank Butters, an Austrian, and sent him to the Cork barrack also, but he was subsequently discharged by the military as being harmless, and he returned to the hotel where he now is.¹¹²

The travel permit application was subsequently passed to the Under Secretary at Dublin Castle, who granted the permit to Emily Esch/Eich on 31 October, three weeks after the application was received. The Under Secretary believed that she should be allowed to join her husband, as his conduct had been 'above suspicion, there is no likelihood of ... [her] husband being arrested'.¹¹³ The reason why German and Austrian waiters were arrested while the German owner of the same hotel evaded arrest cannot be explained and clearly shows an inconsistency in policy followed by the Royal Irish Constabulary.

Emily Esch/Eich's story was one positive story in a sea of negative reports of German arrests in October. The *Irish Independent* reported on 10 October about the arrest of Harry Koenigs, manager of the Great Southern Hotel, Killarney the previous Thursday. A search of his hotel was made and he was released without charge.¹¹⁴ The *Irish Independent* followed this up with reports on 14 and 15 October, about Joseph Bohn, a German waiter in the Dolphin Hotel, Dublin, who had been initially arrested

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid. This was the only question asked by the Intelligence Officer in his notes of 14 October.

¹¹⁴ *Irish Independent*, 10 October 1914

for giving false particulars when registering with the police as an enemy alien (which he was initially fined 40s). Bohn had stated to the police that he had never served with the German military, but after three interviews at Arbour Hill prison, Bohn gave full details of his service to Major Price, at which point he was handed over to the military authorities.¹¹⁵ Even though no further information has been found on Bohn the likelihood is that he spent the remainder of the war in either a civilian prison (like Arbour Hill or Mountjoy Prison) or a detention camp (such as Oldcastle in County Meath). Many of the German and Austrian civilians arrested for spying allegations, registration irregularities, or not registering at all in the first five months of the war were often detained in local police stations, tried swiftly in the courts, before being transferred to either a local civilian prison or wartime detention camp.

One inmate of Oldcastle detention camp was Frederick Vogelsang, a waiter at the Metropole Hotel, Dublin when the war broke out in August 1914.¹¹⁶ Frederick was detained at Oldcastle from 16 December, while his wife, Mary, was pregnant. The appeal for his release would continue into 1915 with his wife appealing to the Chief Secretary's Office at Dublin Castle and the Home Office in London. Frederick's child was born while he was still incarcerated at Oldcastle. Even though Frederick was guaranteed work by a Dublin pork butcher, W. Youkstetter, at 21 North Strand and 51 Lower Dorset Street, a naturalised British citizen of German origin (the CSORP files even contains a letter from the butcher confirming and guaranteeing Vogelsang's employment after his release, plus two letters guaranteeing his neutrality), his appeal was rejected by the Home Secretary and the Vogelsang family was informed by letter on 29 April 1915.¹¹⁷ Frederick Vogelsang continued his hotel work after 1918, as his name appeared on the wage books for January 1924 and July 1934 of the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin.¹¹⁸ The Metropole Hotel (situated beside the General Post Office, on

¹¹⁵ *Irish Independent*, 14, 15 October 1914

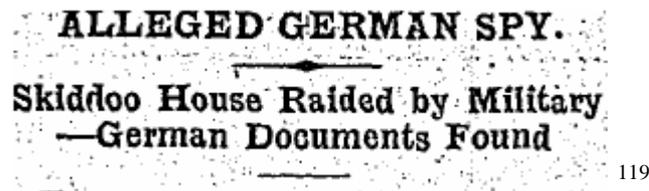
¹¹⁶ 'Application for the release of POW Frederick Vogelsang (German origin)', NAI, CSORP/1915/7084. His Irish wife, Mary, also worked alongside her husband at the same hotel.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute', p. 212. Mac Con Iomaire goes on to mention 'Apart from Brandt, Vogelsang, Saarsteiner and Kevelle, the waiters' surnames suggest them to be Irish. A strong foreign influence is still noticeable from the kitchen surnames. The Swiss were unaffected by the outbreak of the war, but Herr Vogelsang was interned at the Curragh for the duration of the war. When the war was over he "resumed his duties as though he had been absent no more than a few weeks" (quoted in M. O' Sullivan & B. O' Neill, *The Shelbourne and its people*. (Dublin, 1999))

what is O'Connell Street today) which had employed Vogelsang before 1914 was one of many businesses destroyed during the 1916 Easter Rising.

One example where suspicion towards Germans in Ireland proved successful in routing out a spy threat was the case of Hans Heinsen, who resided at Skidoo House, Fingal, North Co. Dublin.



A fortnight before this article appeared, Heinsen was arrested at Skidoo House as an alleged spy and he was charged on 29 August with having in his possession an automatic pistol and two boxes of ammunition, plus thirty suits of clothes, most unworn and a number of documents in German. One room remained locked and unsearched until 18 August when the military and police discovered it contained more German documents, a revolver and two more boxes of ammunition. Capt. O'Callaghan of the General Staff ascertained that:

Two other Germans named Mr and Mrs Mohle, living at 6 Empress Place, Dublin, were in the habit of visiting Skidoo House ... [and Mrs Mohle had recently (after the arrest) entered the house and] ... removed through a window of the house a box which was supposed to contain incriminating evidence.¹²⁰

Capt. O'Callaghan arrested the couple after finding traces of burnt documents in their Dublin house. All three Germans were involved in horse dealing with other Germans and claimed they knew nothing of the Alien Restriction Order and DORA legislation, which the District-Inspector of the Courts simply could not believe.

Heinsen was known to keep aloof from the other locals of Skidoo and even used the alias of 'Charles Hynes'. Heinsen was fined £5 and a further £10 bail for future good behaviour, or two months imprisonment. According to an article in the *Irish Independent* of 25 September, Heinsen had been rearrested and sent to Templemore detention barracks for failing to give assurances to his claim that he had never served in

¹¹⁹ *Sunday Independent*, 30 August 1914

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

the German Army.¹²¹ A number of other Germans also joined Heinsen at Templemore that week after the majority had been arrested in the Ulster region.¹²²

There is also a file on Heinsen in the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, an application dated 29 January 1915 by McMullan & Co., Auctioneers, on behalf of the 'Distressed Aliens Relief Committee', seeking the disposal of Heinsen's property at Skiddoo House. Unfortunately, no other documents have been found on this enemy alien.¹²³

Twenty-one suspected German spies, previously identified by the Security Service and collated by Vernon Kell and his department by 1913, were arrested on 4 August, within hours of the expiry of the British ultimatum to Germany.¹²⁴ One of the most famous spies to have been arrested after the start of the war, who spent a portion of his time around Ireland gathering information of British naval and military bases, was the German, Carl Hans Lody (alias 'the American, Charles Inglis'). Carl Hans Lody was one of the first wartime agents to be despatched to Britain by the Nachrichten-Abteilung ('N' was the initial used by the British Secret Service for Germany's military spy network), to gather information on Royal Navy losses for the German Admiralty. Lody was a German naval reserve officer, who spoke excellent English with an American accent. After interception of his correspondence to an address in Stockholm (which was known to be used by 'N'), Lody was arrested on 2 October 1914, while on his way to Queenstown, one of the main British naval bases in Ireland. Lody was tried and sentenced to death at the Tower of London (the first execution to take place at the Tower for 150 years). Even Vernon Kell, the Head of Britain's Secret Security Service, (later to become MI5) showed his displeasure that 'such a fine man ... [and] brave man ... [as Lody] should have to pay the death penalty'.¹²⁵ Kell believed Lody to be an honourable gentleman, right up to his execution (a view that he did not replicate when it came to the trial and execution of Sir

¹²¹ It is difficult to understand how any German males could claim they never served in the German Army, as military service in Germany had been compulsory for all adult males long before 1914.

¹²² *Irish Independent*, 25 September 1914

¹²³ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

¹²⁴ Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria. The Titles Deprivation Act 1917', *Liverpool Law Review*, 22, (2000), p. 175

¹²⁵ Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, p. 6

Roger Casement). Lody had a German destroyer named after him in the Second World War.¹²⁶

Spy-fever proved to be a major contribution to the way Germans, Austrians and Hungarians (as well as Bulgarians and Turks) were perceived and treated by sections of the Irish public. Even Britain's own royal family, with its German bloodline, was criticised by politicians such as J.G. Swift McNeill (Irish Party M.P. for Donegal), Lord Charles Beresford (Conservative M.P. for Portsmouth), as well as the proprietors and editors of the national newspapers, like Lord Northcliffe¹²⁷ and Leo Maxse.¹²⁸ The Anglo-German hostility created by the naval supremacy race before 1914 created surprisingly little active hostility among the British and Irish people towards Germans and individuals of German birth and descent who continued to occupy prominent positions in public and political life within Britain and Ireland after the outbreak of the war.¹²⁹ In her examination of the Titles Deprivation Act (1917), historian Ann Lyon stated:

A glance at the royal genealogy makes the close family ties of the Royal Family of 1914 with Germany all too clear. The Kaiser was King George V's first cousin, both being grandsons of Queen Victoria. Queen Mary was descended morganatically from the southern German royal house of Wurtemberg. Indeed, the blood running in the veins of the Royal Family was almost entirely German, the most recent ancestor of George V who can reasonably be called British by blood being Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII and wife of James IV of Scots.¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Lord Northcliffe (Alfred Charles William Harmsworth) was born in Chapelizod, County Dublin in 1865. 'Alfred Charles William Harmsworth, Viscount Northcliffe,' *Encyclopædia Britannica Online*, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/419541/Alfred-Charles-William-Harmsworth-Viscount-Northcliffe-of-Saint-Peter>. (12 January 2012)

¹²⁸ Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', p. 176-7, explains that 'It is noticeable too that the calls for "action" to deal with the German links of the Royal Family coincided neatly in time with more general outbreaks of anti-German feeling.' The British royal family's links to their German bloodline was all too evident, as Kaiser Wilhelm II was in fact a grandson of Queen Victoria. Lyon goes on to state that 'George V was, on a personal level, reluctant to move against his German relations ... [for example] he ... attracted criticism from some quarters by including German prisoners in his rounds of patients when visiting military and naval hospitals, and expressing his approval that they were treated in the same way as British patients (e.g. *The Times*, 16 September 1914; *Daily Express*, 28 September 1914; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 December 1914).' The Kaiser himself had to deal with accusations in Germany about his British links in the German press (see Walter Görlitz (ed.), *The Kaiser and his Court: The First World War Diaries of Admiral Georg von Müller* (London, 1961), pp. 41-42).

¹²⁹ Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', p. 174. 'The best known public figures were probably Prince Louis of Battenberg, First Sea Lord from 1912-1914 and father of the future Earl Mountbatten of Burma; and the banker, Sir Ernest Cassel, an intimate of King Edward VII' p.174

¹³⁰ Ibid., p.176

The first royal casualty of the war's anti-German fervour was Prince Louis of Battenberg,¹³¹ a minor member of the royal family through marriage, when he resigned from his position as First Sea Lord, on 30 October 1914, after Lord Charles Beresford had stoked the fires of public discontent towards influential figures with German and Austro-Hungarian descent and royal titles. Battenberg was actually born in Austria, but joined the Royal Navy in 1868 after being influenced by his cousin's wife, Princess Alice (Queen Victoria's second daughter). He became a naturalised British subject thereafter.¹³² He was forced to change his surname to 'Mountbatten' to evade further public hostility and the King gave Prince Louis the title of Marquess of Milford Haven, Earl of Medina, and Viscount Alderney in the peerage of the United Kingdom. It wasn't until after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 and the trial and hanging of Roger Casement in 1916, that the British Government stepped up its restrictions and moved to deprive other members of the British Royal family and their German connections of any official titles that they held, through the Titles Deprivation Act of 1917.¹³³ As the war intensified and moved into 1915, no one with a foreign name or accent was safe; even people with connections to prominent members of the British Parliament and the royal family.

Prisoners of war in Ireland

For military prisoners-of-war (POWs) arriving in Ireland after the outbreak of the First World War, the training camp at Templemore (also known as Richmond Barracks and now the Garda College) was set up at the beginning of the war to house the first batch of POWs arriving on 10 September 1914. Garda Sergeant John Reynolds, who established the museum at Templemore stated in 2002 in an article in the *History Ireland*, "It's a Long Way to Tipperary": German POWs in Templemore', that the barracks were primarily used to detain 300 civilian enemy alien internees at the start of the war. These civilians had to be relocated to other camps, such as Oldcastle, Co.

¹³¹ Archibald Hurd, 'Mountbatten, Louis Alexander, first marquess of Milford Haven [formerly Prince Louis of Battenberg] (1854–1921)', rev. John Van der Kiste, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35134> (26 October 2012)

¹³² An *Irish Independent* (19 March 1915) article stated that the total number of naturalised aliens in the United Kingdom totalled 1,211, with the great majority receiving their certificates before the outbreak of war. 'The number of aliens naturalised in Ireland was very small, only 24, of which 7 were resident in Dublin, 8 in Belfast, and 9 in the rest of Ireland. Of these 18 were Russians, 2 French, 2 Germans, 1 Norwegian and 1 American. One of the two Germans naturalised ... resided in Cork, the other in Co. Meath, both, however, having taken out their papers early last year.'

¹³³ Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', p. 176-77

Meath and camps established on the Isle of Wight, with the first arrival of German and Austrian POWs.¹³⁴ The first newspaper article to mention the detention of Germans at Templemore appeared on 6 September in the *Sunday Independent*, referring to 'eighteen detention prisoners of German and Austrian nationality ... conveyed from Belfast' and arriving in Dublin on 5 September, where they were marched down the quays by a detachment of Irish Rifles to the Royal Barracks. The article concluded, 'it is understood that they were subsequently conveyed to Templemore'.¹³⁵ These detainees appeared to be civilians, as the photograph below from the *Irish Independent* on 14 September seemed to indicate.

GERMAN PRISONERS IN DUBLIN



batch of prisoners escorted by a detachment of soldiers from Amiens street Station to the Royal Barracks on Saturday. The prisoners appeared in a cheerful mood.
"Irish Independent" Photo.

A supporting article from the same newspaper makes mention of:

'Thirty German prisoners, including a batch from Belfast, were conveyed from Dublin on Saturday to Templemore for confinement in the disused civil prison. Three Germans arrested in Limerick and one in Waterford were also dispatched to the same place, as were 115 German Reservists landed at Queenstown from the Dutch vessel Noordam.'

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¹³⁴ John Reynolds, 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary': German POWs in Templemore', *History Ireland*, Vol. 16, Issue 3, (May-June 2008) -

<http://www.historyireland.com/volumes/volume16/issue3/features/?id=114232>

¹³⁵ *Sunday Independent*, 6 September 1914

¹³⁶ *Irish Independent*, 14 September 1914

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

The above article is the first account of military personnel arriving in Templemore, but it also appears that the detention camp was still admitting civilian prisoners of German and Austrian nationality too. The civilian contingent of the detention camp was finally relocated to Port Erin in the Isle of Man by 25 September, as larger numbers of POWs began to arrive in Ireland.¹³⁸

The German POWs arrived in various batches from the frontline between the months of September to November. With the first batch of 115 prisoners arriving by 14 September, they were quickly joined by another 345 prisoners arriving by 23 September (at which point there were about 800 people at Templemore, inclusive of the 300 civilians who were sent to the Isle of Man on 25 September). The *Southern Star* newspaper reported on 26 September that 400 more prisoners had arrived in Dublin, en-route to Templemore barracks and the *Irish Independent* reported the same day that 100 reservists had been brought to Queenstown by the Dutch-American liner, *Noordham*. By the end of September, a further 200 POWs had arrived in the camp. On 14 and 18 October two detachments of 400 soldiers, respectively, were brought to Dublin by the *Duke of Cornwall* steamer, en-route to Templemore, bringing the population of the camp to 1531 prisoners.¹³⁹ The *Irish Independent* reported the final 500 soldiers arriving in Dublin on 8 November, to be housed at the barracks. These soldiers had fought in the Battle of the Aisne.¹⁴⁰

Considering the hysteria created by the August spy-fever propaganda and the arrests of German, Austrian and Hungarian civilians in the British Isles in the first month of the war, the idea of a POW detention camp being set up in Templemore should have caused further resentment and hostility towards these temporary visitors from the town's residents. However, as John Reynolds states:

The arrival of the POWs in Templemore generated much interest both locally and nationally. The magazine of the Royal Irish Constabulary (RIC) commented that the POWs were received 'with much cordiality

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 September 1914

¹³⁹ *Irish Independent*, 14, 23, 25, 26 & 30 September 1914, 14, 18 & 19 October 1914, 9 November 1914; *Southern Star*, 26 September 1914. The Inspector General's Monthly Police Report for September 1914 stated that there were 700 German POWs residing at Templemore. (This information was taken from 'The British in Ireland Series 1: Colonial Office Class CO 904 (Dublin Castle Records), Holding 1812-1926', Part 4 – Police Reports, Jan 1914-Sept 1921 (Microfilm Series – Reel 58, CO 904/94 & CO 904/95).

¹⁴⁰ *Irish Independent*, 9 November 1914

by the townspeople', who had long been campaigning to have the barracks reoccupied for the economic benefit of the town.¹⁴¹

The arrival of the POWs actually brought new life into the town and surrounding region. John Reynolds states that the barracks received many visitors, out 'of curiosity to see the POWs ... [and] local businesses benefited from supplying the barracks, and one enterprising local shopkeeper, Mr Percy, set up a store in the barrack yard to supply the prisoners'.¹⁴² Reynolds goes on to say that there were no attempted escapes by any of the POWs throughout their time at the camp and the prisoners and guards quickly settled into a routine, which involved exercise marches to the nearby village of Barnane, music recitals both in the camp and at the respective churches, which the soldiers attended every Sunday – about half the soldiers were Catholic. As some of the soldiers were skilled tradesmen, they helped the locals to lay parquet flooring in the local convent. Within a couple of months the German soldiers had established themselves as both an attraction and an economic necessity to the town.

The prisoners did still live in a detention camp environment. The two square courtyards were divided into four compounds with armed observation towers, searchlights, and barbed wire. The prisoners were patrolled constantly by the 3rd Leinster Regiment. However, conditions were comfortable and Reynolds even reports that some soldiers were known to say, 'it would take a good many bayonets to get us out of Templemore barracks!' There were also no escape attempts made by the prisoners.¹⁴³ By 'Christmas 1914 it was reported that ... local people came to the barracks to listen to the POWs singing Christmas carols in their native tongue. Despite the ongoing war, a warm and friendly relationship had developed between the prisoners and the local townspeople.'¹⁴⁴ The atmosphere created at Templemore was in stark contrast to what had transpired at the detention camp in the Isle of Man, where there were reports of a mutiny developing among the prisoners by the end of November 1914.¹⁴⁵

A sparse number of civilians could still be found among the uniformed soldiers in the camp. This was due to the capture and trial of suspicious characters found in

¹⁴¹ Reynolds, 'It's a Long Way to Tipperary', Op.Cit.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

Ireland, who were sent to Templemore barracks instead of to Ireland's civilian prisons or detention camps. This was due to the individuals being unable to prove they had not served in the German Army prior to the war, or had been found guilty for acts of espionage. Three cases in particular have been uncovered. The first case is that of Hans Heinsen (already mentioned in the previous section), arrested at first as a suspected German spy and soon after being released with a fine, he was re-arrested and handed over to the military authorities for not giving the correct information on his registration documents. Under interrogation he was unable to give assurances that he had never served in the German army prior to the outbreak of war. He was therefore treated like a German soldier and detained at Templemore arriving by 25 September. Whether he was relocated to the Isle of Man with the other civilian detainees is unknown.¹⁴⁶

The second case was reported in the *Connacht Tribune* on 26 September and refers to Matthew Faller, who was arrested in Galway the previous Thursday for failing 'to produce certain papers that are given to all German subjects who leave that country and who have not received a military training.' Faller had come to Ireland about eighteen years previously and had lived in Londonderry until two years before the start of the war, when he moved to Galway for employment. Due to the individual being unable to prove he had not served in the German Army he was also treated as a German soldier and conveyed to Templemore barracks.¹⁴⁷

The final example that can be found of a civilian being sent to Templemore to serve out his sentence by a criminal court was that of a German pork butcher from Kingstown, County Dublin. Under the heading 'Incarceration or Internment', the *Irish Independent* reported on 8 December that Mr W. Jacob, a German pork butcher from Kingstown had been sentenced to three months imprisonment for assaulting Miss Mary Kelly, from Blackrock, Co. Dublin. However, instead of serving his sentence in a civilian prison, he was, by an order of the Home Secretary, ordered to be interned at Templemore barracks. The defendant's solicitor was clearly incensed by the judgement: 'I don't understand it. I don't think it is a reasonable thing that a man should be harassed with an action until he has had a favourable opportunity for doing

¹⁴⁶ *Irish Independent*, 25 September 1914. For further reference to Hans Heinsen refer to Endnote No. 95-98

¹⁴⁷ *Connacht Tribune*, 26 September 1914

his three months'.¹⁴⁸ It is clear that the trial was that of a criminal case deriving from a civilian dispute, which should have resulted in sentencing being carried out at a civilian prison or detention camp, such as Oldcastle detention camp, in Co. Meath. However, the court judge was treating Jacob as a prisoner-of-war by interning him at Templemore barracks. The court suggested that the defendant's solicitor should write an appeal to both the police authorities and Templemore barracks.¹⁴⁹ This case again portrays the inconsistencies that were developing among the various decision-making bodies when it came to dealing with 'enemy alien' nationalities within Ireland.

Internment of Ireland's enemy alien civilians

Ireland's enemy alien civilian internees, who were moved from Templemore to the Douglas camp on the Isle of Man, were caught up in a serious incident on 19 November 1914. The day before a number of inmates of the Douglas internment camp had started a hunger strike in response to the poor and monotonous diet provided by the camp's officials. But it was only after lunch on 19 November that rioting broke out in the dining hall of the camp, which seated approximately 1,600 prisoners. Prison guards fired a few shots in the air, with little response from the prisoners, who were threatening the guards with broken dining chair legs and cutlery, at which time the guards were forced to open fire on the prisoners, killing five inmates and injuring 19 others.

The internment camp at Douglas had been opened approximately three months before the riot occurred and housed nearly 4,000 German and Austrian civilian internees from the United Kingdom and Ireland, guarded by some 300 men of the National Reserve and the Manx Territorials under the command of Colonel Henry William Madoc. A report from the *Leitrim Observer*, dated 5 December 1914, stated that the prisoners were made up of 'various social grades, but the majority are of the working class – waiters, sailors, stewards and mechanics'.¹⁵⁰ The prisoners were housed in 'two separate camps connected by a subterranean passage under the high road, but they dined together in a large hall with spacious galleries'.¹⁵¹ Disturbance within the camp only materialised with the arrival of a new batch of prisoners within

¹⁴⁸ *Irish Independent*, 8 December 1914

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ *Leitrim Observer*, 5 December 1914

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

the compound. Various incidents of insubordination followed the prisoners' arrival, with guards being insulted a fortnight previous to the riot when a group of prisoners refused to move from the dining hall back to their tents, due to the stormy nature of the night and the inadequacy of their sleeping quarters. The prisoners were allowed to remain in the hall overnight while the protest also led to the erection of huts to replace the tents as a more comfortable means of accommodation. This minor success obviously buoyed the prisoners to a further protest on the evening of 18 November, concerning the quality of the food provided. A U.S. Embassy report later reported that a hunger strike was announced by the prisoners after a shipment of worm-eaten potatoes had been delivered to the camp kitchens and was rejected after a few days.¹⁵² Although the protest was initially quelled the following afternoon the dining hall and guards experienced a more violent protest from the prisoners, resulting in a full-scale riot breaking out in the dining hall and the death of five prisoners and another fifteen injured (later a further four prisoners were admitted to hospital). The first newspaper reports of the incident can be found in the *Freeman's Journal* on 23 November, where it was reported that the riot was used as a distraction for the escape of some of the prisoners, using the kitchens as an evasion route. This theory appeared in the preliminary inquest at the Douglas camp by the High Bailiff of Douglas, James S. Gell, especially taking into consideration that the death of one of the five prisoners occurred when the individual ran along a roof and accidentally stepped through a glass roof window, breaking his skull in the fall.¹⁵³ All of the dead victims had connections to the London area and had probably been part of the new batch of prisoners that had arrived in the last few weeks before the riot. The *Irish Independent* reported on 3 December that a sixth internee had died of his wounds incurred during the riot.¹⁵⁴

The U.S. Embassy representative, Chandler Hale, spoke to a number of the prisoners and guards after the incident, who generally concluded that 'the prisoners were in the wrong and had only themselves to blame'.¹⁵⁵ After speaking with a number of inmates and in particular

one of the most intelligent men ... a German, said a considerable percentage of the men were a bad lot, gathered in from the East of

¹⁵² *Freeman's Journal*, 30 December 1914

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 23 November 1914

¹⁵⁴ *Irish Independent*, 3 December 1914

¹⁵⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 December 1914

London, with several agitators amongst them who preached discontent and insubordination, which was really the direct cause of the trouble.¹⁵⁶

Hale reported that he was happy that the camp's accommodation and food supply was of a suitable standard and of a higher quality than most internment and prisoner-of-war camps on the European continent. The guards on duty acted in a correct manner in quelling the disturbance and bringing order to the riot and it was actually a small group of new prisoners that had brought discontent and disorder to the Douglas camp.¹⁵⁷ The only real negative aspect Hale reported was that 'the 3,300 non-belligerent aliens interned there ... [t]he camp was somewhat crowded, but 1,000 men would be transferred to Peel [another detention camp, also located on the Isle of Man]'.¹⁵⁸ One of the ringleaders of the riot, Curt (or Carl) Vausch, a German, was subsequently arrested and court marshalled for being responsible for the riot and sentenced to five years penal servitude.¹⁵⁹ None of the internees who came from Ireland seemed to be involved or wounded in any of the incidents.

Three undated German reports on British concentration camps can be found in the British Cabinet files (MIC/219/38). The first report stated that 'on the whole, it would seem that our countrymen are treated best of all in the Isle of Man'. This statement came specifically from a German internee that had previously been held at Newbury, which was considered to be the worst detention camp within Britain, before the prisoner had been moved to the Isle of Man. The first report concluded that his experiences at Newbury 'made him [the prisoner] draw too bright a picture [of the Douglas camp on the Isle of Man]'.¹⁶⁰ Of the Templemore camp the reporter could only state that German prisoners had been moved on. The second report was more derogatory of the Douglas camp, as 'things started going badly with the coming of bad weather'. The reporter continued:

The prisoners were quartered in tents ... complaints about food ... which culminated in a general strike against the food given ... the warders suppressed it by violent action, in which five prisoners lost their lives, whilst twelve [were] severely wounded ... In the English press this

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ *Irish Independent*, 30 December 1914

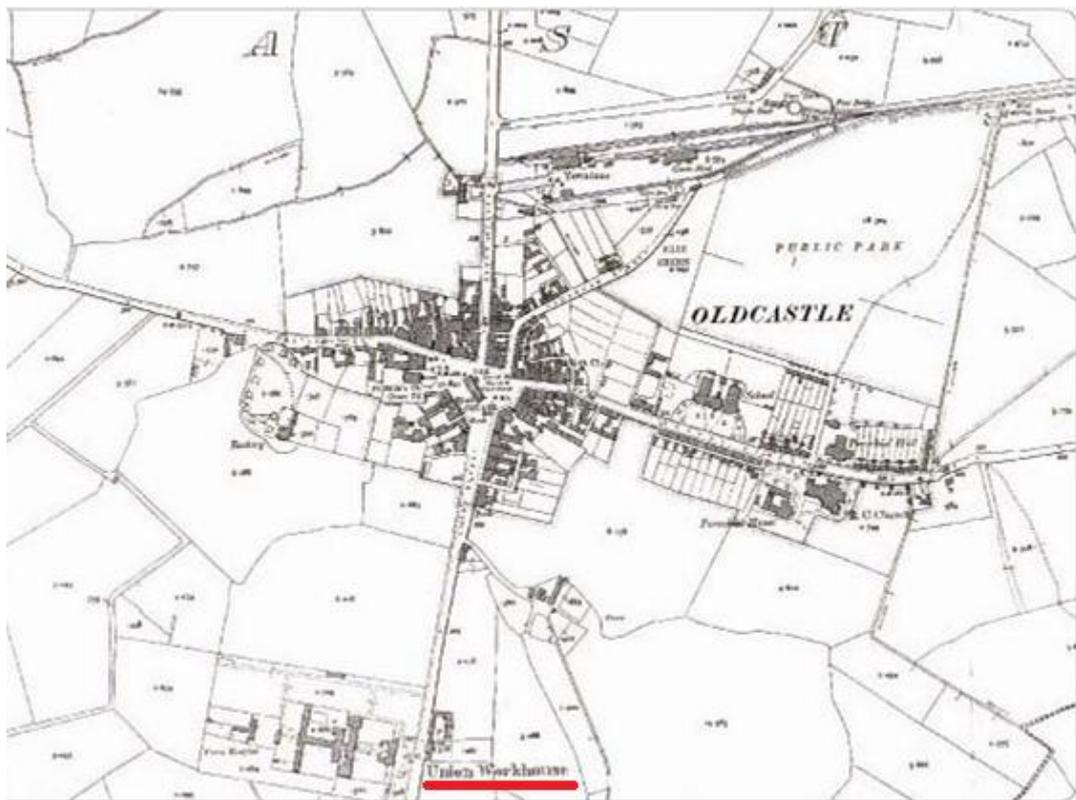
¹⁵⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 16 December 1914; *Irish Independent*, 18 December 1914

¹⁶⁰ 'German reports of Concentration Camps, 21 November 1914', PRONI, MIC/219/38 (CAB 37/123/10)

misadventure was hushed up as far as possible, which is a clear proof that the complaints of the prisoners were fully justified.¹⁶¹

A third report from Germany included a statement from a German Reservist held at Templemore camp, dated 5 October. The prisoner writes that ‘the first despatch of money has arrived, but has not yet been distributed’.¹⁶² This money was probably an ‘allowance’ that was sent by the German government to each registered POW. ‘New camps’ were also spoken of in the report, including one to be established in Cork: ‘Letters from there are coming, but have not yet arrived’.¹⁶³ It was not made clear in the report whether these letters were concerned with the establishment of the camp or prisoners’ letters; however, my research has never uncovered a POW or civilian internment camp ever opened in Cork.

Plate No. 4 1910 OS Map of Oldcastle



¹⁶¹ Ibid.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid.

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.meath.ie/LocalAuthorities/Publications/PlanningandDevelopmentPublications/KellsElectoralAreaPlanningPublications/File.35362.en.pdf> (viewed on 1 April 2011)

With the Templemore camp specifically kept for enemy soldiers, Oldcastle, in Co. Meath was the location decided for another detention camp, created for civilian enemy aliens to be interned after the outbreak of war. The location for the camp was Oldcastle Workhouse, opened in 1842 to provide accommodation and work for 600 of Co. Meath's poor. The workhouse was built south of the town centre, as the above Ordnance Survey map indicates.

The detention camp was not officially set up until November 1914, when the first influx of internees began to arrive. By 7 November the *Irish Independent* announced that Captain R. Johnson V.C., late Imperial Light Horse Infantry, was to be named Commandant of the detention camp, while ex-County Inspector W.W.B. Fausset of the R.I.C. would be appointed Adjutant and Quartermaster at the camp.¹⁶⁵ The *Meath Chronicle* portrayed the dismay and alarm shown by some of Oldcastle's local inhabitants at the injustice shown by Meath's local Board of Guardians, who had been given the task of maintaining the workhouse and caring for its inhabitants. A letter, simply signed 'TARA' was sent to the editor and printed in 7 November edition of the *Meath Chronicle* questioning:

What are the Guardians of the poor elected for? ... Are not the lives of the poor ... just as valuable as those of the stalwart male refugees who are coming from Belgium ... what about the Irish refugees who are being turned out of the Workhouses to make room for soldiers and German prisoners. The L.G.B. think nothing of removing the inmates of some Poorhouses a distance of twenty or thirty miles ... but the hearts of the ... Board bleed with commiseration at the thought of the sufferings of the Poor Belgians.¹⁶⁶

The first arrival of German and Austrian prisoners to the camp brought by train to Oldcastle was as late as 8 December. The sixty-eight prisoners were conveyed, or marched, through the town centre by their armed escort of soldiers, as the train station was situated on the northern reaches of the town, while the workhouse was situated to the south side. This must have created quite a scene for the local residents of Oldcastle, although no reports or photographs of the event seem to have been published in any of

¹⁶⁵ *Irish Independent*, 7 November 1914

¹⁶⁶ *Meath Chronicle*, 7 November 1914. A further article from the same newspaper stated that the Clerk of the Local Board of Guardians demanded a meeting to be set up to discuss the workhouse preparations, after discovering furniture, that was meant to be carefully stored, was haphazardly being flung out while a veil of secrecy existed, embroiling the eventual use of the workhouse.

the newspapers. They were joined on 10 December by a further twenty-six prisoners.¹⁶⁷

A large influx soon arrived after the arrest of thirty German and Austrian civilians in Dublin on the evening of 16 December. The next day's edition of the *Freeman's Journal* covered the story and the *Irish Independent* reported on 18 December that all the prisoners had been interned at Oldcastle Detention camp.¹⁶⁸ Incidentally, the arrests of the thirty enemy alien civilians of Dublin coincided with the bombing and destruction of Scarborough, Hartlepool and other towns on the east coast of England by the German naval forces on the morning of 16 November. These arrests were most likely a retaliatory attempt by the British and Irish authorities to rid the prohibited coastal areas of all remaining enemy aliens, who could give vital information to the enemy for future attacks on the British and Irish coastlines. A proportion of Templemore camp's civilian internees were relocated to the Oldcastle camp by the end of December 1914. A total of 760 inmates eventually passed through the gates of the detention camp at Oldcastle between the years 1914 and 1918.

Conclusion

It is clear after examining the British Government's actions, legislation, communication, support and co-operation needed (and received) by the British and Irish authorities that problems quickly materialised between the various authorities concerning how the laws were to be translated into action at ground level. The bureaucratic and administrative models and the variety of decision-making bodies that existed in London did not exist in Dublin. Therefore the co-operation between the government bodies and police authorities in England, Scotland and Wales was not replicated between Dublin Castle, the D.M.P. and the R.I.C. There was not the same level of supervision between Dublin Castle and its police forces as was maintained throughout the rest of Britain. The result was a sense of confusion and poor communication existing among Ireland's decision-makers and authorities when translating and putting into practice the legislation and restrictions placed on enemy aliens, allowing the creation of loop-holes and grey areas for certain enemy alien individuals to escape the restrictions and return to their country of origin, or migrate to

¹⁶⁷ *Meath Chronicle*, 12 December 1914

¹⁶⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 December 1914; *Irish Independent*, 18 December 1914

neutral countries, such as the U.S.A. Enemy aliens with connections to Whitehall, Westminster or Britain's leaders of the armed forces (such as the avenues that were used by individuals like the German governess, Fräulein Charlotta Weiss) were able to take advantage of the early confusion at the beginning of the war, while individuals like John Joseph Steiner, Frederick Lang or Helene Strassacker suffered at the hands of an increasingly security obsessed government and their social lives disrupted by the wartime propaganda machine. The hysteria, xenophobia and spy-fever created by the British government and the press created serious issues for enemy alien nationalities in Ireland, causing incidents like the anti-German riots in Dublin on 15 August 1914 and the mass arrests of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in December 1914, following the German naval bombardment of England's east coast towns.

However, examples of co-operation between the host nation and their enemy alien neighbours can also be found in letters of support for individuals, such as Steiner, who was recognised as Irish for the extensive period of his residence in Ireland and the generous amount of charitable work he contributed throughout the country. The welcome hand offered to the German POWs at Templemore by the town's residents shows the understanding and sympathy felt towards other individuals (excluding an individual's nationality) embroiled in a war created by autocrats and militaristic leaders. The economic advantages of housing a large body of POWs could also not be forgotten when considering the effects of the POWs on Templemore and its people.

CHAPTER 2

August – December 1914: Friendly Aliens

Confusion existed between the British government and Irish authorities as to who was to be labelled as friendly aliens once war had been declared on Germany and Austria-Hungary. The British government used an individual's passport entry to determine a person's nationality. Therefore, separatist national groups such as Poles, Czech-Slovaks, South Slavs, Alsations and Lorrainers were all labelled as enemy aliens after the outbreak of war, even though these nationalist groups were members of the German or Austro-Hungarian Empires under duress and not of their own choosing. Armenians were regarded as friendly alien refugees only after they were forced to seek refuge from the brutality of their Turkish oppressors due to the massacre and genocide that took place in 1915 (a second phase of Armenian deportations and massacre also occurred after the start of the war). The Armenians had to be given the same treatment as the Belgian refugees who sought help and refuge during the conflict from the German invaders.

The outbreak of war affected other friendly aliens residing or visiting Ireland, such as sailors, merchant seamen and American tourists. The chapter will also examine the effects the war had on Ireland's Jewish communities, as they consisted of Jewish immigrants from both enemy and friendly countries. Public hysteria generated by the British press and government propaganda also led to confusion and wrongful arrests of friendly aliens, whose foreign appearance, name or accent led to false accusations by the Irish authorities and members of the public.

All of the groups mentioned above were well established in Ireland before 1914, but one friendly alien group that arrived in the country as a result of the declaration of war were the large number of Belgian refugees who sought refuge and assistance from Ireland. Over 3,000 Belgian refugees remained in the country throughout the four and a half years of the war. What was Irish public opinion like towards Belgian refugees? Were the refugees welcomed and well received by the country? Was there any comparative differences detected in the levels of generosity to the refugees from Ireland and Britain? These questions will be answered in this chapter.

Belgian refugees

To the Refugees

Come and find sanctuary in Eire,
She will fold you in her tender arms,
Wean you from your thoughts of blood
and fire,
Close your ear's to war's alarms.

Come, she calls you, o'er dividing waters,
Love's common language is her kindly
speech,
And as a mother calls her sons and
daughters,
Her voice your hearts must reach.

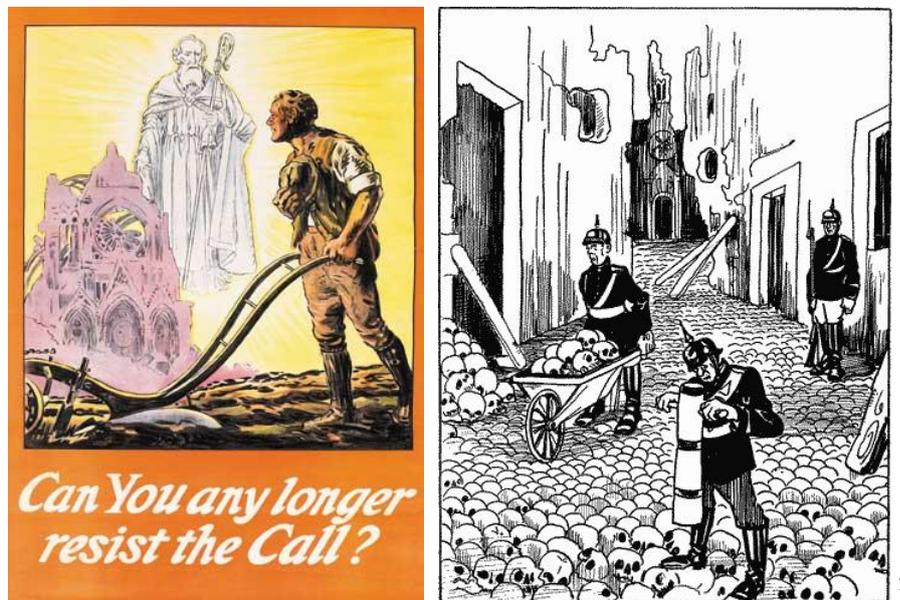
There is a place in every home in Eire,
For all the weary and the sore distressed,
Then come and warm your souls at love's
rich fire,
And find a welcome rest.

IVAN ADAIR.

51 Palmerston road, Dublin.

Winner of a *Sunday Independent* competition, 1 November 1914.¹

The invasion of neutral Belgium by German forces was the deciding factor in Britain's declaration of war against Germany on 4 August 1914. Within a few days the British propaganda machine was in full flow producing articles, pamphlets and posters depicting "Poor Little Belgium" and their German aggressor:



¹ *Sunday Independent*, 1 November 1914

² Poster of farmer haunted by the memory/ghost of the destruction of Louvain and Belgium - <http://www1.htmww.theeasterrising.eu/230WorldWarOne/> (viewed on 15 September 2010); Anti-



3

In the Irish newspapers comparisons between Belgium and Ireland played into the hands of the organisers of Britain's recruitment drive. Belgium was a small, independent, Catholic country and the results of the German aggression could just as easily have been the fate of Ireland. There had been strong historical links between both countries back to the sixteenth century when university cities such as Louvain, which had an Irish college, educated Irish priests and bishops. Now the Belgians were seeking help and refuge from the barbarism of the German aggressor. 'As representatives of a Catholic nation, Irish people had a moral obligation to answer the call and look after them'.⁴

Immediately, Belgian Relief Funds were set up throughout all counties of Ireland and ladies committees began calling for spare clothing, food and provision of accommodation for Belgian refugee families that could soon be arriving on Ireland's doorstep. Society women, such as Lady Aberdeen (the Lord Lieutenant's wife), Dame Flora Lugard, Lilian Spender (wife of Wilfrid Spender) and Mrs Charlotte Despard (the sister of Lord French), to name a few of Ireland's women, became highly involved in relief and distress committees to assist refugees, aliens and families of soldiers and sailors, sometimes travelling the length and breadth of the British Isles to get involved in meetings, giving speeches, writing journal columns, as was portrayed in detail

German Propaganda, 1914, A New Form of Paving for French and Belgian Cities - <http://www.all-art.org/Visual%20History/468.htm> (viewed on 4 April 2011)

³ French propaganda postcard, 1914 - Cartoon showing alleged German atrocities during World War One (LHMCA Liddell Hart 15/2/71/9) - <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/iss/archives/cartoons/3-01pic1.html> (viewed on 4 April 2011)

⁴ Catriona Pennell, 'Going to War', p. 41

through Charlotte Despard's diary entries during the first five months of the war.⁵ Dame Flora Lugard launched the War Refugees Committee and used the Ulster Unionist Council's 'hospitality lists', drawn up before August 1914 and produced to assist in gaining support for the Unionist cause and Protestant refugees that may become the victims in a possible upcoming Civil War that was threatening Ireland before the international war was declared at the start of August. These lists were now being used to garner support and financial aid for the contingent of Belgian refugees that were on their way to Ireland. 'Thus, what originated as a plan to rescue likely Protestant refugees became instead a programme to assist Belgian Catholics'.⁶ These are only a few examples of Irish women becoming involved in charitable work as soon as war was declared.

Articles began appearing in newspapers written by the Irish journalist, poet, barrister and Home Rule politician, Tom Kettle,⁷ who witnessed firsthand the devastation and suffering in Belgium at the hands of the German Army, when he joined the British Army. Kettle's articles soon became a propaganda tool to highlight the German atrocities in Belgium.

**A VISIT TO BELGIUM
BROKEN SOLDIERS IN ANTWERP
SUMMER CAMP" AT OSTEND.
STORIES OF REFUGEES**

(By Professor T. M. Kettle

Ostend and London, August 24.

I had occasion last week to attempt two journeys from Ostend to Antwerp and back—the first on Wednesday and Thursday, August 19 and 20; the second on Saturday and Sunday, August 22 and 23. I thus chanced to be caught in two running tides of refugees—the first movement of real panic in Belgium during the war. The experience remains with me as an impressionistic daub of colour of the most debased school.

FLYING FROM THE BARBAR

From the village about Liege, from Tirlemont, Louvain, and Wavre peasants, shopkeepers, schoolmasters, country solicitors, the wives—too many of them now widows—and children of the men at the front came flying from the German barbarians. They had seen, some of them, their villages in flames. They brought stories of burgo-masters shot because they had remained unarmed at the post of duty, of Belgian Hussars found hanging on wayside trees of women violated and murdered. I admit that many of these stories were probably the exaggerations of fear. But enough, too much, remains solidly established. The corpses are there, and the ruins they cry to God and to men; too, for vengeance⁸ against the terrorists

⁵ Diaries of Mrs Charlotte Despard, August – December 1914, PRONI, D2479/1/2

⁶ Peter Gatrell, 'Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War', *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 26, Nos. 1 & 2, (March/July 2008), p.91

⁷ Donal Lowry. 'Kettle, Thomas Michael', *DIB* (Cambridge, 2009), online version, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4530> (31 October 2012)

⁸ *Southern Star*, 29 August 1914

These articles evoked a different response from radical nationalists and socialists, who placed the blame on Britain for provoking the German invasion of Belgium. James Connolly wrote in the *Irish Worker* on 15 August:

Remember, all you workers, that this war is utterly unjustifiable and unnecessary. Belgium would never have been in the slightest danger if France had not encouraged Russia to prepare to attack Germany. And France would not have given that encouragement to Russia had she not been urged to do so by the secret diplomacy of England. There would never have been a war within two hundred and fifty miles of the Belgian frontier had not the French and English Governments secretly resolved to attack Germany in order to help Russia — the greatest and most brutal foe of human liberty in the world.⁹

However, negative articles were in the minority as the great majority of the Irish public remained horrified over the atrocity stories coming from Belgium and the refugees. Lilian Spender wrote in her personal diary on 21 August:

I wrote to Sir Edward Carson this morning asking if it would not be possible for the Ulster Refugee Committee to transfer its proffered hospitality to the poor Belgians who are being driven in such numbers from their homes by the Germans. We do owe them an immense debt of gratitude for their magnificent stand against those brutes of Germans. I wish I hadn't any German friends. The story of their treatment of poor Mr Drummond Hayes, the Brit[ish] Consul at Dantzig (sic.), and his party, made me boil with rage.¹⁰

The public in Ireland gave generously to the Belgian people and by the start of September contributions of money and clothing began to be collected throughout the country. Many contributions were called for and collected by various bishops. One of the first calls for assistance to appear in the Irish press was from the Catholic Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnoise, the Most Reverend Dr. Hoare, in the *Irish Independent* on 7 September.¹¹ Soon many more appeals appeared in the newspapers. On 5 September the first subscription list to the Belgian Relief Fund appeared in the *Irish Independent*, the total collected was £222 10s. 0d. - the highest contribution of £50 came from a Mr. Le Brocquy, while smaller, but equally significant contributions came from 'A Brussels Schoolgirl' (10s.) and 'A Canadian Lady' (5s.).¹² There were many suggestions of

⁹ Manus O'Riordan, 'James Connolly Reassessed', Op.Cit.

¹⁰ PRONI, D1633/2/20, Personal Diary of Lady Lilian Spender, January-September 1915

¹¹ *Irish Independent*, 7 September 1914

¹² *Freeman's Journal*, 5 September 1914. Mr. Le Brocquy was most likely the father or grandfather of the famous artist Louis Le Brocquy. Mr. Le Brocquy was a Dublin barrister-turned solicitor, and was noted as an oil manufacturer on the 1911 Census Return (70 Northumberland Road, Pembroke West,

accommodation flooding in to the newspapers editors. A letter from J.C. McWalter¹³ to the editor of the *Irish Independent*, published on 15 September, suggested that the grounds of the Linen Hall Buildings (off Bolton Street, Dublin, used for Dublin's Civic Exhibition in July 1914), could provide suitable accommodation for a number of Belgian families. Also suggested was Brunswick Street Library (which could house approximately 300 refugees), the Lord Mayor of Dublin's Mansion House, Crooksling Sanatorium, or the Allen Ryan Hospital.¹⁴ John Redmond was also offered assistance for the Belgian refugees from Dublin's Christian Brothers, who offered to take a hundred Belgian boys, without cost, as well as a temporary home in Cork for around seventy 'women and children of the working class'.¹⁵ By mid-September Belfast's Belgian Relief Fund had raised £858 10s.¹⁶

The first Belgian refugees to arrive on the shores of Ireland were a group of six student priests and nineteen Carmelite nuns from Malines, one of the many Belgian towns that had been devastated by German forces. The town's Cathedral was virtually destroyed and the Church of Notre Dame demolished. The Carmelite priests were students from Bruges, Ghent and Brussels, who met with the nuns at the port of Ostend. They arrived by 10 September on board the Kingstown mail boat into Dublin port. Some of the nuns recalled the horrors experienced in Malines and during their journey across Belgium, including terrifying scenes of children and babies being bayoneted by German soldiers. The nuns were accommodated by the Bon Secours Convent, Lower Mount Street, Dublin, while the student priests were put up in the Carmelite College in Donnybrook, Dublin. One of the students, Brother Patrick Murphy, was actually a native of Dublin.¹⁷ While a number of student priests took refuge in the Irish capital, five novices and one priest, Reverend Father Benedict O.D.C., took up residence in the

Dublin),

http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Pembroke_West/Northumberland_Road/9652/

. The following week, the *Irish Independent* (12 September 1914) printed a further list of contributors, totalling £480 18s. 6d. with the highest contribution coming from the Honourable E. Guinness (£50).

¹³ J.C. McWalter refers to Dr. James Charles McWalter (obituary to be found in *The Dublin Journal of Medical Science*, Series, Vol. 4, pp. 239-240, May 1921), author of *A History of the Worshipful Company of Apothecaries in the City of Dublin* (1916).

¹⁴ *Irish Independent*, 15 September 1914. Thomas J. Fennelly suggested in a letter to the editor of the *Irish Independent* (18 September 1914) using either the Linen Hall Buildings or the Rotunda Rink, for a 'Belgian Village' in Dublin.

¹⁵ *Irish Independent*, 16 September 1914. The article also denies the claims in the press that Belgian girls were being lured into the white slave trade in England.

¹⁶ *Irish Independent*, 15 September 1914

¹⁷ *Irish Independent*, 11 September 1914; *Southern Star*, 12 September 1914

Carmelite Abbey in Loughrea, Co. Galway. Father Benedict arrived in England on the same boat as his parents, who also experienced a narrow escape from Belgium. The priests gained acknowledgement for their endeavours from John Redmond's National Volunteers during speeches and a review of troops held at the park, adjacent to the Abbey grounds, on Sunday 27 September.¹⁸ The priests remained at the Abbey for the remainder of the war.



**A number of Belgian refugees arrived
in Cork on Sunday. Pictures show the Lord Mayor according
them a civic welcome, and (upper photo) a group of aged Belgian refugees. They will be cared for in
Cork by a Belgian Refugee Committee.** 19

On 27 September, fifty-three Belgian refugees arrived in Cork harbour, welcomed by the Lord Mayor of Cork, Dr. O'Callaghan and a large, cheering crowd of locals. The group of Belgians was made up of twelve men, twenty-four women and seventeen children; they came from small towns around Louvain and chiefly spoke Flemish. The Belgians were put up in accommodation provided by the Cork Steam

¹⁸ *Irish Independent*, 29 September 1914

¹⁹ *Irish Independent*, 28 & 29 September 1914

Packet Company, proving ‘very spacious, well fitted and adapted in every way to the needs of a [sic.] hotel. There are several bedrooms, a fine refectory, a kitchen and a roof garden, which gives a splendid view of the city’.²⁰

In Ulster the Monaghan Union prepared to welcome their first contingent of refugees, with a party including the new Under-Secretary, Sir Mathew Nathan, visiting a disused fever hospital on 18 October with the view to it being used to house Belgian refugees. A meeting the next day by the Monaghan Board of Guardians led to a decision to call on the assistance of the County Council and Urban Council to assist in putting the hospital in order.²¹ During the same month, the priests of Derry appointed a group of their fellow clerical brothers to look after the spiritual and temporal needs of the Belgian refugees going to that diocese. Reverends C. McFaul (Omagh), T. Agnew (Dungiven), G. Faulkner (Bellaghy), W. Hegart (Faughanvale), H. McGlynn (Strabane) and J. O’Doherty (Secretary) made up the party.²² By 6 November the *Irish Independent* reported that the Catholic churches of the diocese of Derry had collected over £2,000 for the National Relief and Belgian Relief Funds. By the end of October the diocese of Down and Connor had collected £1,517 2s. 10d. for the Belgian Refugees Relief Fund and many more collections were realised throughout the other northern counties of Ireland.

Over the next three months there were various ingenious ways of raising money, clothing and accommodation for the Belgian refugees, who were continuing to arrive at various Irish ports. National flag days, music and theatrical concerts, collections and even the production of clothing in aid of the Belgian refugees all helped to make the Belgians’ stay in Ireland a bit more tolerable. Dublin’s Belgian Flag Day raised a total of £710 9s. 3 ½ d.²³ Concerns as to the quality of accommodation offered at the start of

²⁰ *Southern Star*, 3 October 1914. The Cork Steam Packet Company also provided the Belgian refugees with the transportation from Fishguard, (Pembrokeshire, Wales) to Cork on the S.S. *Inniscarra*. The article also mentions the Belgian volunteer representative looking after the refugees, who freely spoke of the barbarous reports and stories of the actions of German soldiers, told to her by various members of the group. The representative also emphasised the concern of the refugees in not being allowed to work during their stay – a stipulation of the Belgian Refugee Committee – a worry existing amongst the host nation who may have believed the refugees were arriving to take vital jobs from the local people.

²¹ *Irish Independent*, 20 October 1914

²² *Ibid.*, 24 October 1914

²³ *Ibid.*, 26 September 1914. The Inspector General’s monthly police report for October (received by the Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle) also stated that while Belgian refugees had been arriving in most counties all over Ireland they were being ‘kindly received by all classes’, TNA, ‘*The British in Ireland Series 1: Colonial Office Class CO 904 (Dublin Castle Records), Holding 1812-1926*’, Part 4 – Police Reports, Jan 1914-Sept 1921 (Microfilm Series – Reel 58, CO 904/95).

September was dispelled by the start of October, as the Honorary Secretary of the Belgian Refugee Committee, M. J. Fitzpatrick, stated in the press that ‘the appeal for accommodation and hospitality for refugees has been responded to generously, the offers being more than sufficient to meet the demand’.²⁴ The nuns at Cabra in Dublin were preparing to take up to fifty Belgian children; the Navan Council was willing to place sixteen vacant cottages at the disposal of the Belgian refugees; Reverend R. Barry of Oldcastle was only one of several generous individuals to open his home to a Belgian refugee; while the Lord Mayor of Dublin had received over 150 applications by 15 October from individuals willing to accommodate Belgian refugees in the city and county districts.²⁵ A meeting in Maynooth held on the week beginning 12 October by the Catholic hierarchy resulted in a resolution being passed calling for each bishop in Ireland to draw attention to the ‘needs and suffering of the brave Belgian people and to encourage their flocks to subscribe towards their relief’. Also suggested was a ‘Special Belgian Relief Sunday’ to encourage the collection for the Belgian Relief Fund. The Catholic hierarchy also called for the same generosity to be shown by Ireland’s Protestant bishops.²⁶ In December a concert in aid of Belgian refugees was held at Dungarvan’s Town Hall on 7 December, with Mrs. Dower, South Terrace, Dungarvan, applying for the use of the hall on 30 November.²⁷ On the same day of the concert, the *Irish Independent* reported the success of the Dublin and Belfast Belgian Refugee Funds, who had reached £1,775 10s. 7d. and £5,768 12s 8d., respectively. Collections in the Armagh Archdiocese for distress in Belgium amounted to £1,629 10s. 10d. while the Down and Connor church collections had reached £1,589 13s. 11d., showing the generosity and sympathy of the Irish people to Belgium and the plight of its refugees.²⁸

The call for assistance with accommodation from Ireland’s local councils, the Local Government Board (LGB) and the Catholic clergy was particularly well timed as

²⁴ *Irish Independent*, 30 September 1914

²⁵ *Irish Independent*, 1 & 15 October 1914; *Meath Chronicle*, 3 October 1914

²⁶ *Irish Independent*, 16 October 1914. Sectarian sentiment was often used in newspaper articles written by Irish Catholic bishops, linking nationalist political ideology with Catholic sentiment. The creation of Catholic/Nationalist competition against the efforts of Protestant/Unionist societies in Ireland added an extra element to the war effort in the country. Panikos Panayi supports this analogy with the following comment in *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 143: ‘More recently, a link appears to have evolved between politics and religion in the form of Islamic extremism, although Irish nationalism clearly had a root in Roman Catholicism’.

²⁷ ‘The minutes of meetings of the Dungarvan Urban District Council’, UDC/1/11 (7 September 1914 – 27 June 1919), p.29, held at Waterford County Council Archives, Dungarvan Library.

²⁸ *Irish Independent*, 7 December 1914. By 23 December, the Archdiocese of Armagh collection had reached £1,715, according to an *Irish Independent* article.

during the second half of October a large number of Belgian refugees arriving in Ireland, seeking refuge from the traumas of war. Cork received eleven more Belgian refugees from Antwerp on 13 October and sixty-eight refugees on 16 October, who were housed in Clifton House, Montenotte and the Cork Steam Packet Company's buildings on the city quayside.²⁹ The *Irish Independent* reported on 17 October the imminent arrival of some 600 Belgian refugees the following week. The same report also mentioned the arrival and accommodation of huge numbers of Belgians in the British cities of Glasgow (3,000 refugees) and Birmingham (1,500 refugees) the previous week.³⁰ The first group of 600 Belgian refugees began to arrive on 20 October at Dublin's ports, welcomed by a large Irish crowd, a food reception and transportation organised by the LGB and the London & North West Railway Company (L. & N.W. Railway Co.), while the refugees were to be accommodated in various locations, including Sandymount Castle, Balrothery, Celbridge and Ardee Workhouses, Stradbroke Hall (Blackrock, Co. Dublin), Letterkenny, plus several other locations in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Cork and Waterford (including accommodation provided by Lady Fingall and the Marchioness of Waterford).

BELGIAN REFUGEES IN DUBLIN



The first batch of Belgian refugees, to the number of 80, arrived in Dublin yesterday. A typical Belgian family group is represented in this photo taken at the North Wall yesterday. 31

²⁹ *Southern Star*, 17 October 1914; *Irish Independent*, 19 October 1914

³⁰ *Irish Independent*, 17 October 1914

³¹ *Irish Independent*, 21, 23 October 1914



Belgian children, all quite happy, being conveyed in a char-a-banc to their new home in the city.
 "Irish Independent" Photos.

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 emulsion which
 does not bear this
 trade mark.

SCOTT'S EMULSION

BELGIAN REFUGEES IN THEIR NEW HOME.



Group of Belgian refugees outside Stradbroke Hall, the splendid mansion in which they are accommodated at Blackrock, and some of the men who are already at work in the grounds.

32

³² Ibid.

A further ninety-seven refugees arrived in Dublin on 20 October with a further hundred refugees on 22 October, various numbers of refugees being conveyed to Stradbroke Hall (twenty refugees), Gorey Workhouse (fifty) and Bray (nineteen). Among this new group of refugees was a Hungarian, Jacques Freeburg, arrested by the Liverpool police authorities on suspicion of being a German spy.³³ A further ninety refugees arrived at the North Wall, Dublin on Saturday 24 October transferred to Rathdrum Workhouse (forty-five refugees), Sheriff Street accommodation in Dublin (thirty-three) and the remainder to Balrothery and Celbridge workhouses. It was expected that 2,000 refugees in total would arrive at ports all around Ireland by the end of the month.

Letters published in the *Irish Independent* on 26 October reflected the concerns of the Irish public in using workhouses all over Ireland to house Belgian refugees, clearly stating the public humiliation felt by both the refugees and their Irish hosts. It was later decided by the members of Ardee's Board of Guardians in Co. Louth to set up the old fever hospital, so the transfer of the refugees from the workhouse could take place. There was a general feeling that the Ardee representatives wanted to disassociate the workhouse from the refugees, after general concerns over the use of Ireland's workhouses for accommodation.³⁴

However, the chief concern after 26 October was the safety of the Belgian refugees, when a French steamship, *Amiral Ganteaume*, mistaken for a British troopship, was torpedoed by the German submarine *U-24* in the North Sea and forty Belgian refugees were drowned.³⁵ The increased German U-boat activity around the shores of Britain and Ireland from the start of the war had proved to be a serious threat to both British and American trade links, merchants and naval seamen. However, the sinking of the *Amiral Ganteaume* brought the threat of the war to the homes of ordinary citizens. A further three weeks after the sinking of the *Amiral Ganteaume*, the citizens of Scarborough, Hartlepool, Whitby and England's east coast felt the full wrath of the German navy.

³³ Ibid., 22, 23 October 1914

³⁴ *Meath Chronicle*, 31 October 1914

³⁵ Martin Gilbert, *First World War* (London, 1994) p.100-102; *Irish Independent*, 26 October 1914; *Irish Times*, 31 October 1914. A total of 2,500 Belgian refugees and French peasants were on board the French steamer, heading to England. Hew Strachan, *The First World War, Vol. 1: To Arms* (Oxford, 2001), pp.217-221, also gives details of the sea war between the British Navy and Germany's U-boat fleet

The next issue to materialise with regard to Belgian refugees was their employment in Britain and Ireland. The Belgian Refugees Committee had already stated that refugees should not be allowed to be employed at the expense of potential native employees. The fear was that the employment of Belgians in place of British and Irish citizens could create resentment towards the Belgian visitors. However, adverts were soon appearing in the press with Irish men and woman looking to take advantage of the arrival of Belgians in Ireland:

BELFAST Lady, R.C., would take Belgian
Refugee Woman, 16 to 30, to assist in
housework. Address Box No. 4194, Independent
Office, Belfast. COO

Irish Independent, 11 November 1914

BELGLAN Refugee, R.C., Organist and Profes-
sor of Music requires situation as above; will
give music, French, etc., by arrangement; speaks
English. Address 8006, Freeman Office. gl

Freeman's Journal, 14 November 1914

One of the main stories came from Bray, County Wicklow, where the treasurer of the Bray Belgian Fund was able to lease a field from Mr. Gray, the Receiver of the land, for the purpose of giving employment to some of the Belgian refugees. The Master of the Rolls in the Chancery Division authorised the letting after being persuaded that the employment of the Belgians would not bring them into competition with Irish workers in the area.³⁶

The employment of Belgian refugees soon became a major concern amongst certain sections of the Irish public. Complaints were already arising from the accommodation and funding of physically fit and able Belgians in Ireland, while Irishmen were fighting and dying on the battlefields of Belgium and France, and these were gaining increased attention in the press by November 1914. The Board of Trade and the LGB were considering how to put the refugees to use in occupations where no local labour was available. County Wexford's Committee of Agriculture passed a

³⁶ *Irish Independent*, 3 November 1914

resolution at the end of November, stating that it would be prepared ‘to employ Belgian refugees as agricultural labourers, as long as they did not compete with the local labour supply’.³⁷ However, the question remained, if Belgian males were fit enough to work the land or in other occupations in Britain and Ireland, they should also be fit enough to fight in the armed forces. However, Sir Ernest Hatch, Chairman of the Government Belgian Refugee Fund, continued to champion the idea that Britain and Ireland’s Belgian visitors would be able to make considerable contributions to establishing new trades and new, intensive agricultural methods that could only benefit the British and Irish people in the long term. Specially mentioned was the introduction of the intensive production of beetroot growing, which would not create any competition for Irish farmers as the crop was not previously grown and sold in the country. This idea was championed by the Louth Agricultural Committee who saw some real potential in this area of farming, where Irish farmers could benefit from Belgian tuition in intensive farming methods.³⁸

The conduct of Belgian refugees was also being questioned in various newspapers. An article in the *Meath Chronicle* on 21 November attacked the Belgian refugees residing at the Balrothery Workhouse. A number of the refugees were reported to have been drinking at a local public house before becoming quite boisterous when returning to their residence. The end of the article concluded with the following jovial poem to emphasise that the Belgians’ prankish behaviour should not be analysed with too much scorn:

**Birds in their little nests agree,
And 'tis a shameful sight
When 'Plucky little Belgians'
Foll out aud chide and fight.**

39

The few examples of negative press that were reported were lost among a vast sea of support and sympathy for the refugees’ plight, as hundreds more Belgians were welcomed into communities all around the country. ‘[In the latter weeks of] October 1914, the President of the Local Government Board requested the Registrar-General to

³⁷ *Irish Independent*, 4 & 28 November 1914

³⁸ *Irish Times*, 28 November 1914; *Freeman’s Journal*, 5 & 8 November 1914; *Meath Chronicle*, 12 December 1914; *Leitrim Observer*, 12 December 1914; *Irish Independent*, 30 December 1914

³⁹ *Meath Chronicle*, 21 November 1914

undertake to compilation and maintenance of a Register of Belgian Refugees, with the primary objects of ascertaining their numbers and of enabling the refugees to trace lost relatives and friends.’ This was unlike the reason for the registration of enemy aliens, which had the sole purpose of ridding important strategic areas of spies and keeping a close eye on all other residents of German, Austrian and Hungarian origin.⁴⁰

Negative reactions to Belgian refugees also began to appear in Britain during the same time. By October over 100,000 Belgian refugees had arrived in Britain. Pennell states that although ‘there is little evidence to suggest that charitable behaviour slowed down in late 1914 ... support for Belgian refugees did wane. The common reaction to refugees, after the novelty of their arrival had worn off, was one of annoyance’.⁴¹ Pennell goes on to state class differences between the refugees and the host nation had an effect on the change in attitudes in Britain. A family in Gloucestershire decided on 24 September to take in a Belgian refugee family, but by 20 November there were complaints as the refugees were ‘a bit exacting about their food and garments’ offered them; the Belgian mother refusing a little red coat because ‘red does not suit fair babies’; other refugee families ‘do their own catering and run up huge bills, buying only the best joints and quantities of butter and eggs. Most people agree that they are fat, lazy, greedy ... and inclined to take all the benefits heaped on them as a matter of course’.⁴² These sporadic incidents were not representative of the overall public opinion in Britain towards the Belgian refugees, but it cannot be discounted as it showed a shift of attitudes as ‘dealing with refugees ... became a part of the process of [the British public] settling into war’.⁴³ There is no evidence to suggest that the same degree of ‘annoyance’ towards Belgian refugees materialised in Ireland, or whether more tolerance and understanding between Belgian and Irish people was due to the historical Catholic affiliations and ‘small nation’ similarities that both nationalities shared. The exigencies and reality of war had become more evident to the British public by December 1914, than it had in Ireland, with the ever-increasing lists of military casualties and missing, the first batches of wounded soldiers arriving in Britain and the people’s invasion fears highlighted by the German bombardment of Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool on 16 December.

⁴⁰ T. De Jastrzebski, ‘The Register of Belgian Refugees’, *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol. 79, (2) (1916) p.133

⁴¹ Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, pp.75, 137

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp.136-7

⁴³ *Ibid.*

With the call for Ireland's disused (or under-used) mansions and estates to be used as accommodation for Belgian refugees, instead of the country's workhouses, individuals began to answer the call. Dublin's Mansion House, Sandymount Castle and Stradbroke Hall in Blackrock, were already being used as accommodation for Belgian refugees. Lady Fingall and the Marchioness of Waterford had provided accommodation in October 1914, while Seneschalstown House in Beauparc, Co. Meath was seen as suitable accommodation at the beginning of November, while Lismore College was also approved to house Belgian refugees in the same month.⁴⁴ Joseph Halpin of Gowran Hall, Glasthule, Kingstown started to receive injured Belgian soldiers from the Front, the first group of twenty injured soldiers arriving at the start of December.⁴⁵ The Barrington family of Glenstal Castle, Co. Limerick also accommodated a Belgian family in a cottage on their estate, the husband being employed to work in the estate gardens, while the children attended the local school in the village of Murroe.⁴⁶ The Irish people also continued to hold flag days, concerts and other fund raising events in aid of their Belgian visitors in an attempt to make their first Christmas on foreign soil as tolerable as possible.

Other friendly alien nationalities

The war hysteria created among sections of the Irish public at the start of August led to a number of mistaken identities, as the authorities asked for the public to be on a heightened alert for enemy alien and spy activity and to report any suspicious characters operating cameras or signalling equipment around the prohibited areas of the nation's ports and coastal regions. One of the first examples of mistaken identity to appear in the national press was that of an English tourist, arrested by police on a tram journey from Bray to Enniskerry (Co. Wicklow) on 6 August 1914. He had been

⁴⁴ IE/WCA/PP/LISM/1782, 'Lismore Endowed School' file, Lismore Castle Papers, Waterford County Council Archives contains a letter from Ryan and Company, solicitors, Dungarvan to J.E. Penrose, agent informing him that the Lismore Board of Guardians consented to his proposal to use Lismore College as a premises for the Belgian refugees without prejudice to the impending scheme for the administration of Lord Cork's Charities (30 November 1914). Access is restricted as records less than 100 years are closed due to personal information -

<http://www.waterfordcoco.ie/en/media/archives/pdfs/LISMORE%20CASTLE%20PAPERS-%20Final.pdf>

⁴⁵ *Irish Independent*, 5 November 1914

⁴⁶ Fitzwilliam Barrington, 'A Glenstal Boyhood', *The Old Limerick Journal*, No. 24, (Winter 1988) pp.97-100. An electronic version can be found at www.limerickcity.ie. References to the use of other houses, castles and estates can be found in the *Sunday Independent*, 18 October 1914; *Irish Independent*, 19, 20, 21, 23 & 24 October; 6 November 1914; *Irish Times*, 24 October 1914; *Freeman's Journal*, 5 December 1914

shadowed by the police as he cycled from his hotel in Kingsbridge to the station. He was detained for ten hours before being released, 'with many apologies' from the police. The same article also mentioned an incident in the popular Co. Clare tourist resort of Kilkee, where three armed Kilkee Volunteers responded to a call from the coastguard as to the presence of a stranger sketching at Loop Head. On being questioned about his activities on this particular stretch of coast and informed that the coastguard and Volunteers suspected the individual to be a German spy, the man was able to produce a card stating that he was in fact an English artist. The Englishman did however 'congratulate his captors on their smart work'.⁴⁷ Even Irish natives were being suspected, such as John Sullivan, a Dublin man, who was pounced on by some Middleton men in Cork for having 'a "strikingly foreign" appearance' and was brought to the local police barracks. After being questioned at a Special Court, Sullivan was subsequently released.⁴⁸ The famous whiskey distiller, Sir Andrew Jameson, was also caught by the emergency legislation when he was arrested after a Government alien officer asked who he was when he was boarding the Royal Mail steamer *Munster*, travelling from Holyhead to Kingstown. After jokingly stating he was a German, the alien officer removed Jameson from the ship and both proof of identity and explanations had to be given to a Welsh magistrate, before Jameson could cross back to Ireland the morning after the incident.⁴⁹

Tensions among the general public were also exacerbated by the confusion created by the administrative, military and police authorities towards the new emergency legislation introduced by the British Government during the first few months of the war. Were friendly alien nationalities to be registered with the local police and registration offices? Did they need to apply for travel permits, as enemy aliens were obliged to do? The Aliens Restriction Act (1914)⁵⁰ aimed to monitor all enemy alien nationalities in Great Britain and Ireland, but the restrictions also applied to all other non-British (and therefore non-Irish) nationalities residing or visiting the shores. The fact that there were a number of amendments to the legislation over the first year of the conflict added to the confusion surrounding the intricacies of the new

⁴⁷ *Irish Independent*, 7 August 1914

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20 August 1914

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 16 October 1914

⁵⁰ Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', p. 175; Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 47-8; Amos S. Hershey, 'Treatment of Enemy Aliens', *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 12, (1), (Jan. 1918), pp. 158-9

laws. For example, was an individual an enemy or friendly alien if he had German parentage, or did he/she have to be born in a country recognised as enemy or friendly to be categorised as such, or did it rely on birth certificates and passport entries to clarify the nationality of an individual? These problems occurred for individuals who were born in countries now German-occupied, such as Poland, Lithuania, or the region of Alsace-Lorraine on the French-German border. However, as the individual's passport had not been updated the Polish, Lithuanian or French person could still have German links through their passport entry. One case was that of Edward Tavernier, living in Dublin in 1914 and born in Neuhaus, Germany, to French parents. Edward Tavernier was arrested on 15 October for failing to register himself as an enemy alien. Tavernier had purposely travelled to the Rathmines Police Station, to register himself as a Frenchman; however, as his birth certificate was written in German, the police arrested and charged him with 'a breach [of] the Aliens Registration Act and the Orders in Council made thereunder of the 5th August for having failed to register himself as an "alien enemy".' He was also charged with being in possession of a motorcycle and a photographic camera. The accused admitted to being born in Neuhaus, Germany, but both of his parents were French and he was unable to speak a word of German, as he had only been in Germany a total of three to four months after his birth.⁵¹ His representative later stated at the Southern Police Courts that 'the case opened up a very nice point of international law', as in French law, a person born of French parents, whether born in or outside France, was seen to be French. Then in German law descent alone was the deciding factor. The presiding judge found this to be a very interesting point and taking into account the information, adhered to the fact that Tavernier was of French nationality and in fact an alien friend. Tavernier was therefore discharged.⁵²

However, most nationals of neutral or friendly countries were often treated with sympathy on arriving in Ireland, the majority of whom were sailors, fishermen, merchants and traders, as long as they followed the recognised war protocol of registering themselves with the authorities on entering a port. (The same was true of Ireland's resident friendly aliens.) One such example was that of Alex J. Dimitri (a Romanian) and Jas. Tettlocks (a Canadian), who arrived in Dublin on board the S.S. *City of Swansea* from Rotterdam, after being detained by the German authorities in

⁵¹ *Irish Times*, 31 October 1914; *Irish Independent*, 26 October 1914

⁵² *Irish Independent*, 1 November 1914; *Irish Times*, 7 November 1914

Emden, Germany (close to the German-Dutch coastal border). Both individuals were professional seamen. Both Dimitri and Tettlocks told their stories to the *Irish Independent*, which included their poor treatment by the German forces, Tettlock stating that ‘while in the German prison we were treated worse than dogs’.⁵³

One of the most significant economic effects the war had on Ireland was the impact it had on American tourism. Before the outbreak of the war, Ireland’s hotels and restaurant businesses were enjoying a booming trade by the start of the Edwardian age. Dublin’s Burlington Hotel introduced the first American Bar as early as 1884 to attract a more international clientele to the hotel. By the start of the twentieth century the Burlington Hotel had become the premier restaurant in Dublin, attracting esteemed international guests, among them kings and queens, Lord and Lady Aberdeen (the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his wife), Chief Secretaries, noblemen and gentlemen. It was also ‘the Edwardian age, [when] Americans experienced [a] new-found wealth and indulged in cuisine, fashion, entertainment and travel as never before, resulting in the growth of the tourism industry [in Dublin].’⁵⁴ Hotels were benefiting from increased profits due to American tourism. However, the conflict of 1914 killed off the American tourist trade as tourists immediately tried to escape the various European countries involved in the conflict at the start of August.⁵⁵

There was a large exodus of Americans seeking the first boat out of the country. This was not as easy for Americans as they first thought, as the emergency legislation introduced made Ireland’s ports and coastal towns prohibited areas overnight. Poor communication and confusion between Ireland’s authorities and travel companies in the interpretation of the orders given by the British Government representatives in the Home Office and Dublin Castle, almost led to 400 American tourists being stranded in Ireland at the end of August 1914. Files found in the Chief Secretary’s Office Registered Papers help explain the communication problems experienced, which often existed amongst the various authorities and agencies of Ireland and Britain. The Aliens Registration Order (1914) had strengthened the regulations of the 1905 Aliens Act, particularly restricting all aliens leaving the United

⁵³ *Irish Independent*, 29 August 1914

⁵⁴ Mac Con Iomaire, Máirtín, ‘The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine’, p. 136

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 136-137; Catriona Pennell, ‘Going to War’, p. 40

Kingdom (including Ireland), except from certain designated ports. The problem lay with the communication between London and Ireland as to which ports were to be designated to friendly alien nationalities entering and leaving the United Kingdom. Queenstown was one of the designated ports passed fit for aliens to leave the country; therefore 400 Americans had booked tickets and travelled to the port to embark upon the liner *Cedric* on 28 August. A large number of these Americans were unable to reach Queenstown in time for the ship's departure, due to the problem of being unable to obtain railway tickets from the Great Southern and Western Railway Company. Officials of the company had previously issued notices to all of its rail booking offices that passengers would only be able to book tickets for America, via Dublin port. The military authorities were also under the impression that no further alien nationalities would be able to travel from Queenstown after 30 August. The confusion created by the Great Southern & Western Railway Company also affected a significant number of British subjects who also wanted to sail from Queenstown on 28 August. This confusion is clearly illustrated by a letter from the Collector of Customs at the Customs House, Cork, to the Under Secretary at Dublin Castle. The Collector went on to state in his letter that:

I may add that the Under Secretary of State for Home Affairs had given permission for friendly aliens to embark at Queenstown for 4 weeks from the 14th inst. [until the 11th September], but up to the present no restrictions whatever have been placed on the departure of British subjects.⁵⁶

A tirade of letters followed, with the railway company and military authorities blaming the confusion on Dublin Castle and the Home Secretary in London, while exonerating themselves from any of the blame. A letter from the Home Office to the Under Secretary at Dublin Castle sent on 28 August stated:

I am further to say ... that the Secretary of State has had his attention drawn to orders which appear to have been issued by Authorities in Ireland in regard to the embarkation at Queenstown of American passengers bound for the United States. The question of granting or refusing permits to alien friends to embark at a prohibited port is a matter which is within the discretion of the Secretary of State and ... the Secretary of State now understands that the passengers intending to embark this morning by the S.S. "*Cedric*" have been allowed to embark, considerable and wide-spread inconvenience had been caused by the issue in Ireland previously, as he understands, of orders to the contrary

⁵⁶ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

[and] ... that orders have been issued by the Irish Authorities that in future no aliens can embark at Queenstown. He does not understand on what authority or for what reason these orders have been given. The arrangements which he had made for facilitating at Queenstown the departure from Ireland of Americans who desired to return home were based on full consideration of all the circumstances and were, he believes, in the interests of all concerned. These arrangements were, of course, made expressly subject to Military or Naval exigencies, but the Secretary of State does not understand that the contrary orders in Ireland were based on any such considerations.⁵⁷

Two days later a letter was sent from Sgt. R. M. Greenfield, Brigadier General for the General Officer, Commanding-in-Chief, The Forces in Ireland,⁵⁸ to the Under Secretary of State at the Home Office in London. The letter set out four points regarding the decisions of the military authorities in Ireland:

[1. He states that Military authorities in Ireland have proceeded] in accordance with the Aliens Restriction Act, [which stated] the only approved port in Ireland was Dublin, North Wall.

2. There were 2 courses open as regards these aliens – either to allow them to proceed to Queenstown, or to enforce the restrictions of the Aliens Act which would necessitate their return to Liverpool in order to embark there on American Liners.

3. I desire to point out that no communication was received in Ireland regarding any relaxation of the order with reference to the prohibited port of Queenstown. Provisional permission was given to alien friends to embark on the “Cedric” at Queenstown on 27th instant, and this permission was extended as regards American Liners arriving at Queenstown on 28th to 31st August. This permit has been further extended to the 10th September, on the authority of the Under Secretary here.

4. No inconvenience would have been caused had the military authorities been informed that embarkation at Queenstown had been authorised by the Home Secretary...it is undesirable from a military point of view that any further extension should be granted, as Queenstown is a Defended Port and the Aliens Officers there cannot guarantee, owing to the large number of passengers, that Alien enemies would not escape, or that information would not be forwarded by them through the medium of Alien friend sympathisers.⁵⁹

A letter was also sent to the Home Secretary, from the Chief Secretary’s Office, Dublin Castle (dated 1 September 1914), stating that ‘the Irish Gov has been treated with less

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ According to an *Irish Independent* article (6 May 1916), Sergeant R. M. Greenfield passed away in Croxley Green, Hertfordshire at the age of 59 years. He was formerly a Colonel in the Inniskillings.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

consideration than is usual, and an explanation of what has occurred does not rest upon His Exc. [the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland]'. The letter went on to state that 'under the provisions of the Aliens Restriction Act and the Orders made thereunder, the only approved Port of embarkation in Ireland is the North Wall, Dublin' and that any other orders from the Home Office were not communicated to the Irish Government or Ireland's military authorities. The letter concluded by asking for a conference between the Home Office, Dublin Castle and military authorities to be organised, in order to strengthen communications in the future. The conference, held on 3 September, concluded that friendly aliens would be permitted to embark at Queenstown and Moville (Co. Derry) until 15 September. Letters were sent out on 10 September to notify all railway companies around Ireland of the new date, so that Americans and other friendly aliens would be able to leave for America.⁶⁰ This incident highlighted once more the communication problems which existed between London, Dublin and the Irish authorities and agencies involved with the registration and movement of alien subjects in Ireland. In their book, *Secret Victory: Ireland and the War at Sea 1914-1918* (2009), Liam and John Nolan state that 'between the end of August 1914 and midway through November 1914 ... about 6,000 Americans returned to the United States through Cork Harbour [alone]'.⁶¹

Suspicion of spy activity and pro-German sympathy was not solely limited to enemy aliens. Friendly aliens were also put under the microscope. When the 'Draft Order in Council Consolidating and Amending the Defence of the Realm Regulations' was put to the Cabinet, Reginald McKenna stated in a letter on 4 November that the amendment to Regulation 42, which stated that a 'person [was] prohibited from residing in a neighbourhood of a defended harbour or prohibited area' was 'not an acceptable amendment'. The amendment was extended to include not only persons of suspicious conduct but also any person of alien parentage. Also added to the regulation was that sentries and constables were able to stop and question any pedestrians on suspicion.⁶² Friendly alien nationalities were now being treated with suspicion, culminating in a series of arrests by police, military and port authorities. A report from

⁶⁰ Ibid. A *Southern Star* article (17 October 1914) mentioned that the restrictions on Cork port would be extended to 1 November, to allow further friendly aliens to embark at Cork for America. This was confirmed in a second article in the *Irish Independent* (3 November 1914).

⁶¹ Liam, and John E. Nolan, *Secret Victory: Ireland and the War at Sea, 1914-1918* (Cork, 2009), p. 63

⁶² 'Draft Order in Council Consolidating and Amending the Defence of the realm Regulations' written by Reginald McKenna (4 November 1914), PRONI, MIC/219/37 (CAB 37/122)

the *Connacht Tribune*, 7 November, described ‘insolent Swedes’ on board the vessel, *Karlsborg*, allegedly demonstrating their pro-German sympathies while they were docked in port. On 30 November, the *Freeman’s Journal* reported that the Norwegian fishing trawler, *Nestor*, along with the Danish trawler *King Frederick the Third*, were escorted into Queenstown under naval escort, for suspected mine-laying activities off the north coast of Ireland. They were both flying the neutral flags of their respective countries. This incident came after the sinking of several merchant vessels off the Irish coast, including the refugee steamer, *Amiral Ganteaume*, with the loss of thirty lives, some of whom were Belgian refugees. The issue of mine laying by German vessels, under disguise of neutral vessels, quickly became an issue for the British and Irish authorities, leading to heightened tensions towards any non-British and non-Irish sea vessels that operated around the Irish and British coastline. These increased after Germany’s naval attack on Britain’s east coast towns of Scarborough, Hartlepool and Whitby.⁶³

Anti-British views and pro-German sympathy created problems for many Irish-American newspapers and journals finding their way into Ireland by the start of the war. The police authorities of the RIC and DMP were on high alert for any seditious material coming through the nation’s ports from the United States of America. The monthly police reports sent to Dublin Castle, from every country made specific mention of the attempts by radical nationalists, in association with various Irish-American nationalist groups, to spread anti-recruiting materials throughout the country. In the Inspector General’s Monthly Report for September, he listed the extremist newspapers and journals as the *Enniscorthy Echo*, *Irish Volunteer*, *Leinster Leader*, *Meath Chronicle*, *Roscommon Herald*, *Fianna Fail* and the *Cork Celt*. Other newspapers mentioned in the county reports were *Sinn Fein* and *Irish Freedom*. The Inspector General’s October report also mentioned that

German influence is said to be at work in connection with the Clan-na-Gael in America to stir up disloyalty and opposition to England in this Country, and copies of the ‘Gaelic American’ and ‘Irish World’

⁶³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 30 November 1914; *Irish Times*, 31 October 1914; *Irish Independent*, 20 November 1914

newspapers, and a quantity of anti-recruiting leaflets, are being circulated in Ireland by post from the United States.⁶⁴

November saw a number of arrests made by the RIC in Kerry, Cavan, Cork (West Riding), Monaghan and Donegal, concerning the discovery of seditious materials. On 14 November, a 'Mock Proclamation' was discovered in a village near Glen, Co. Donegal, by police and traced back to 'a returned American named Pat McFadden of Glen, who is a strong Sinn Feiner – he is an American citizen & has been registered as an alien. He is being closely watched'.⁶⁵

In December there were further reports by the police authorities of further seditious material reaching Ireland from America. The *Nenagh News* received the pro-German journal *The Vital Issue* from America, while Roger Casement's pamphlet 'Germany pledges assistance to Ireland' speech were also sent to many counties throughout Ireland from across the Atlantic Ocean. The police reports also noted incidents, such as Athlone's Volunteers being called Germans by a crowd in the town of Glasson while they were on a march. A secret meeting also took place at the house of the radical nationalist, John Daly, in Limerick. Also in attendance was Daly's son-in-law Thomas J. Clarke (later to be executed for his involvement in the Easter Rising of 1916) and it was reported that the attendees all sang the German national anthem.⁶⁶

Neutral countries found ingenious ways to evade the British blockade and ever-extending contraband list, which was preventing neutral vessels transporting raw materials and food stuffs to mainland Europe. Swedish companies, working secretly for the German Government, turned copper ingots into small statues (*objets d'art* were not contraband) to smuggle into Germany, whilst it was discovered that the Danish vessel *Kim* transported twelve times as much lard as Denmark had imported before the war – clearly meant for Germany, where it could be turned into glycerine. By the start of 1915 deliveries from the USA to Germany had declined from \$68 million to \$10 million, due to the effects of the British blockade, but deliveries to Germany's neutral

⁶⁴ 'Inspector General's Monthly Report and individual County reports for September and October 1914', TNA, CO 904/94 & 95, reported that groups like the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB), Ancient Order of Hibernians (AOH) and Irish Volunteers were all being put under the category of 'Sinn Fein' by the police and military authorities in these reports, which has led to confusion among historians in the past.

⁶⁵ The quote was specifically taken from the Donegal County Inspector's Police Report, November 1914 (TNA, CO 904/95).

⁶⁶ Ibid. Details of these incidents can be found in the Inspector General's Report, December 1914 – a specific report entitled 'Subject: Precis of Information. Received in the Crime Special Branch during December 1914' TNA, CO 904/95

neighbours rose from \$25 million to \$65 million, all of which increased suspicion towards merchant seamen and fishing vessels of neutral and ‘friendly’ countries.⁶⁷ The British Government, the military and police authorities operating throughout Britain and Ireland had justification for being suspicious of alien subjects from neutral countries like Sweden, Denmark, and the United States of America, as well as the more obvious enemy alien residents from the Triple Alliance countries.

The treatment of Ireland’s Jewish population

Comparatively little has been written on the wartime experiences of Ireland’s Jewish community. Dermot Keogh’s book *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (1998) has several chapters devoted to the First World War period, while Cormac Ó Gráda and Ray Rivlin have written extensively on the subject of Ireland’s Jewish communities. However, the First World War seems to have been largely neglected as compared to the subjects of pre-war migration, assimilation into Irish society and post-war population decline amongst the various communities within Ireland by most historians writing on this ethnic group.⁶⁸ The 1911 Census recorded the Jewish population of Ireland as close to 5,000 strong and as Cormac Ó Gráda suggests the Jewish communities assimilated into Irish urban society more than any other minority, to the extent that Jewish individuals held important positions within the urban centres of Dublin, Belfast and other urban areas by 1914.⁶⁹ Ó Gráda states that by the eve of the First World War, Dublin’s Jewish community was seen to be both economically and socially better off than many of their non-Jewish neighbours and their Jewish counterparts in London’s East End district.⁷⁰ Dublin had significant areas of Jewish households and businesses, which were in the area from Chancery Lane (near Dublin Castle), up Lower Clanbrassil Street and onto the South Circular Road and

⁶⁷ Mark Ferro, *The Great War, 1914-1918* (2nd ed., London & Henley, 1982), pp. 107-108

⁶⁸ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland: Refugees, Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust* (Cork, 1998); Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce. A Socio-Economic History* (Princeton & Oxford, 2006); O’Grada, ‘Settling In: Dublin’s Jewish Immigrants of a Century Ago’ *Field Day Review*, Vol. 1, Series 1, (2006), pp. 87-99; Ó Gráda, ‘Economic Status, Religion, and Demography in an Ulster Town a Century Ago’, *History of the Family: International Quarterly Journal*, Vol. 13, Series 4, (2008), pp. 350-359; online version, <http://www.ucd.ie/economics/research/papers/2008/WP08.02.pdf>); Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland. A Social History of Jews in Modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2003), pp. 189-210

⁶⁹ Sir Otto Jaffe had been the Mayor of Belfast on two occasions before the war and was the German Consul for the city at the outbreak of the war. Gustav Wilhelm Wolff, founder of Harland and Wolff shipbuilders, was MP for East Belfast for eighteen years. Bethal Solomons (1885–1965), was a medical Doctor and Master of the Rotunda in Dublin, and was also famous for being an Irish rugby international. Maurice Solomons was Dublin’s Austro-Hungarian Consul up to the outbreak of the war.

⁷⁰ O’Grada, ‘Settling In’, pp. 87-99

Grand Canal district of Dublin's south side (affectionately named 'Little Jerusalem' by both local Dubliners and historians alike, also providing residence for other immigrant groups, like Dublin's Italian community), or 'Jewtown' in Cork city.

Before the start of the war in August 1914 paranoia regarding aliens and in particular British Jewry, had been evident with the introduction of the Aliens Act of 1905. The Act was a government measure introduced to deal with the arrival of large numbers of immigrants from Eastern Europe from the 1890s onward. It didn't prevent further arrivals of Jewish immigrants into the British Isles and as the numbers within Britain and Ireland's Jewish communities continued to grow, the communities became more integrated into British and Irish society. Jews were able to participate in society and Jewish values became more analogous to British and Irish values. Just as Belgians arrived in the British Isles as refugees of the war against their German aggressor after the outbreak of the war, Eastern European Jews had arrived as refugees from the despotic and overtly anti-Semitic Tsarist regime in Russia before 1914. Before Britain declared war on Germany, the possibility of Britain fighting alongside Russia as an ally, the *Jewish Chronicle* declared the alliance as 'wicked'.⁷¹

When war broke out in August 1914 the Russian Army began to deport large numbers of Jews residing in the Pale of Settlement on the border of Germany, exposing further the realities of Russia's anti-Semitic policies. Even though the British government was prepared to jeopardise their alliance with Russia by denouncing Russia's treatment of the her Jews, Britain's Jewish communities and their organisations, such as the Anglo-Jewish Association,⁷² decided to overlook the acts of their age-old aggressor, Russia, and their duty to their community, in favour of supporting their adopted protector, Britain, while also showing their support and obligation to the British Crown.⁷³ British and Irish Jewish communities showed their willingness to sign up and fight for their adopted country. According to Rev. Michael Adler, Head Jewish Chaplain to H.M. Forces during the First World War, and author of *The British Jewry Book of Honour* (London, 1922), prior to the introduction of

⁷¹ *Jewish Chronicle*, 31 July 1914, quoted in David Cesarini, *The Jewish Chronicle and Anglo-Jewry, 1841-1991* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 115

⁷² Established in 1871 by Sir Francis Goldsmid

⁷³ Jonathan Hyman, 'Jews in Britain during the Great War', (MA Thesis, University of Manchester, 2001), pp. 11-12

conscription in 1916, 10,000 Jews had voluntarily enlisted for active service.⁷⁴ The Jewish Lads Brigade (one of many youth organisations established by the official Anglo-Jewish leadership to anglicise Eastern European immigrants) contributed 84 officers in August 1914.⁷⁵ However, many more Jews in Britain remained aloof from participating actively in the British Armed Forces and as the majority of Jews in the British Isles remained un-naturalised aliens (and officially citizens of Germany, Russia or otherwise) it is unsurprising that the war mentality after August 1914 led to ‘rampant domestic chauvinism, physical outbursts of xenophobia and distrust and dislike of anything alien’.⁷⁶ The hysteria created by the British press led to many journalists often failing to distinguish between ‘German’ and ‘Jew’. Therefore, when the British Government’s order came through to the police authorities throughout Britain and Ireland within the first two weeks of the war, for the wholesale arrest of enemy aliens in Ireland’s urban cities, towns and prohibited areas, it was not surprising to read reports of Jews of non-German origin also being caught up in the arrests. The *Irish Independent* reported on 13 August the apprehension of two Russian Jewish peddlers at Mullingar while another Russian Jew was arrested at Fermoy. All three individuals were released after hours of questioning by the police. The next day, it was reported by the *Irish Independent* that a Jewish Russian Pole had been arrested at Thurles, Co. Tipperary. The following article appeared in the *Irish Independent* a few days later:

JEWIS IN IRELAND NOT GERMANS
 As an impression seems to prevail in some quarters that Jews in Ireland are connected with Germany, it is well that the public should know that this is not the case. Practically all the Jews in Ireland are of Russian extraction, and, as is well known, they are all loyal and devoted subjects.

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⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 9-10; Rev. Michael Adler (Ed.), *The British Jewry Book of Honour* (London, 1922), p. 4

⁷⁵ Hyman, ‘Jews in Britain...’, p. 16. Richard A. Voeltz, “‘...A Good Jew and a Good Englishman’: The Jewish Lads’ Brigade, 1894-1922’, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Jan., 1988), pp. 124-5, states that 535 members of the Brigade lost their lives in the war, about one-third of all British Jews that died in the conflict.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 12-13

⁷⁷ *Irish Independent*, 13 & 17 August 1914; *Westmeath Examiner*, 15 August 1914. The 14 August 1914 *Irish Independent* article is mentioned in the lecture of Manus O’Riordan’s ‘Justification of James Connolly’, Op.Cit.. For more information on Britain’s press treatment of the Jewish population read C.C. Aronsfeld, ‘Jewish Enemy Aliens in England during the First World War’ *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Oct., 1956), pp. 275-283

The attempts made by some British writers, such as Mathew Arnold and Rudyard Kipling, to racially label and segregate all Jews from the homogenous collective known as the 'English race' at the turn of the century were exacerbated further by the outbreak of war, when politicians and the Press were inclined to portray Jews of all nationalities in an unpopular, derogatory light, as the non-English 'Other' (just as the wartime press painted the 'Irish Celt' in the positive stereotype of a strong, patriotic (English) fighting soldier, for propaganda and recruiting purposes).⁷⁸ For this reason, Jewish individuals were categorised and scrutinised in the same bracket as other enemy aliens during the first few months of the war. The foreign, Germanic-sounding names and alien appearance of Jewish individuals often denigrated their character and reputation within a community. As Manus O'Riordan mentions, it was only through sheer luck that the Dublin mob involved in the looting of German pork butcher shops on the evening of 15 August were too exhausted from their rampage that the Jewish thoroughfare of Lower Clanbrassil Street was not targeted also that night.⁷⁹

Outside of Dublin, the Jewish communities in Belfast, Limerick and Cork did not seem to be anymore affected by the outbreak of war than the rest of the Irish population. Limerick's Jewish population had decreased considerably after the 1904 incident, involving Father Creagh's sermons (also supported by Arthur Griffith and his *United Irishman* newspaper) and the open acts of violence that followed. Most of Limerick's Jewish community had relocated to Cork after 1904 and although both port cities would be restricted by the British Government's wartime legislation, as long as Jewish people registered themselves with the local police authorities and kept within the confines of the travel permit regulations, their daily lives could carry on as they had before the war. The Jewish population of Britain and Ireland followed the example of many of its representative organisations, such as the Anglo-Jewish Association and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, who remained aloof about British government decisions to arrest and intern many Jews as enemy aliens, as well as failing to react to Russian persecution of Jews within the German borders of the Pale of Settlement in the first months of the war; a result of their decision to remain patriotic to Britain and the Allied cause rather than support the Jewish community they were supposed to

⁷⁸ Jon Stratton, *Coming out Jewish. Constructing Ambivalent Identities* (London & New York, 2000) pp.199-200

⁷⁹ O'Riordan, 'James Connolly Reassessed', Op.Cit.

represent. It was safer to keep quiet than attempt to raise their heads above the parapet, in fear of xenophobic recriminations from the British populace.

Prominent German Jewish figures became the main targets for persecution. At the outbreak of war, the German Consul of Belfast, Sir Otto Jaffe, was relieved of his duties (as were all other German and Austrian Consuls in Britain and Ireland, often having to hand over their files and workload to the town or city's American Consul). Sir Otto Jaffe was a distinguished civic leader of Belfast, having served as the city's only Jewish Lord Mayor; he was a Life President of the Belfast Jewish Congregation and had funded the establishment of a physiology laboratory in Queen's University Belfast. He had lived in the city for over sixty years and both his son and nephew were serving in the British army. However, O'Riordan stated, 'his own German birth now made Jaffe a marked man among his fellow-Unionists', eventually forcing Jaffe to flee Ulster altogether by 1916.⁸⁰ Maurice Solomans, an Austro-Hungarian Jew, raised and educated in London, moved to Dublin to start his profession as an optician. He held the position of Austro-Hungarian Consul in Dublin up to the start of the war, when he too had to relinquish the role. He was a strong imperialist (due to his London upbringing), but claimed Irish nationality up to his death in 1922. However, like Jaffe, he was also viewed as an enemy alien at the outbreak of the war, because of his birth place.⁸¹ The fact that German Jews living in Ireland found themselves persecuted and ridiculed by the British government and the British jingoistic press for being Jewish, as well as German or Austro-Hungarian, could have easily been the deciding factor for individuals to develop anti-British and Irish nationalist sympathies.⁸² The First World War also forced Russian-born Leonard Abrahamson to adopt a more Irish nationalist viewpoint. He supported the establishment of an Anti-Defamation League in 1914, as Abrahamson stated:

The virus of anti-Semitic feeling, born of ignorance and fostered by unrelenting prejudice, still courses in the veins of numerous – if not the majority of – Britishers (from the Nurock/Abrahamson family scrapbook).⁸³

⁸⁰ Ibid. O'Riordan reiterates that information on Sir Otto Jaffe was quoted from Dermot Keogh's book *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 6-25 & 69

⁸¹ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland.*, pp. 60-62

⁸² Manus O'Riordan, 'James Connolly Reassessed', Op.Cit.

⁸³ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 62-65

Abrahamson's anti-British outlook seems to have derived from his father's treatment at the outbreak of the war. His father, David, was the victim of anti-German insults and threats of assault in August 1914 by elements in Newry and Bessbrook who 'laboured under the impression that all Jews are German'.⁸⁴ Ray Rivlin holds a slightly different view to why some of Ireland's Jews developed nationalist sympathies during the war. He puts it down to 'a yearning for their own independent homeland [encouraging] ... many Jews in southern counties to empathise with Irish nationalism'.⁸⁵

However, many Jewish businessmen in the country's towns and cities attempted to use other means to try and evade the sporadic wartime anti-German hysteria appearing in some Irish communities. Some Jewish individuals attempted to change their name (their personal names and also their business names). Joshua (Sam) Honigbaum was born in Hull, England, in 1863 to immigrant parents. He moved to Dublin where he opened 'Samuels Bazaar' shopping outlet and music hall at the top of Henry Street (close to Nelson's Pillar and the General Post Office (GPO)). At the outbreak of the war Joshua was compelled to change his surname to 'Samuels', so that he and his business would not be affected by the anti-German hysteria growing throughout the city. Samuel's Bazaar continued to prosper until 1916, when the building was destroyed and looted during the Easter Rising.⁸⁶

Other Jews enlisted in the British Army to escape the persecution. William Nurrock, the son of a Lithuanian Jewish family in Dublin's 'Little Jerusalem' district and a student of Trinity College from 1911, enlisted in the British Army at the start of the war. He later became a well respected member of Dublin's Jewish community and was awarded the OBE in 1933 for his service as Junior Chief Secretary to Sir Herbert Samuel in Palestine after the First World War.⁸⁷ Another Jewish war veteran was Albert Cross, awarded France's most prestigious military honour, the Croix de Chavalier de la Légion d'Honneur, for fighting on French soil in the First World War, in the King's Royal Rifle Corps. Cross was discharged after a year, when the British

⁸⁴ Ibid. O'Riordan's 'Justification of James Connolly' lecture, he quotes Leonard Abrahamson, who stated after the Newry/Bessbrook attacks, 'since the outbreak of the war, the belief generally rampant that all Jews are Germans, has given rise to many unpleasant and reprehensible occurrences. Not only has this erroneous notion gained ground amongst the uneducated but it has been fostered by the repeated linking in several journals – amongst others, *The Times* – of the term Jew and German'.

⁸⁵ Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland*, pp. 189-210

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 81-82

⁸⁷ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 62-65

Army discovered that he was only fifteen years old (too young to enlist). Cross re-enlisted this time joining the Royal Artillery and serving in both France and Belgium. Even though a very dangerous occupation, joining the British Armed Forces proved to be an exciting prospect for many Jewish individuals.⁸⁸

Many Jewish communities found Ireland very uncomfortable, if not menacing, in the early months of the war. Jewish individuals who should have been viewed as friendly aliens (such as the Russian, Lithuanian and Polish Jews) found themselves embroiled in the initial anti-German hysteria, which however subsided after the first few months. This atmosphere led a number of Jewish people to develop their sympathies for the Irish nationalist cause as the war progressed. A. J. (Con) Leventhal, a friend of James Joyce and Samuel Beckett, stated in 1945 that the young Jew's problem was,

He feels a dual loyalty. Patriotically he aligns himself with the country of his birth or adoption, whilst ... he is conscious of his race and religion. That this could interfere with his duty as a citizen never enters his mind. The synagogue even provides a weekly prayer for the welfare of the State and its rulers.⁸⁹

Even though the older generation of Ireland's Jewish community had shown loyalty to their adopted British State, for saving them from the oppressive law of Russia from the late nineteenth century, the younger generation of Ireland's Jewish community held a loyalty to their country of birth, Ireland, and was more likely to be sympathetic to the Irish nationalist cause during the war. The Judaeo-Irish Home Rule Association had been formed in 1908, while individuals like Michael Noyk and Robert Briscoe played important parts in the Republican movement after the 1916 Rising. Robert Briscoe was sent to America by his father in 1914 for fear of his son being conscripted to the British Army. He returned after the 1916 Easter Rising to join Michael Collins and Fianna Éireann. He later became the first Jewish Lord Mayor of Dublin and a prominent Fianna Fáil T.D. in Dáil Éireann. The *Irish Independent* even reported in its 31 August edition that along with the increasing numbers of the Ulster Volunteers and Redmond's

⁸⁸ Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland*, p. 135. According to Ray Rivlin *The British Jewry Book of Honour*, listing all Jewish servicemen who died in the First World War, includes the names of 7 Irishmen: Lieutenant L. Barron, 2nd Lt. S. J. Dundon, Private E Camrass & Private H. Marcus (Dublin); Lt. I. Garfunkle & Private I. M. Freedman (Belfast); Private H. Smith (Cork). A memorial plaque in Belfast also bears the names of Private B. Goldie & Able Seaman B. Sergie, pp.189-210

⁸⁹ A. J. Leventhal, 'What it means to be a Jew', *Bell*, Vol.10 (3) (June 1945), pp. 207-8 (quoted in Dermot Keogh, *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 62-5)

Volunteer forces, a Jewish Volunteer Corps was in the process of being formed in Dublin.

Ireland's Jewish individuals and communities became wrapped up in wartime recruiting, the government policies and actions surrounding the 'alien question', the public and press hysteria that ultimately led to the internment of enemy aliens, as well as the arguments and measures taken concerning Ireland's fight for Home Rule and independence. However, many members of the country's Jewish community found it necessary to remain aloof from publicly becoming involved in wartime activities, simply due to self-preservation from the xenophobic public hysteria that was so evident towards anyone alien and anything that could be labelled as "Other" or "enemy" to the native population.

Conclusion

The British Government's emergency legislation introduced at the outbreak of the war changed the daily lives of all alien subjects residing in Great Britain and Ireland. The Defence of the Realm Act (1914) and the Alien Restriction Order (1914) categorised the different nationalities into enemy and friendly alien subjects and restricted their residence and movement within Britain and Ireland's shores. The personal lives of enemy alien nationalities were affected by the travel and residence permits, demanded by the British Government and Dublin Castle officials, businesses were affected by trade restrictions imposed by the Trading with the Enemy Act (1914) and the inability of businessmen to freely travel around and outside of Ireland.

The hysteria created by the British Government and press propaganda machine created anti-German fervour and xenophobia towards all alien subjects, exacerbated by events like the German atrocities carried out in 'Poor Little Belgium' (a country the Irish public could easily relate to, due to the similarities of size, the struggle for independence and religious affiliations of the two countries); the German naval attack on the British east coast towns of Scarborough, Hartlepool and Whitby, plus the effects of Germany's U-boat war and mine laying activities off the coasts of Britain and Ireland. Coupled with the 'spy-fever' created by the national press and authors, such as William Le Queux, Ireland experienced outbursts of violence towards enemy alien subjects. The most prominent incident was the anti-German riots in Dublin on 15 August where attacks on German pork butchers on the south side of the city which went

mainly unpunished by the police authorities. This behaviour was replicated in other areas, such as Newry and Bessbrook in Co. Armagh where attacks on German businesses would spill over into an attack on the Russian Jewish businessman, David Abrahamson (father of the prominent Dublin Jew, Leonard Abrahamson). This example demonstrated that friendly alien subjects could just as easily be affected, due to an individual having a Germanic-sounding name, accent or foreign appearance.

Enemy alien subjects were detained in camps erected from old workhouses (Oldcastle detention camp at Co. Meath) or army training barracks (such as Templemore camp, Co. Tipperary, which was used for civilian detainees and then German prisoners-of-war after September 1914). The use of workhouses (or 'Poor Houses') often caused further public agitation, as the LGB and local councils would relocate or disregard a town's 'poor' to make way for the 'enemy'. The housing of Belgian refugees in Ireland's ill-reputed workhouses was also a cause for humiliation for the Irish public of the towns and districts involved.

Confusion and poor communication between the various authorities caused havoc to the travel plans of many alien subjects trying to leave the country for safer pastures, such as the American tourists who found themselves stranded in Ireland at the start of the war. Orders and amendments to the emergency legislation often took too long to filter down to the Irish police and military authorities who were given the job of implementing the government's laws and regulations. Travel agencies also attempted to exercise their power, which ultimately created further problems for Ireland's alien subjects. Irish-American involvement in the publication and circulation of seditious material for Ireland's nationalist cause also led to further suspicion of Ireland's American guests in the first few months of the war.

Ireland provided a safe haven for people whose country was at the centre of war, such as the Belgian refugees, who arrived in their thousands to the country's shores. The utmost generosity was shown to these people seeking refuge from their own war-torn countries that had now turned into Europe's battlefields. Even though occasional letters were sent to the editors of Ireland's newspapers, stating their concerns about the refugees' conduct, their accommodation and worries over employment, the country's new arrivals were welcomed at the start of the war and

made as comfortable as possible as their first Christmas and New Year in an alien country came and went.

The Jewish communities of Ireland found themselves in the middle of the alien controversy. The more established pre-1890s Jewish communities consisted of nationalities that included Germans, like Otto Jaffe, who had established themselves as influential individuals within Ireland's regional communities before the war, but now were ostracised as enemies of the state. The post-1890 Jewish immigrant communities that arrived from Russia's Tsarist territories as political refugees had already experienced the xenophobic reactions of the British authorities and its population as sympathy for the new arrivals quickly turned to concern, leading to the Aliens Act (1905) which imposed restrictions and immigration controls on further immigrants entering Britain, mainly those from Eastern Europe. However, with Britain siding with their Russian allies at the beginning of August 1914 meant that Russian-born Jewish immigrants were recognised as friendly aliens. The majority of these immigrants remained un-naturalised aliens in a population that feared anything foreign and alien, which would ultimately cause further problems in the next years of the war.

CHAPTER 3

1915: A Year of Two Halves

During the year of 1915, Ireland had to deal with many strains created by the war. The continual increase in the number of Belgian refugees arriving in Ireland; the effects of the British and German sea blockades on Ireland's shipping, fishing, supplies and passenger businesses; and the sinking of merchant and fishing vessels around the Irish coastline by Germany's U-boats, especially the sinking of the passenger liner, *Lusitania*, in May 1915, all added to the worries over food supplies and the demands on the economy. The public fear of conscription possibly being enforced upon the Irish population; and the spread of seditious, anti-war and anti-British material by the country's radical nationalist groups added political and social pressures to the nation in 1915. These pressures ultimately had an undermining effect on the relations between Ireland's 'alien' nationalities and the host nation during the year.

For the first half of 1915 the continued arrival of Belgian refugees to Ireland dominated the national and local newspapers while discussion of the German menace within Ireland and Britain ceased to be as prominent in the press as it was for the first five months of the war. The main question concerning Belgian refugees was how the country was going to accommodate the increased numbers of refugees entering Ireland's shores. Once accommodation had been supplied, how would the country be able to finance and feed these numbers? Would the Irish people welcome the Belgians with an acceptance of their plight, or would they be greeted with ambivalence, fear or even contempt, a contempt arising from the obligation to accommodate and feed them, while Irishmen left to fight and die on French and Belgian soil. Could the country find a use for the Belgians? Could the authorities use the refugees' skills and expertise? Efforts were made to try and incorporate the knowledge and manpower that the Belgian refugees brought to the country to help advance the productivity of Ireland's existing industries and alleviate the pressures that industries such as agriculture and manufacturing were experiencing due to the wartime restrictions.

This chapter will also examine the role played by Ireland's charitable organisations and their contributions to help the transition of over two thousand Belgian

refugees into Ireland. However, while the Irish gave generously to charities, relief funds and Belgian flag days, ambivalence existed about offering accommodation to the refugees; this was the main reason why the Local Government Board and Boards of Guardians had to turn to various workhouses, old fever hospitals, military training camps and even prisons to house refugees.

While the arrival of Belgian refugees dominated the newspaper columns for the first five months of 1915, the sinking of the passenger liner, *Lusitania* quickly diverted attention back to the German menace and the enemy alien population still at large in Britain. The loss of 1,198 innocent lives on board the *Lusitania* renewed anti-German hysteria and led to a spate of rioting throughout England, Scotland and Wales (as well as the British Commonwealth countries of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa). This resulted in the strengthening of the government's alien legislation and its policy towards the internment and repatriation of enemy aliens.

The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act (1914) came into force on 1 January 1915. British subject status was determined by an individual being born or naturalised within a British dominion, descent, marriage through a British male subject, or if the foreign husband of a British-born wife died. An individual's British status could also be lost due to naturalisation in a foreign state, marrying a non-British subject, a non-British child whose father lost their British subject status, or renunciation. The daily lives of Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Turks living in Ireland and Britain, who had not yet been interned due to their marriage rights or their status as naturalised British subjects changed after May 1915. The question arises as to why Ireland did not experience the same violence and scenes of rioting that many towns and cities in Britain faced during May and June 1915, rioting that was replicated throughout the wider world (in the United States of America, Canada, Australia and South Africa)?

There was certainly 'disillusionment with the war [in Ireland] ... which was reflected in the recruiting figures [and] had complex causes: ... [an] annoyance at the conduct of the recruiting campaign ... [a] foreboding at the formation of the coalition ... which saw opponents of Home Rule in the British Cabinet ... the losses at Gallipoli ... a belief that the Irish units were bearing the brunt of casualties ... [and] the anti-Irish

comments in the British press [due to the falling recruitment figures in Ireland]’.¹ All this national tension might have distracted Irish attention away from the xenophobic tensions building in Britain. However, Ireland’s enemy alien population was still affected by official persecution through the strengthening of alien legislation, and an increased public awareness of their presence in local communities, which led to occasional spates of suspicion and allegations from local people. In examining public opinion to enemy aliens after the *Lusitania* sinking, it will become evident that public reactions to enemy aliens after May 1915 was not at the same levels of hysteria and rioting as was experienced in the rest of the United Kingdom. The reasons for the difference in reactions between the British and Irish people will also be examined during this chapter.

It was not only enemy alien nationalities who felt the xenophobic pinch of the legislation and public suspicion that the sinking of the *Lusitania* created. Anyone with a foreign-sounding name, accent or appearance would experience suspicious glances from a population in fear of the ‘enemy within’. Russian Jews, Scandinavian seamen, Belgian refugees, even American businessmen and tourists were treated with suspicion by a population living with the realities of war on their doorstep.

Irish public opinion experienced confusing messages from all sides of the ideological spectrum, especially from the radical Irish nationalists, gradually strengthening their support by the end of 1915. A.C. Hepburn stated that the Great War brought new elements to the development of Irish nationalism. War brought new prosperity to Irish farmers, enabling their sons to stay at home to provide for the nation. However, increasing food prices throughout the year meant the majority of urban labourers were attracted to military service due to their decreasing living standards. The rural population was often where the radical nationalist groups gained many of their supporters, while the country’s men sympathetic to Britain were dying at the Front. The threat of conscription also meant the concept of ‘Irishness’ and ‘Britishness’ became increasingly more important to Irish people. This was particularly evident when considering the increased attention paid to Ireland’s radical nationalist groups and the rural recruiting problems, illustrated by both the DMP and RIC in their

¹ Deirdre McMahon, ‘Empire and the British-Commonwealth, 1900-1948’, in Judith M. Brown & Wm. Roger Louis (eds.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 4, The Twentieth Century* (Oxford, New York, 1999), p.141

monthly reports to the Inspector General all throughout 1915.² Meanwhile, the nationalist-unionist divisions were made clear in May 1915 when the last Liberal Government came to an end and Asquith was forced to form a coalition government with the Conservatives and Unionists. John Redmond rejected the invitation to join the new government, mainly because he feared that this would destroy the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) due to the threats from Westminster to introduce conscription in Britain and Ireland. It was also believed by Redmond that the IPP was in a strong position to implement Home Rule for Ireland once the war was over. He also had to consider the IPP's 'classic Parnellite principle of "independent opposition" that had been at the core of nationalist parliamentary politics since the 1880s' and the party's renewed adherence to their policy of 'non-participation' in a British Cabinet.³ However, the presence of several unionist leaders in the coalition cabinet significantly weakened Redmond's position and the IPP's hold over Irish nationalism, leading to fears that partition would occur and that Home Rule might even be scrapped. Redmond was also misguided in his belief that the radical nationalists would never have the support and organisation to lead an insurrection.⁴ The Ulster Unionist leader, Sir Edward Carson,⁵ did join the new coalition government at Westminster. The division of Ireland was clearly demonstrated by the comments of the Bishop of Killaloe, Michael Fogarty, to John Redmond on 3 June 1915:

The English have got all they wanted from Ireland, and don't care 2 pence about their feelings ... The people are full of indignation but are powerless ... As far as Ireland is concerned there is little to choose from Carsonism and Kaiserism, of the two the latter is a lesser evil and it almost makes me cry to think of the Irish Brigade fighting not for Ireland but for Carson and what he stands for – orange ascendancy here. Home Rule is dead and buried and Ireland is without a national party or national press ... I never thought Asquith would have consented to this

² A. C. Hepburn, *Ireland, 1905-1925. Vol. 2, Documents and Analysis*. (Newtownards, 1998), p. 13; Inspector General and County Inspectors' Monthly Police Reports for January - December 1915 (CO 904/96-98). For further explanations of Irish nationalism and the First World War see Katy Hayward, *Irish Nationalism and European Integration: The Official Redefinition of the Island of Ireland*. (Manchester & N.Y., 2009), pp. 75-6; Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland: World War One and Partition* (London, 1998); Charles Townshend, *Ireland: The 20th Century* (Oxford & New York, 1999), pp. 68-86; Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History 1800-2000* (London, 2003), pp. 148-52

³ Paul Bew, 'The Politics of War', in John Horne (ed.), *Our War. Ireland and the Great War* (Dubin, 2008) pp. 99-101 & 105-6

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Alvin Jackson, 'Carson, Edward Henry Baron Carson of Duncairn', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed),

Dictionary of Irish Biography (DIB) (Cambridge, 2010), online version, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a1514> (28 October 2012)

humiliation and ruin of Irish feeling. There is a great revulsion of feeling in Ireland.⁶

The year 1915 saw Ireland's 'public mood [shifting] to one of unease [due firstly] to heavy casualties of Irish troops at Gallipoli [and secondly] national apprehensions lest conscription be applied to Ireland'.⁷ The issues of national identity, nationalism, independence, patriotism (towards the Irish nation or the Union) and religion played significant roles in manipulating the attitudes of Irish people towards the enemy and friendly aliens in Ireland.

Ireland's enemy aliens in 1915: internment, the *Lusitania* and conscription

As the war moved into 1915, Ireland was still coming to terms with the conflict and its effects. With many Irish families personally affected by loved ones fighting in mainland Europe, frequently receiving news of the deceased – either in their immediate family circle, or friends and neighbours within their community affected by bereavement – many Irish people no longer considered the war as a distant battle fought against foreign countries on foreign soil. The dominance of the war as a topic of discussion in the local and national newspapers was a clear indicator of the reality of war.

The same can be said for the foreign nationalities residing or visiting Ireland in 1915. The legislation, propaganda, official and unofficial attitudes experienced in Britain were also being mirrored in Ireland. By analysing the newspapers circulating Ireland, the monthly police reports produced by the DMP and RIC, the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers and other official documentation collected by private bodies, this chapter will show how restrictive the daily lives of both enemy and friendly aliens within Ireland continued to be throughout 1915.

Oldcastle's enemy alien civilian internment camp

The year began with the continued increase of the number of enemy alien civilians entering the newly established internment camp that had been created on the site of Oldcastle workhouse, Co. Meath. The Oldcastle (Poor Law) Union and its Board of Guardians were quite unique as it covered the administration of the Poor Law

⁶ A. C. Hepburn, *Ireland, 1905-1925*, p. 144-5

⁷ Eunan O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union: British Government in Ireland, 1892-1920* (Dublin, 1987), p. 110

throughout the three counties of Meath, Cavan and Westmeath since its creation in 1840.⁸ One of the Union's first tasks was to build a workhouse, which was erected on a seven and a half acre site and was fit to receive its first inmates on 6 August 1842.⁹ The workhouse capacity was estimated to be 600 paupers, but by the end of the Irish Famine period, Slater's Directory in 1856 estimated that the Oldcastle workhouse 'affords accommodation for 1,364 inmates'.¹⁰ A fever hospital was built on the site in 1847 and there was also a farm attached to the workhouse.

What attracted the British military authorities to the site were the workhouse facilities – the fever hospital, a working medical dispensary and infirmary, a farm, a chapel, a recently installed water system, including running hot water, washrooms, a laundry, a bakery, several dormitories and an exercise yard – all of which were regularly well maintained and serviced. The numbers of inmates also had considerably declined by 1914, from the numbers that occupied the workhouse during the famine period of the 1840s and 1850s. In the first decade of the twentieth century a Vice-Regal Committee (1903) and a Royal Commission (1909) had reviewed the poor law system and suggested that Ireland's workhouses should be closed down due to their lack of use.¹¹ Nothing came of these reports and Oldcastle's workhouse was restored by the War Office with the arrival of new inmates in the form of German and Austrian civilian prisoners. The close vicinity of a railway station within a mile of the workhouse was a further attraction of Oldcastle's workhouse to the War Office, providing necessary links to the ports of Drogheda and Dublin's North Wall by the Great Northern Railway line. This allowed the easy transfer of hundreds of internees from all over Ireland (and Britain) to the detention camp at Oldcastle.¹²

The Oldcastle Guardians resented the use of the workhouse by the British military authorities, voicing their opinions openly in meetings. This may have been due to the powers given to the military authorities to commandeer any property or land

⁸ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Workhouse and the Poor Law 1838-1920', *Ríocht na Mídhe [Journal of the County Meath Historical Society]*, Vol. 20 (2009), p. 213

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217. Refer to the Ordnance Survey map in Chapter 1 for the exact location of the Oldcastle Union workhouse.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 224

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 236; Smith, John. 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918' *Ríocht na Mídhe [Journal of the County Meath Historical Society]* 21 (2010), pp. 214-16. Oldcastle workhouse may not have had as many inmates residing on the premises (there were only 51 inmates at the workhouse by October 1914), as the Board of Guardians had begun to provide considerable outside assistance to the under privileged across the region.

¹² Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918', pp. 215-16

deemed necessary for military use and the fact that the Board of Guardians had no say in the decision of Oldcastle workhouse taken over as a civilian internment camp. One confrontation that arose between Oldcastle's Guardians and the Commandant of the internment camp, Major Johnson, was over the use of the dispensary residence (built in 1913 for Dr. Fagan, the workhouse doctor). The Guardians believed the removal of Dr. Fagan would be detrimental to the local inhabitants of Oldcastle, who relied on his medical services, while Major Johnson believed 'at a time of war military priorities took precedence over local interests' and saw the dispensary as an ideal residence for his officers.¹³ It was not until the end of January 1915 that a rental agreement for the property was agreed, but the building was not formally handed over to the military until May 1915. The tense relations between the Board of Guardians and the military authorities were also due to the argumentative nature of a minority of the Board, who did not share the same patriotic concern for the war as Major Johnson.¹⁴

The first enemy alien arrivals at the camp were in November 1914 and by 26 December the number of internees reached 149. Internees continued to arrive throughout January 1915 and by early February there were 304 enemy aliens interned at Oldcastle. The Germans and Austrians celebrated the arrival of the New Year. Patriotic songs and religious hymns could be heard reverberating from the confines of the camp. *The Meath Chronicle* reported on 9 January that 'the music loving folk in Oldcastle speak enthusiastically of the harmonised singing of the Germans and especially of one who possesses a tenor voice of extraordinary power and sweetness'.¹⁵

Interaction between the internees and the local inhabitants of Oldcastle was due to the hobbies and activities that were taken up by the Germans and Austrians to help pass the day-to-day life within the camp. The trading skills of many of the civilian prisoners led to the manufacture of furniture, jewellery, shoes, toys, also tailoring, carpentry and painting, resulting in several items being sold to Oldcastle locals. Commendably the military authorities allowed many of these enemy alien civilians to continue a business-like normality, even though they found themselves in an atmosphere of barbed-wire confinement through no fault of their own. This interaction with the Oldcastle locals undoubtedly helped many internees adjust to this temporary

¹³ Ibid., p. 220

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 221-22. Further reference can be found in the Poor Law Minute Books, (Oldcastle), January-May 1915, Meath County Library, Navan, Co. Meath.

¹⁵ *Meath Chronicle*, 9 January 1915

life of incarceration. Major Johnson also wrote to the Guardians about a large consignment of stone left on the camp grounds and whether this material could be broken up by the prisoners and sold off for material, another attempt to keep the internees active and busy.¹⁶

The numbers of internees entering Oldcastle internment camp continued to increase throughout February and March, as more German and Austrian nationals were arrested throughout the country.¹⁷ An increased effort by the police and military authorities in Ireland to arrest enemy aliens was in part a reaction to the military and naval efforts of Germany and Austria-Hungary. Reports continually appeared in the Irish press of German and Austrian acts of barbarism on the Western Front, while German naval attacks on the British east coast in November 1914 were followed by German air raids on Britain's coastal towns, at Boston and Sandringham (east coast) and Yarmouth (south coast). Ireland's coastal towns also received invasion warnings. On 21 January the *Irish Independent* reported that police, acting under military instructions, had warned the residents of Killiney, near Kingstown (Dún Laoghaire) and Dundalk 'to be ready in case of a raid or invasion to leave their homes within 24 hours, and carry off or destroy anything that might prove useful to the enemy'.¹⁸ On 19 January the *Irish Independent* reported that a mine had been washed ashore off the northern Irish coastline, near Portrush, Co. Antrim. February and March brought further enemy reprisals with the presence of German submarines patrolling British and Irish waters, causing damage, disruption and more importantly, innocent civilian casualties, to the shipping lanes of the British Isles. This enemy threat to the British and Irish home front naturally brought repercussions to the enemy alien population.

Throughout Ireland, suspicion of their foreign neighbours was intensified and arrests of enemy aliens increased between January and April 1915. On 23 January the *Anglo-Celt* (Cavan) newspaper reported that five enemy alien sailors (four German and one Austrian) were arrested at Queenstown (Cobh), on board the Norwegian vessel,

¹⁶ Ibid., 30 January 1915; Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918', p. 227

¹⁷ The increase of internees into Oldcastle's camp was also due to the closure of Templemore's military POW camp between February and March 1915. A small number of enemy alien civilians had been detained at Templemore during the first five months of the war. The *Irish Independent*, 2 February 1915, reported the transfer of twenty enemy alien civilians from Templemore camp to Oldcastle camp.

¹⁸ *Irish Independent*, 21 January 1915. This was not an isolated occurrence. On 15 August 1914 the *Sligo Champion* had published a 'Call to Arms to the Manhood of Sligo' arguing that 'County Sligo as a coastline is liable at any time to be raided ... It is the bounden duty of every man fit to bear arms ... to protect his home and family from the foreign invader'; Catriona Pennell, 'Going to War', p. 43

Socrota/Socotra/Scotia (depending on different newspaper reports). The vessel had come from Argentina. The five enemy aliens were interned at Templemore POW camp by the end of January, due in part to the false return of their nationality papers by the Norwegian captain, Kristaan (or Krestian) Hansen. Hansen only received a fine of £50 for his part in the incident.¹⁹ A similar incident occurred in Queenstown, reported on 27 March by the *Irish Independent*, involving the arrest of five more Germans on board the Argentine vessel, *Strousa*. No further information was reported on these arrests. On the same date it was reported that an additional two hundred prisoners arrived through the gates of Oldcastle's internment camp, brought from all over Ireland as the mass arrest and internment of the country's enemy alien population gathered pace.²⁰ According to the historian, John Smith, all of the camp's enemy alien internees were civilian, barring one naval officer.²¹ So, it is reasonably safe to assume that any enemy alien civilians arrested in Ireland from 1915 onwards were sent to Oldcastle.

So, what was life like for the prisoners at Oldcastle camp? It was difficult to hide the fact that the camp's location was a poor law workhouse, which had proven to be a very depressing and embarrassing experience for those in Ireland who had to turn to the workhouse for food and shelter, because they found themselves in financial distress. However, Oldcastle workhouse and grounds seem to have been well cared for and maintained by the Poor Law Union and its Guardians, with amenities available that many houses in Ireland's towns and cities would struggle to match. Major R. Johnson V.C., the commandant of Oldcastle internment camp, seemed keen to have all amenities and facilities of the workhouse site at the disposal of the military, so that the internees could be adequately housed and cared for. Major Johnson was very aware of the problems of the Isle of Man internment camps that led to rioting by the inmates in November 1914 and keen for such an incident not to occur again under his command. John Smith mentions one visit that took place in June 1915 of 'an eyewitness account by a "Mullingar correspondent"' who subsequently reported in both *The Midland Reporter* and *The Meath Chronicle* newspapers.²² Very little was reported out of the

¹⁹ *Anglo-Celt*, 23 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January 1915; *Irish Independent*, 2 February 1915

²⁰ *Meath Chronicle*, 27 March 1915. It is likely that such a large consignment of prisoners would have been comprised of enemy aliens held in the prisons and jails throughout Ireland, and an overflow of internees from the overcrowded internment camps around Britain (and even Ireland's enemy alien civilians that had been moved from Templemore camp to the Isle of Man camps in September 1914.

²¹ Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918', p. 224

²² *Ibid.*, p. 226; *Meath Chronicle*, 19 June 1915

ordinary for prison life. The internees were often found 'passing their time idly', others exercising; generally all prisoners seemed in good health and well fed and clothed; there appeared to be strong security around the camp; 'the whole building looks exceedingly clean and has a modern appearance, much of the characteristics of the Union "workhouse" have been deleted. The grounds in front are nicely decorated with flowerbeds'.²³ A U.S. Embassy (London) visit in the summer of 1916 reaffirmed the condition of the camp and its inhabitants.²⁴ Details of the camp's food provision was also detailed in a House of Commons session in December 1915 and subsequently reported in the *Meath Chronicle* on the 18 December:

DIETARY SCALE IN OLDCASTLE DETENTION CAMP.

In the House of Commons during the week Mr. Vincent Kennedy asked the Chief Secretary if he would state how many Germans were interned at Oldcastle, and would he give in detail the diet supplied to them, and state whether any, and if so, what occupation is found for them.

Mr. Tennant—The answer to the first part of the question is 583. The scale of rations approved for prisoners of war is as follows:—bread, 1lb. 8ozs., or biscuits, 1lb.; meat, fresh or frozen, 8ozs., or pressed, half ration; tea, $\frac{1}{4}$ oz., or coffee, 1oz.; salt, 1oz.; sugar, 2ozs.; milk, condensed one-twentieth of a tin (1lb.); vegetables, fresh, 8ozs.; pepper, one-seventy-second of an ounce; cheese to be allowed as an alternative issue for butter or margarine; 2ozs. of peas, beans, lentils, or rice. I cannot answer the last part of the question without making special inquiries.

The inmates' religious requirements were also catered for by the military authorities. A travel permit application found in the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers, dated

²³ Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918', pp. 226-7

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 227-8. As with their visit to the Douglas detention camp in 1914, the U.S. Embassy (London) had the responsibility as a neutral body to check that international rules were being adhered to by the British government in respect to the care and accommodation of POWs and interned enemy aliens.

15–25 February 1915 was granted to Pastor Rozenkranz, permitting him to travel from Liverpool to Oldcastle’s detention camp to attend service there.²⁵

The public perception of enemy aliens after the sinking of the passenger liner, *Lusitania*, by a German submarine on 7 May 1915, took on a more sinister image in Britain. Britain’s right-wing politicians and press created a xenophobic reaction in the general public that led to mass rioting on the streets of many towns and cities in Britain against the country’s enemy aliens. It is important to stress that in comparison to Britain no direct rioting or individual attacks on Germans ever took place within Ireland as a result of the *Lusitania* sinking, while the xenophobic reaction by the national and local press in Britain appeared to have had little effect upon the Irish people and their outlook on Germany and German people after May 1915. The residents of Kinsale, Queenstown and Cork who experienced at first-hand the devastation of the sinking of the *Lusitania* off the Old Head of Kinsale and the subsequent rescue of survivors and the retrieval mission of the 1,198 bodies that were lost with the ship, looked upon enemy aliens in their midst as the culprits of this murder at sea of innocent civilians, but there appeared to be no reports of violent reaction to the small contingent of enemy aliens resident in the southern counties of Ireland. With ‘many of the bodies of the dead ... recovered and laid out publicly in Queenstown, where they were viewed, identified, sketched and photographed’, the coroner of Queenstown was quick in announcing his verdict of ‘wilful murder’ against the captain of the U-boat that sank the *Lusitania*.²⁶

²⁵ ‘Files of enemy and friendly aliens’, NAI, CSORP/1915/13931; Kenneth Steuer, *Pursuit of an “Unparalleled Opportunity”: The American YMCA and Prisoner-of-War Diplomacy among the Central Power Nations During World War I, 1914-1923* (Columbia, 2009) offers further details on Pastor Rozenkranz’s role as secretary of the National Committee of the German YMCA and his involvement in POW relief operations in Germany and Great Britain: ‘A German factory owner in Barmen, Rosenkranz played a prominent role in the National Committee of the German YMCA during World War I. He attended the World’s Alliance Plenary Meeting in London in July 1914 and made an address to the delegates. Rosenkranz became involved in POW relief operations when he became the President of the War Prisoners’ Aid Committee of the German National YMCA when Archibald Harte established that organization in May 1915. This committee secured patrons to support War Prisoners Aid (WPA) operations, distributed books to Allied POW’s, and provided general assistance to prisoners.’

²⁶ Nicoletta F. Gullace, ‘Friends, Aliens, and Enemies: Fictive Communities and the Lusitania Riots of 1915’, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (Winter 2005), p. 348



This photograph, originally published in the *New York Times*, shows a funeral at one of the mass grave sites in Queenstown, Ireland where many of the bodies washed to shore. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis, HU040606)

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Public shock and images such as the above photograph published in the *New York Times*, which was witnessed first-hand by locals of Irish coastal towns and villages, meant that the public image of enemy aliens living in these localities undoubtedly changed from May 1915. The local atmosphere created by the recovery missions of the dead bodies, the public images of the survivors of the sinking, who wandered the streets of Queenstown and Cork, shocked and traumatised by the ordeal and the stories and photographs which appeared in national and international newspapers must have been tense enough for the German manager of the Queens Hotel in Queenstown, Otto Humbert (a naturalised Briton since 1905, with an English wife), to quickly go into hiding in the hotel's wine cellar, afraid of recriminations following the sinking.²⁸ The shockwaves from the incident were felt further afield. A letter sent to Sir Edward Grey from Sir A. Hardinge in Madrid on 13 May stated that the *Lusitania* sinking had produced,

²⁷ Ibid., p. 350

²⁸ Liam, and John E. Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 70

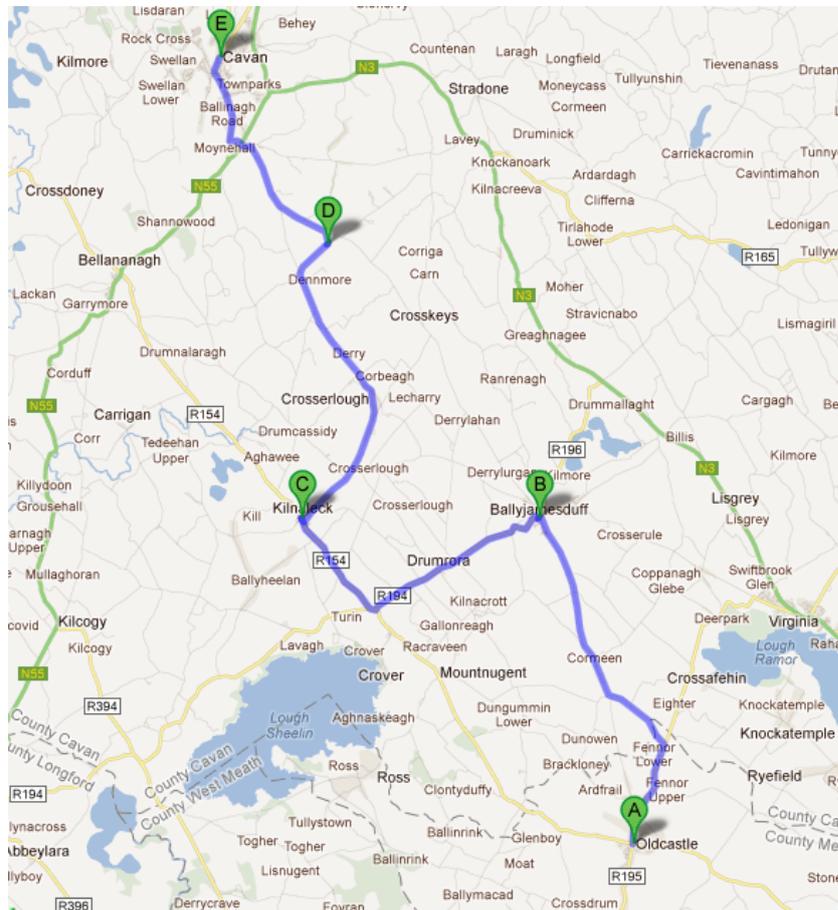
‘a very painful impression on Spanish public opinion ... even those elements of Spanish society which have ... been in sympathy with Germany, have been profoundly shocked by the horrible accounts of the wholesale drowning of neutrals and women and children ... I have published a communiqué in the press, denying the German story that the *Lusitania* was an armed cruiser and therefore liable to be treated as an enemy man-of-war.’²⁹

Whether this horrific incident changed the atmosphere within Oldcastle’s detention camp and the internees’ treatment by the military guards thereafter is difficult to say from the individual reports of the ‘Mullingar eyewitness’ or the U.S. Embassy report. However well cared and catered for the prisoners of Oldcastle appeared to be from these reports, it did not prevent the civilian prisoners attempting to escape the monotonous confinement of prison life. It is clear that the rate of escape attempts from Oldcastle’s camp significantly increased from the second half of 1915 onwards, due to a stricter approach taken by Major Luxome (who had temporarily replaced Major Johnson as the commandant of the camp during July/August 1915) and the soldiers who guarded the camp. The fact that many of the escape attempts at Oldcastle detention camp took place during the period of Major Luxome’s command shows that the civilian prisoners were so clearly distressed that they chose to risk their own lives to try and escape from the camp. The first of the post-*Lusitania* escape attempts was made in August 1915. On 9 August, twelve Germans and Austrians arrived at the camp, arriving from all parts of Ireland. The *Meath Chronicle* also reported that several other enemy alien prisoners had arrived the previous week.³⁰ On 11 August Carl Morlang (25) and Alphonsus Grein (24), previously working as ship’s officers before the outbreak of the war, successfully escaped the camp by cutting through the barbed wire entanglement and evading the six heavily guarded look-out posts surrounding the camp. The *Meath Chronicle* stated on 14 August that the escapees had not been recaptured, but it was reported that the prisoners had received a visit by two ladies arriving from Dublin the day before their escape. There were suggestions that a prepared escape plan had been organised, involving a motor car, to help explain how they evaded recapture. In the same edition the *Meath Chronicle* also reported that ‘two cyclists speaking Irish’ had wrongfully been arrested by RIC policemen at Cavan, in suspicion that the

²⁹ ‘Letter from Sir A. Hardinge (Madrid, 13 May 1915) to Sir Edward Grey (received 25 May 1915) re: *Lusitania* sinking’, PRONI, MIC 219/40 (CAB 37/128/24)

³⁰ *Meath Chronicle*, 14 August 1915

individuals may have been the escapees from Oldcastle.³¹ A week later the *Meath Chronicle* reported their recapture and details of where they had gone.



Distance travelled by Morlang and Grein equated to approximately 25 miles, from Oldcastle (A), Ballyjamesduff (B), Kilnaleck (C), Denn (D) and Cavan (E) (taken from Google Maps - <http://maps.google.ie/maps?hl=en&tab=wl>). Google Maps has done a journey via today's road network, however, the prisoners travelled across country most of their journey to evade detection.

They had made their way 'across the country, passing through Ballyjamesduff and Kilnaleck' and onto the village of Denn, en route to Cavan. At Denn, Grein called into a public house, where he treated the guests to free drinks, before both prisoners moved onto Cavan and the Farnham Arms Hotel. On Friday night a constable, responding to reports of 'suspicious looking pedestrians', made his way to Cavan where he arrested Morlang – dressed 'in clerical attire' and calling himself Mr. Rev. White from Templemore – and Grein, at the hotel. The next port of call for the prisoners was the

³¹ Ibid; *Anglo-Celt*, 14 August 1915

local train station to entrain for Belfast. Both had plenty of money and had road maps in their possession.³²

The *Meath Chronicle* also reported the arrest of Charles (Charlie) Fox, a well-known auctioneer, merchant and local Sinn Fein activist. Fox was charged with ‘aiding and abetting two German prisoners to escape’.³³ He had been previously arrested and his house searched when the prisoners were still on the loose, but had to be released due to no evidence being found. However, the second arrest by the RIC led to Fox being handed over to the military authorities and detained at Arbour Hill Detention Barracks in Dublin. Fox was defended by two prominent Members of Parliament, Timothy M. Healy (North East Cork)³⁴ and J.C.R. Lardner. Fox also boasted of his contacts in high places, including his friendship with Arthur Griffith, the founder of Sinn Fein. Something (or someone) worked in his favour as Fox’s case never reached the courts. The Sinn Feiner was released without trial.³⁵ Fox returned to a fanfare and ‘rejoicings in Oldcastle’, with ‘the Workingmen’s Club Brass and Reed Band ... playing in the town square ... [supported by] torch bearers. Many people came in from the country to participate in the rejoicings’. John Smith has stated that many local anecdotes exist in the Meath locality about Charlie Fox’s part in the escape of the two German prisoners and how he avoided serious punishment, but he states that it remains ‘folklore’ amongst locals and not fact. Smith believes it was the military contacts afforded by Fox’s wife that helped her husband escape trial and sentence. ‘His wife had previously been married to a British officer, who had been killed in India ... [and] used military contacts to get her husband acquitted.’ This story again is based on rumour and not fact.³⁶

The second escape attempt was made on 15 September, involving Christian Deichman, a twenty-eight year old German sailor.³⁷ Two days later a wrongful arrest

³² *Meath Chronicle*, 21 August 1915; Smith, ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918’, pp. 230-1

³³ *Meath Chronicle*, 21 August 1915; *Irish Times*, 20 August 1915; Smith, John, ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp’, pp. 231-2

³⁴ Paul Bew, ‘Healy, Timothy Michael (1855–1931)’, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/33788> (19 October 2012)

³⁵ *Irish Times*, 21 August 1915; *Meath Chronicle*, 21 August 1915; Smith, John, ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp’, pp. 231-2

³⁶ *Meath Chronicle*, 28 August 1915; Smith, ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp’, pp. 233; John Smith, *The Oldcastle Centenary Book* (Navan, 2004), pp. 36 & 217

³⁷ Smith, ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp’, p. 234. An article from the *Meath Chronicle*, 18 September 1915, has the prisoner’s name as Hans Christian Deschman and his age at twenty-five years. The *Irish Independent*, 7 October 1915, when reporting on the prisoner’s capture, he gave his name as Christian Hans Dockmann.

was made at Balrath when a casual farm labourer was taken into custody. He would be marched under police escort from Clonmellon's police station to Kells Barracks (approximately eight miles in distance). The labourer was subsequently released without charge. Deichman was finally apprehended at Limerick Docks by the local constabulary, on board the Norwegian steamer *Ladas*. He had evaded arrest for two whole weeks.³⁸

There were perhaps some reasons for the internees' frustrations and escape attempts. It is clear by the success of two separate escape attempts in such a short period of time that the security and organisation of the camp and its guards could certainly be questioned. One reason for this lacklustre organisation of security might be due to the change in leadership of the camp. Major Luxome had temporarily replaced Major Johnson as the commandant of the camp during July/August 1915 and a report on 14 August by the *Meath Chronicle* detailing the Morlang/Grein escape stated that there had been some 'grumblings' about the withdrawal of some privileges by Major Luxome. John Smith has questioned whether camp life under Major Luxome had become stricter.³⁹ The organisation of the security carried out by the guards had either become more lax under Major Luxome, or the internees themselves were more eager to leave the camp due to harsher treatment. The change of attitude that Major Luxome's arrival brought to the running of the camp may have been a backlash from the *Lusitania* sinking in May. A report in the *Anglo-Celt* on 22 May mentioned strong suggestions made by the Oldcastle Union and Castlerahan Rural District Council (RDC) to put the internees to work 'instead of going around the roads singing ... these Germans are able to cut turf' (this was referring to the weekly marches that the internees undertook as part of their exercise routine); 'should not the fellows down in the workhouse be brought out to work in the bogs? ... They should be made to do

³⁸ Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 234; *Irish Independent*, 7 October 1915

³⁹ *Meath Chronicle*, 14 August 1915; Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 231. Clare O'Neill 'The Irish Home Front', pp. 99-100, states that Major Luxome (she spells his name as Colonel Lushcombe) was also the Commandant of Stratford Camp in East London when Richard Notschke (Richard Notschke & Rudolf Rucker, *An Insight into Civilian Internment in Britain During WWI*. (Maidenhead, 1998)), was interned there. Notschke described the conditions of the camp under Luxome/Lushcombe as a "chamber of horrors", with his complaints having to be escalated to the American Embassy representative after the Commandant dismissed them completely, telling them how good they had it compared to English prisoners in German camps. Notschke received a similar lack of sympathy from the American Embassy, who replied, 'it is wartime. I get this kind of complaint in every camp'.

something for the country'.⁴⁰ Even though resentment towards the enemy alien prisoners was portrayed by some of the Guardians and councillors of the region, no action was taken on these suggestions.

Another reason already touched upon with the alleged involvement of Charlie Fox and the first escape attempt in August, was the increasing support gained by Irish nationalist groups, such as Sinn Fein, the Irish Volunteers and the Gaelic League within the Meath locality. Fox's public reception on his return to Oldcastle after his release from Arbour Hill Barracks (mentioned above) clearly shows the support shown towards some of the leading Sinn Fein members within these rural areas. It was also a case in point that German and Austrian military prisoners had already been moved from Templemore to a more secure compound at Leigh in Lancashire in February and March 1915, due to rumours that the local nationalist groups were planning escape attempts of some of the prisoners (this will be discussed in the next section of this chapter).

Even before the recapture of Deichman at the start of October, a number of changes took place at Oldcastle's detention camp. The *Meath Chronicle* reported on 2 October that there was to be a change of guard at Oldcastle. A new division was to take over security of the camp. The same report mentioned that a new telephone line had been established between the detention camp and the Oldcastle post office to 'considerably facilitate the work of locating escaped prisoners'.⁴¹ Whatever measures were taken to reduce the risk of escape at Oldcastle the escape attempts did not stop, even with the return of Major Johnson as commandant by the end of the year. There would be three more escape attempts throughout 1916.

Even under the increasingly tense atmosphere created after the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the public rioting against enemy aliens and their property throughout England, Scotland and Wales partly created by the xenophobic retaliation of the British press, the families of enemy alien internees would still receive help and financial reprieve from the authorities and public bodies. A considerable number of German and Austrian male citizens interned in Oldcastle and other camps across the British Isles were married to British wives and had British-born children, some of whom fought in the British armed forces. Therefore, even though the wives of enemy aliens were

⁴⁰ *Meath Chronicle*, 22 May 1915

⁴¹ *Meath Chronicle*, 2 October 1915

considered 'enemy' also, as they had to take the adopted nationality of their husband on getting married, the British authorities could not simply turn their backs on the mothers of sons who were fighting for the country. In many cases families had lost their sole breadwinners when many Germans and Austrians were interned. Therefore, under the discretion of the LGB and local Boards of Guardians, British-born wives of interned enemy aliens could apply for a financial grant to assist with their living costs while their husband was incarcerated. One such example at Oldcastle was Mrs Hilman Knowles, the wife of an interned clergyman, Rev. Dr. Knowles. He had been compelled to ask for internment on 28 August 1915 due to lack of employment offered him because of his nationality.⁴² Another worry for Mrs Knowles and many other wives of interned aliens were the increasing prices of food staples, clothing and fuel. This led the authorities to raise the amount of the grant by 1s. 3d., to 9s. 3d. in June 1915.⁴³ Many wives of interned aliens, such as Mrs Knowles, sought the assistance of the state during the second half of 1915, due to the extension of the Government's internment and repatriation policies.

Before the formation of the coalition government in May, families of enemy aliens were finding it hard to get answers to their appeals for release of their husbands and calls for assistance from Asquith's Liberal government. The procedures for appeal were long and drawn out. One example was that of Frederick Vogelsang (already mentioned in Chapter 1). His wife Mary Vogelsang (née McQuillan) started the appeal for her husband's release from Oldcastle in December 1914, as she was struggling without income to look after her family and was also pregnant. A letter of appeal was sent on 26 January 1915 to the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin Castle, stating her 'delicate state of health'. She had given birth to a baby boy by her next letter dated 20 March and it was eventually the end of April before the Vogelsang family received confirmation that Vogelsang's appeal was turned down by the Home Office.⁴⁴ Mary Vogelsang passed away shortly after the end of the war and 'lay in an unmarked grave from her young death ... until 2004, when her family erected a stone over her grave.'⁴⁵

Victor Zorn, a German interned at Oldcastle on 29 December 1914 also went through a similar fate as Frederick Vogelsang. Even with connections through his

⁴² *Meath Chronicle*, 18 September 1915; Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', pp. 237-8

⁴³ *Irish Independent*, 17 June 1915

⁴⁴ 'Application for the release of POW Frederick Vogelsang', NAI, CSORP/1915/7084

⁴⁵ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 113

father-in-law, Alderman C A James, of ‘Washington Hall’, Strand Road, Merrion, Co. Dublin, by the start of May 1915, it had been reported by Sir Matthew Nathan, Under-Secretary of Ireland to the Home Office that ‘the General Officer Commanding the Troops in Ireland has considered this case and will not consent to the release of Zorn.’⁴⁶



Picture of Victor Zorn’s (and his wife, Phoebe Elizabeth) gravestone, found in Deansgrange Cemetery, Dublin. Picture from http://www.igp-web.com/IGPArchives/ire/dublin/photos/tombstones/deansgrange-sw2/images/222_zorn.jpg - the inscription reads ‘In | Loving Memory | of | my beloved husband | VICTOR ZORN | died 3rd Sept. 1934 | also his wife | PHOEBE ELIZABETH | died 6th November 1967 | Peace Perfect Peace’.

Luckily, after May 1915, the new coalition government realised the predicament of many British-born wives and children of interned enemy aliens, taking pity on their plight and offering them financial assistance at a time when food, clothing and fuel prices were increasing exponentially since the start of the war.

The closure of Templemore’s POW camp

The reason for the closure of Templemore’s POW camp and transfer of over 2,300 strong military prisoners between January and March 1915 is a cause for debate. John Reynolds states that the ‘official reason for the move - as reported in the RIC magazine - was that sanitary facilities in Templemore were not up to standard, and also that the barracks was now required as a training depot for Irish soldiers preparing for the front.’ Reynolds goes on to state that a secret report compiled by the RIC Special Branch

⁴⁶ ‘Victor Zorn seeks release from Oldcastle Detention Camp and permit to USA’, NAI, CSORP/1915/6865. Victor Zorn’s gravestone can be found at Deansgate Cemetery, Dublin

believed there was an escape attempt being planned by Pierce McCann, a senior member of the Irish Volunteers in Tipperary. The plan was to attack the barracks at Templemore and liberate all the military prisoners, possibly in the hope that they would return the favour by helping out in an Irish insurrection against the British sometime in the near future. McCann was known to have links with other Volunteer leaders, such as P.H. Pearse, The O’Rahilly and Thomas McDonagh and it was suggested that he was involved in ‘the distribution of anti-recruiting and pro-German leaflets’ within the camp. Reynolds believes this was the real reason to move the German and Austrian soldiers out of Ireland altogether.⁴⁷

The Germans and Austrians had done very little wrong. Unlike their civilian brethren, the military prisoners had not attempted to escape or riot, which was the case at Oldcastle and the Douglas camp on the Isle of Man in the first year of the war. The military POWs had even offered assistance to the locals of Templemore and had built up a strong rapport with their Irish neighbours. The prison camp had brought profit to many of the local businesses. Even though the various county police reports throughout the country for January 1915 had reported an increase in anti-German feeling⁴⁸ there appears to be no reports of animosity or hostility towards the prisoners up to their departure in early 1915.⁴⁹ The prisoners were allowed privileges, such as a visit from the German Abbot Oscar Vinier, who had travelled from Buckfast Abbey in Devon to Mount St. Joseph’s in Roscrea in January 1915.⁵⁰ He was subsequently

⁴⁷ Reynolds, “‘It’s a Long Way to Tipperary’”, Op.Cit.

⁴⁸ The anti-German feeling was partly due to government invasion instructions given under the Defence of the Realm Act after the November bombing raid on the east coast of England, as well as public reaction to the Catholic Church’s recital of Cardinal Mercier’s pastoral after his imprisonment by the German military in Belgium.

⁴⁹ Monthly Police Reports of the DMP and the RIC (January 1915), in the ‘British in Ireland’ microfilm series, Reel 59. The Inspector General’s Monthly Report for January 1915 also mentioned the distribution of counter-notices to the DORA instructions ‘calling on the people to disobey the orders issued, and to welcome German troops as friends.’ This was most probably the work of Ireland’s radical nationalist groups, such as Sinn Fein, the Irish Republican Brotherhood and the Ancient Order of Hibernians (Irish American Alliance division) who were often behind the seditious, anti-recruiting and pro-German literature that was secretly distributed around Ireland.

⁵⁰ Buckfast Abbey in Devonshire had been made a special enemy alien camp for the male inmates of religious houses that were of military age. A Commissioner’s report on enemy aliens residing in prohibited areas (dated 26 October 1916), presented to both Houses of Parliament, had stated that the ‘110 inmates of religious houses’ (both male and female) needed to be accompanied by a British or friendly nationality if they left their own precinct, that ‘all communication with the outside world should be only conducted by post’ and in some cases inmates of religious houses had been transferred to other religious houses outside the prohibited area. The forty inmates of Buckfast Abbey were to be given special treatment as ‘practically all of them are of military age. The abbey is now treated on the lines of internment camps’. See ‘File detailing police and military actions taken against enemy aliens in Ireland, 1914-18’, NAI, CSORP/1918/18746.

allowed a visit to Templemore to hear the confessions of the prisoners, before his return to London.⁵¹ The prisoners were also allowed to celebrate the Kaiser's birthday on 27 January. The prisoners were 'provided with 16 candles each or 32,000 lights [in total] in which they lit up the barracks till "lights out"'.⁵²

By the end of January 1915, the national and local newspapers were already writing about the removal of the prisoners from Templemore, to be replaced by British Army recruits. The first 360 prisoners were moved from Templemore camp on 28 January, under the military escort by the Leinster Regiment. All of the twenty-five military and naval officers were also removed and sent to Maidstone, Kent and a further twenty German civilians and sailors were removed to Oldcastle detention camp in County Meath. There was a curious incident at Dublin's North Wall, when the prisoners' steamer left the quayside to a cheering crowd of onlookers. The crowd believed they were cheering their own loved ones, who were in fact on board the second vessel to leave the port. They were quickly made aware of their mistake; however, the warm farewell must have made the prisoners even more depressed in leaving the Ireland they had called home for the last few months.⁵³

Before any of the prisoners left Templemore, they had to take part in the burial of one of their colleagues, who had died on 21 January. The burial took place two days later at the local Protestant churchyard, where 250 prisoners attended.⁵⁴ On 4 February the *Irish Independent* reported that another 360 prisoners were removed from Templemore, heading to the new POW camp at Leigh, Lancashire. A further batch of 480 prisoners was removed on 9 February, which left only 700 prisoners at the Tipperary camp. By 19 February the last batch of almost 400 prisoners had arrived at their new POW camp at the old Lilford weaving shed at Leigh, arriving to an inquisitive crowd of locals who watched the prisoners being marched through the town. The POWs were certainly not happy to leave Templemore. According to John Reynolds the RIC Magazine reported that 'many were the regrets uttered at the thoughts of being taken away from the comfortable quarters and the "Gudde nicey people" of Templemore'. As preparations for the departure of the prisoners gathered

⁵¹ *Nenagh Guardian*, 23 January 1915

⁵² *Irish Independent*, 29 January 1915; *Nenagh Guardian*, 6 February 1915

⁵³ *Irish Independent*, 29 January 1915, 2 February 1915; *Anglo-Celt*, 30 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 8 February 1915

⁵⁴ *Anglo-Celt*, 30 January 1915

pace, Templemore was described as ‘the quietest place on earth’ by journalists and commentators.⁵⁵



German prisoners passing along King Street on their way to the Camp in Etherstone Street (Leigh Journal, February 19th 1915)

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⁵⁵ Reynolds, “It’s a Long Way to Tipperary”, Op.Cit.

⁵⁶ *Irish Independent*, 4 February 1915; *Nenagh Guardian*, 13 February 1915; *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 February 1915; Leslie Smith, *The German Prisoner of War Camp at Leigh 1914-1919* (Manchester, 1986) pp. 14-42. The photographs were taken from Leslie Smith’s book (p.36-7) and the *Leigh Chronicle*, 19 February 1915.



The prisoners passing over Leigh Bridge

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On their arrival into Liverpool and Lancashire's Leigh POW camp, the military prisoners quickly experienced the backlash of anti-German xenophobia created by the press, as a reaction to the German devastation by the bombing raid on the east coast of England in November 1914 and again on 19 January 1915 when the Norfolk coast was targeted. The prisoners received some very negative press coverage in the local Lancashire newspapers. The *Leigh Chronicle* reported on Friday 5 February that:

The German prisoners of war have come at last, and their arrival naturally created a great sensation, large crowds gathering in the streets ... there was no demonstrations of hatred, though people could not avoid feeling a very strong contempt for the rascals, whose greatest achievement in the war has been the cold-blooded murder of Belgian and French women and children, and defenceless old people, not to mention other abominable "outrages" ... the soldiers are fine-looking men, and present the appearance of having been well cared for during the five months they have been interned in Tipperary – rather an irony of fate to be sent there – but there is a villainous look about them ... we can credit them with being competent to "biting the hand that feeds them" during their internment ... the pure air of respectable Pennington will be tainted with the breath of 1,800 ... of these specimens of "the scrapings of hell" at a weekly expenditure of about £1,000.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ The photograph was taken from Leslie Smith's book (p.36-7) and the *Leigh Chronicle*, 19 February 1915

⁵⁸ *Leigh Chronicle*, 5 February 1915; Leslie Smith, *The German Prisoner of War Camp at Leigh*, pp. 15-17

The following picture was also attached to the article, emphasising to the public of Leigh, the ‘outrages’ that were being linked to the German POWs:



French cartoon of the German advance through Belgium

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John Reynolds goes on to state that anti-German sentiment increased in the region, especially with the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 and among other duties the prisoners ‘were employed working in coalmines under very harsh conditions’ during their detention at the Leigh camp.⁶⁰ The harsher conditions that the prisoners experienced (compared to their more comfortable and relaxed time spent at Templemore) is clearly emphasised by analysing the number of escape attempts made by the prisoners during their incarceration at Leigh, the first attempted escape was made by Friedrich Schwenke on 2 April and was reported by the *Leigh Chronicle* on 9 April 1915. Schwenke was recaptured in Manchester on the same day as his escape. There were five other escapes attempted over the next three years.⁶¹

The prisoners’ unhappiness in their new camp and happy memories of Templemore was also portrayed in a poem written by a German prisoner, then

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Reynolds, “It’s a Long Way to Tipperary”, Op.Cit.

⁶¹ Leslie Smith, *The German Prisoner of War Camp at Leigh*, Appendix 2, p. 81

was held for the 500 men of both regiments, while public houses and local businesses were closed and the day was observed as a general holiday for the town.⁶⁴

The daily lives of enemy aliens in Ireland during 1915

The incidents which occurred in 1915 included large Irish military losses on the Western and Eastern European fronts, such as the May gas attacks of the second battle of Ypres and the failed Gallipoli campaign; the *Lusitania* disaster; the fears resulting from British government statements about enforced conscription in Ireland; and the increasing prices of food, clothing and fuel on Ireland's home front due to the effect of Germany's sea blockade and submarine warfare. All these incidents had a bearing on the treatment and reception of Ireland's enemy aliens who still found themselves free from internment or repatriation. They continued to experience outbursts of animosity from both official and unofficial circles. There were individual cases of animosity towards enemy aliens within Ireland throughout 1915 that have been found in the country's national and local newspapers of the period and each individual had their own story to tell. Being aware of the selective approach about reporting animosity towards the country's enemy aliens, I have attempted to give a broad and balanced picture of how the everyday lives of enemy aliens were affected during that year.

The first case to appear in the local and national newspapers as the war moved into 1915, concerned Dr. Kuno Meyer, the distinguished German scholar, whose Celtic philology and literary work at Berlin University had earned him the freedom of both Dublin and Cork by the time war broke out. Meyer had also founded the Dublin School of Irish Learning in 1903. Unfortunately, the freedom of these two Irish cities were stripped from him by the city corporations after he gave a pro-German speech in December 1914 at a Clann na nGael rally on Long Island, USA. Liverpool University also stripped Meyer of his Chair and Honorary Professorship of Celtic Studies and he was strongly criticised by his students at Columbia University, where he had been lecturing after the outbreak of the war. Kuno Meyer and his brother Eduard were well known to have long-established relations within Irish and Irish-American nationalist circles. Kuno Meyer was actually sent to the United States to foster co-operation between German-American and Irish-American organisations and to beat the drum of

⁶⁴ *Irish Independent*, 18 March 1915

German war propaganda in the United States after August 1914.⁶⁵ The Freedom of Dublin City had been given to Kuno Meyer in July 1911, but was rescinded on 15 March 1915 after various Corporation meetings and negative newspaper coverage. Cork Corporation rescinded Meyer's name from their list of Freemen on 9 January 1915 and Meyer regretfully resigned his position as director of the School of Irish Learning and as editor of *Eriú* on 12 January.⁶⁶

Meyer's support for Sir Roger Casement's attempt to form an Irish Brigade, by using Irish soldiers serving in the British Army who had been captured and held as POWs in Germany, brought calls of retribution and action upon Meyer from various nationalist critics, such as Alderman Austin Harford,⁶⁷ or the County Mayo novelist and poet, George Moore.⁶⁸ Another Irish writer to denounce Meyer for his actions and speeches was T.W. Rolleston.⁶⁹

However, along with the negative press coverage of Kuno Meyer in the Irish and British newspapers, there also appeared letters of sympathy and bemusement over the subject of Meyer's removal from the rolls of honour of Dublin and Cork. The *Irish Independent* printed a letter from J.C. McWalter (Dublin):

The Freedom of the City was granted to Kuno Meyer on surmount of his Celtic scholarship. He was then, as now, a German. The only offence which can since be alleged against him is that he has publicly declared that Germany will insist on the recognition of Ireland as an independent republic before peace is agreed to.

'When We Were Boys' many of us dreamt of an Irish Republic – and never thought to see it so near practical politics. Let us not affront

⁶⁵ Joachim Lerchenmueller, "'The Wretched Lot': A Brief History of the Irish Brigade in Germany 1914-1919", *Yearbook of the Centre for Irish-German Studies* (University of Limerick, 1998/1999), pp. 98-99. Fostering German-American relations was just as daunting for Germans as it was for their British counterparts, especially as President Woodrow Wilson viewed the First World War as 'a natural raking out of the pent up jealousies and rivalries of the politics of Europe', and therefore, no concern to America as long as their trade and commerce were not affected by the conflict. (Quoted in Ross A. Kennedy, 'Woodrow Wilson, World War I, and an American conception of national security', *Diplomatic History*, Vol.25 (1) (2001), p. 1; and Bernadette Whelan, *United States Foreign Policy and Ireland. From Empire to Independence, 1913-29* (Dublin, 2006), p. 59)

⁶⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 13 January 1915; *Anglo-Celt*, 16 January 1915

⁶⁷ Harford was the leader of the Irish Nationalists in Liverpool (and the first Catholic Lord Mayor of Liverpool in 1943-44), and one-time literary friend of Meyer.

⁶⁸ *Irish Independent*, 6 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 7 January 1915. Moore denounced Meyer's attempt to frame him as a pro-German by asking him to give a letter of support to Meyer's December 1914 rally speech.

⁶⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 12 January 1915

Professor Kuno Meyer for keeping an ideal which most of us have outlived.⁷⁰

Other individuals to openly show their sympathy in the newspapers for Kuno Meyer's treatment were Canon Peter O'Leary, the well-known writer of *Castlelyons*, Cork,⁷¹ the feminist and Sinn Fein activist, Jennie Wyse Power,⁷² Michael O'Foghludha, an Irish nationalist who later fought in Dublin's Four Courts against the British during the 1916 Rising,⁷³ the Irish Protestant nationalist politician for South Donegal, J. G. Swift MacNeill,⁷⁴ and the Sinn Feiner, John (Sean) T. O'Kelly (Alderman of Dublin Corporation in 1915, and Staff Captain to Pádraig Pearse in the 1916 Rising and later the second President of Ireland from 1945-1959).⁷⁵

Kuno Meyer finally relinquished his lecturing position at Harvard University in May 1915 when two students won a prize for their anti-German poem, which was clearly directed at Meyer personally:

"GOTT MIT UNS."
No doubt ye are the people: Wisdom's
flame
Springs from your cannon—yea, from
yours alone.
God needs your dripping lance to prop
His throne;
Your gleeful torch His glory to proclaim.
No doubt ye are the people; far from
shame
Your captains who deface the sculptured
stone
Which by the labour and the blood and
bone
Of pious millions calls upon His name.
No doubt ye are the folk; and 'tis to prove
Your wardenship of Virtue and of Lore
Ye sacrifice the Truth in reeking gore
Upon your altar to the Prince of Love.
Yet still cry we who still in darkness
plod:
" 'Tis Antichrist ye serve and not your
God."

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⁷⁰ *Irish Independent*, 4 January 1915

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 1 February 1915

⁷² *Ibid.*, 4 February 1915

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1 February 1915

⁷⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1915

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 January 1915; 16 March 1915; *Irish Independent* 16 March 1915

⁷⁶ *Irish Independent*, 13 May 1915; also there were reports of the poem found in *Irish Independent*, 29 & 30 April 1915. His resignation may also have been brought on by the recent sinking of the *Lusitania* by

Meyer's protest letter against the two students did not receive the backing of the President of Harvard, who favoured Harvard's freedom of speech policy.

As well as Kuno Meyer's individual actions, such as his pro-German speech on Long Island and his further comments in the newspapers over the first few months of 1915 that did much to damage his reputation, the attacks on his character by leading British and Irish individuals could also be put down to the heightened anxiety and anti-German feeling caused by the events that affected the daily lives of British and Irish people. In particular, the increase in German air raids on the British coast – January's east coast raid, the April attack on Ipswich, May's Zeppelin raid on the town of Southend, another Zeppelin raid on the east coast in June and again in August, and finally, September and October's Zeppelin raids on London – as well as the increased attacks of German submarines on allied and neutral vessels (cargo and passenger) in British and Irish waters. Britain's official propaganda machine was able to use each of these incidents in its favour to pass further legislation and justify internment and repatriation policies towards enemy aliens. However, it was the British press which was the driving force behind creating and exacerbating the anti-German hysteria and xenophobia in Britain and Ireland, as a reaction to the *Lusitania* sinking.⁷⁷

In the early afternoon of 7 May 1915 the *Lusitania* was struck by a torpedo fired by the German submarine *U-20* and sank off the Old Head of Kinsale, off the south coast of Ireland. This attack on innocent lives sent shockwaves around the globe. As a reaction to the *Lusitania* disaster, during the month of May, anti-German feeling from the public and press led the British government and royal family to each take measures against fellow officials of German origin. Eight Knights of the Garter had their names removed from the list in St. George's Chapel, including the Emperor of Austria-Hungary (Franz Josef I), the German Emperor (Kaiser Wilhelm II), the King of Wurttemberg (William II), the German Crown Prince (Friedrich Wilhelm Victor August Ernst), the Grand Duke of Hesse and Rhine (Ernest Louis, grandson of Great Britain's Queen Victoria and cousin of King George V), Prince Henry of Prussia (the

the German Navy. "Gott Mit Uns" ("God With Us") was a phrase commonly associated with the German military, from the German Empire and used up to the end of Hitler's Third Reich.

⁷⁷ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, pp. 204-7. Panayi offers several explanations for the existence of hostility towards various outsider groups in Britain, be it the Irish or Jewish migrants of the nineteenth century, or the hostility shown towards the German communities during the First World War. He clearly states the press reaction and creation of xenophobia – or 'fear of strangers' – helped to manipulate both the government's policies towards outsiders and the reactions of the general public.

German Emperor's younger brother), the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha (Charles Edward, another of Queen Victoria's grandsons and cousin to King George V) and the Duke of Cumberland (Prince Ernst August). Anti-German feeling was naturally focused on the British royal family, with its various close connections to the German royal houses. King George V was vehemently opposed to the removal of the eight names from the Royal Garter list up to May 1915, but the sinking of the *Lusitania* and the anti-German feeling that followed forced the King's hand.⁷⁸ However, it took two more years of war to force the King to change the family name from Saxe-Coburg to the more British-sounding Windsor.

In May the German spy Knepperle, who visited Dublin as part of his reconnaissance for the German Admiralty, committed suicide in Brixton Prison. Another German spy, Robert Rosenthal, was arrested by the authorities in June, while trying to leave Ireland. During the same month the ex-Liberal MP for Darlington (and naturalised British citizen), J. T. Trebich-Lincoln confessed to the *New York World* of his history as a German spy. This led to discussion of the 'enemy in our midst' in the British Parliament, leading to attacks in the House of Commons on MPs and staff of German origin. There were also attacks on Lord Milner, Sir Ernest Cassel⁷⁹ and Sir Edgar Speyer⁸⁰ who were particularly vilified for their German origins throughout the second half of 1915.⁸¹

The effects of the *Lusitania* disaster on Ireland's enemy alien population

The sinking of the *Lusitania* brought much anti-alien reaction, both official and unofficial, in Britain. Within a week of the disaster, the Prime Minister H. H. Asquith called for an intensification of the internment of all male enemy aliens of military age.⁸²

⁷⁸ *Irish Independent* 14 & 15 May 1915; Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', pp. 175–6

⁷⁹ Pal Thane, 'Cassel, Sir Ernest Joseph (1852–1921)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2008), electronic version at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32323>, (25 January 2009)

⁸⁰ Theo Barker, 'Speyer, Sir Edgar, baronet (1862–1932)', *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36215> (26 September 2012)

⁸¹ *Irish Independent* 21 May 1915; 14 June 1915; 17 November; *Leitrim Observer*, 19 June 1915

⁸² Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 78. Asquith quoted in a parliamentary debate: 'Persons of hostile origin residing in this country' were divided into 2 classes – 'those who have been naturalised and have therefore become British subjects, and those who have not ... non-naturalised aliens ... 19,000 interned and ... some 40,000 (24k men and 16k women) at large ... all adult males of this class should ... be segregated and interned, or, if over military age, repatriated ... women and children in suitable cases will be repatriated, but there will, no doubt, be many instances which justice and humanity will require that they should be allowed to remain ... In the case of the naturalised aliens, who are in law British subjects' (numbering about 8k), they would not be interned unless it could be ascertained by the advisory body

By this time public hysteria against ‘the enemy in our midst’ led to mass rioting in many cities and towns of Britain. The first act of violence occurred in Liverpool the day after the sinking and quickly spread to London by 12 May and throughout the rest of Britain thereafter.⁸³ ‘Thousands of people faced arrest for public order and looting offences, while innumerable properties suffered damage at a cost of hundreds of thousands of pounds’ - but not specifically property of Germans or Austrians as many innocent Britons and friendly aliens were also caught up in the anti-German riots and hysteria.⁸⁴

Was the *Lusitania* disaster the *only* reason for anti-German rioting occurring across Britain? Panayi states that as early as April 1915 ‘the tide of popular feeling in [Britain] ... against Germany and German methods of war had been steadily rising to a height never before reached’. Firstly, the poor treatment of British POWs in Germany had been reported. On 10 April a parliamentary White Paper claimed that the Hague Convention had been violated by Germany in the treatment of British POWs. Secondly, the British press and right-wing political groups condemned the acts of Germany’s ‘naval highwaymen’ – specifically the German Navy and the submarines that regularly patrolled British and Irish waters. Since the start of 1915 German submarines had attacked all types of vessels found in British waters, whether British or neutral. Between 18 February and 28 May the German Navy had sunk twenty-five merchant ships and on 3 May alone eight British trawlers were destroyed. Thirdly, the use of asphyxiating gas by the German Army was first employed on 22 April at the second Battle of Ypres. The right-wing press, such as the *Daily Express* and *The Times* reacted particularly strongly to this type of warfare. Finally, the news of the sinking of the *Lusitania* proved to be the spark needed to urge the public (as well as official circles) to act. The *Lusitania* led the British press to incite immediate action by the government upon all enemy aliens, using powerful and provocative language in their

that it would be dangerous if they were allowed to remain free. (*Hansard*, fifth series, LXXI, 1842, 13 May 1915.)

⁸³ An example of an English region’s reaction to the *Lusitania* can be found in the well documented article by Panikos Panayi, ‘The Lancashire Anti-German Riots of May 1915’, (*Manchester Regional History Review*, Vol. 2, no. 2, (1988-89)

⁸⁴ Panikos, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 223

articles to initiate a violent response from the British public, leading ultimately to May's anti-German riots.⁸⁵

Even though Ireland experienced the same pressures of war as Britain, it is important to emphasise that there was not the same hostility toward its enemy alien population from May 1915, as was the case across the Irish Channel. Other Commonwealth countries, such as South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Canada experienced anti-German hostility. North and South America also experienced some hostile reaction towards enemy alien nationalities.⁸⁶ However, no form of disorder or rioting against aliens in Ireland was reported by the press and authorities throughout the whole of 1915.

It is often easier to explain why something happened, rather than why something did not, but I can offer some theories as to why rioting did not occur in Ireland during 1915. On the political front in Ireland, the enemy alien danger was certainly not seen as a priority for much of the population. The Home Rule question remained pivotal on the Irish political scene. Many radical nationalist groups, such as Sinn Fein, the Irish Volunteers, the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB) and the Citizen Army in Ireland had anti-British attitudes (or at least anti-Redmondite) and often pro-German sympathies throughout the war. The police report on 'Prominent suspects' for the month of May reported for Galway East Riding that on 10 May the 'Suspect George Michels ... was overheard in the smoking-room of the Royal Hotel, upholding the right of the Germans to sink the *Lusitania*'.⁸⁷ According to the Inspector General's monthly police reports, the radical nationalist groups were steadily organising and growing in size and stature as each

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 231-2

⁸⁶ Unpublished papers given at De Montfort University, Leicester (30 June – 1 July 2011) conference, 'Germans as Minorities During the First World War: An International Comparative Perspective', included papers from Stefan Manz (Aston University), 'The German Diaspora before World War I: Destinations and Discourse'; Panikos Panayi (De Montfort), 'Barbed Wire Disease or a Prison Camp Society: The Everyday Lives of German Internees on the Isle of Man, 1914-1919'; Zoe Denness (University of Birmingham), 'Gender and Germanophobia: The Forgotten Experiences of German Women in Britain, 1914-1919'; Tammy Proctor (Wittenberg University, Springfield, Ohio), 'Patriotic Enemies: Germans in the Americas, 1914-1920'; Tilman Dederich (University of South Africa, Pretoria), 'Anti-German Riots in South Africa'; Daniel Steinbach (Trinity College, Dublin), 'Power Majorities and Local Minorities: German and British Colonials in East Africa during the First World War'; Andrew Francis (Wellington), 'From "Proven Worthy Settlers" to "Lawless Hunnish Brutes": Germans in New Zealand during the Great War'.

⁸⁷ 'Inspector General's Monthly Report, May 1915', (TNA, CO 904/97)

month passed.⁸⁸ The regular exposure of the Irish public to these pro-German and anti-British sympathies, in the form of anti-recruiting leaflets and seditious newspapers and journals posted from America, may account for the lack of hostility shown towards the enemy alien population in Ireland during much of 1915, compared to that experienced in the rest of Britain and the Commonwealth.



JOHN BULL USES THE AMERICAN FLAG FOR PROTECTION—
 March 1915 From the *American* (New York) ⁸⁹

The attitudes of the Irish people towards enemy aliens in Ireland was at best pro-German/Austrian and at worst indifferent to their existence during May and June 1915. Newspaper propaganda had very little effect on manipulating the attitudes of Irish public opinion towards their enemy alien neighbours, even after the *Lusitania* disaster. This is best shown in the monthly police reports from East and West Ridings of Cork in May 1915:

The sinking of the *Lusitania* evoked resolutions of sympathy with the victims, and denunciations of the authors, from all the public bodies in County Cork.' (Inspector General's Monthly Report for May 1915)

The sinking of the *Lusitania* caused a great shock throughout the Riding and resolutions of sympathy with the victims and strong denunciation of the authors of it were passed by all public bodies. The large majority of

⁸⁸ 'Inspector General's Monthly Reports, January - July 1915', (TNA, CO 904/96-7)

⁸⁹ Anti-British propaganda from America – 'the British flying the American flag on the *Lusitania*' (March 1915), <http://www.100megspop3.com/bark/Propaganda.html>

the people are in sympathy with the allies in this war. (Monthly police report from Cork East Riding, May 1915).⁹⁰

The other county police reports had very little to say about the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The Kilkenny report went as far as stating that ‘nothing of interest happened during the month’.⁹¹

Unlike the larger cities of England, Scotland and Wales where the alien population was numerically more prominent, Ireland’s alien population was relatively small in number and presence, resulting in the Irish people having less of an enemy alien presence to target during this tense period of the war. The number of enemy aliens in Ireland recorded in September 1914 was strikingly small, with 1,475 Germans, Austrians and Hungarians resident in the country.⁹² By the summer of 1915 many enemy aliens had either migrated out of the country to their native homelands, or had been interned by the authorities. Socially, Ireland’s German and Austrian migrants had not formed the same communities as existed throughout London and other major towns and cities in Britain. Ireland’s enemy aliens were not as numerous in 1915 as their British counterparts and with many Germans and Austrians in Ireland interned or repatriated by May 1915 they were not considered as much of a threat to the host nation.

The only areas of Ireland that did evoke a response to the brutality of the German submarine attacks on the *Lusitania* and other passenger and cargo vessels around the Irish and British coastlines were the northern counties of Ireland. Armagh’s monthly police report stated:

Threatening letters were received by Mrs Kilpatrick(?) and Miss Hogan, Armagh ... warning them to send away German Governesses in their employment. I do not think however that any outrage will be attempted. Simon Rovafort(?), an Austrian Jew, living in Lurgan also received a letter (12/5/15) ordering him to clear out. I do not think that any outrage will be attempted in this case either. The police are paying attention to these matters.⁹³

On 31 May in Belfast, ‘a German named Carl Hinnricks was sentenced at Petty Sessions to six months imprisonment for sending a letter to his sister in Germany by a

⁹⁰ ‘The Inspector General’s Monthly Police Report and RIC monthly report for Cork East Riding, May 1915’, TNA, CO 904/97

⁹¹ ‘RIC Monthly Report for Co. Kilkenny, May 1915’, ‘British in Ireland’ series, TNA, CO 904/97

⁹² ‘Files of enemy and friendly aliens’, NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

⁹³ ‘RIC Monthly Report for Co. Armagh, May 1915’, ‘British in Ireland’ series, TNA, CO 904/97

man who was going to America'.⁹⁴ In July, the *Church of Ireland Gazette* also found space in its publication to place a large advertisement for the recently established Anti-German League,⁹⁵ which listed the Lord Mayor of Dublin amongst its major supporters.⁹⁶ Such publications helped to increase the antagonism experienced by Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Ulster, compared to the other provinces of Ireland.⁹⁷

Regarding the economic climate in Ireland, by May 1915 the country was expecting a prosperous harvest. There was plenty of employment throughout the country and even though food and fuel prices were high, the population was not on the breadline (anymore than was the case before the war). The only areas that experienced a decrease in employment were the northern counties, affected by the flax shortage that hit the linen industry.⁹⁸ Belfast and Londonderry's shipping and fishing industries were affected by the German submarine activity and the blockade, creating a heightened anxiety within these localities. It is difficult to determine whether the temporary closure of over a hundred butchers' shops in Belfast (reported in the *Irish Independent* on 25 May 1915) was a reaction to the high prices of meat in the city, or a means to damage German businesses in the city, as the victualler business was a popular occupation of German immigrants during the nineteenth and early twentieth century.⁹⁹

Ireland had experienced the increasing death toll on the Western and Eastern Fronts, especially the Gallipoli/Dardanelles campaign (April 1915 – January 1916), which was being fought at the cost of thousands of Irish soldiers' lives. Certain sections of Irish public opinion were beginning to question the validity of this sacrifice;

⁹⁴ 'RIC Monthly Report for the City of Belfast, May 1915', 'British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/97. Belfast also experienced a considerable increase in its recruiting figures compared to the previous month. Upwards of a thousand men were enlisted in one week during May, most likely as a response to the *Lusitania* sinking.

⁹⁵ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst...*, pp. 207-8

⁹⁶ *Church of Ireland Gazette*, 30 July 1915, pp. 564-5, cited in Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 89

⁹⁷ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 90

⁹⁸ The flax shortage even led the *Irish Independent*, to report on 12 April 1915 of the arrival in Belfast port of the Swedish *SS Raftsund* with a consignment of flax seed.

⁹⁹ Panayi, Panikos, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 20, 224-6; 228; Manz, Stefan (University of Durham), "'Our Sworn, subtle, savage, implacable and perfidious foe". Germanophobia and Spy-fever in Scotland, 1914-1918', in Joachim Fischer, Pól Ó Dochartaigh, Helen Kelly-Holmes (eds.), *Irish-German Studies 2001-2002*, 'part 1: The Celtic Dimension of the Anglo-German Antagonism' (University of Limerick, 2001/02), pp. 33-34. Manz gives several examples of incidents during the May riots when German pork butchers shops were targeted in towns and cities throughout Scotland.

who and what were these soldiers fighting and dying for? For Britain? Against the tyranny of Germany? For the security and independence of other 'small nations' like Belgium? Or should the soldiers be fighting for their own independence (an independence that was still not guaranteed with a British victory in the war)? The Irish people also feared the possibility of enforced conscription being introduced to Ireland by Asquith's government, as recruiting figures continued to fall in the country throughout 1915. Did this help sway attention from the enemy alien problem and shift the blame of the war casualties towards the British government, Ireland's age-old oppressor?

There were subtle signs of official and unofficial pressure being placed on enemy alien groups from May 1915 onwards, with more reports of enemy alien arrests due to breaches of government restrictions.

WANTED
AT ONCE BY THE
British Troops in France
— TO —
DECORATE THE GERMANS
—WITH—
**All Old Metal, Lead, Copper, Brass
Zinc, Pewter, &c.,**
For which the **HIGHEST PRICES** will be Paid
—BY THE —
Nenagh Delph Stores.
As the above Metals are required in the Manu-
facture of Munitions of War, we wish to do
our duty to the "Tomnies" by
helping them in the
Supply.
Any quantity Purchased and inspected on re-
ceipt of Post Card to the
Nenagh Delph Stores,
31, Queen Street.

Advert in the *Nenagh Guardian*, 15 May 1915, shows how anti-German rhetoric was incorporated into companies' advertisements

The first report of arrests of enemy aliens was on 22 May 1915, when the *Meath Chronicle* reported the arrest of two Austrian medical students, by the name Von Nauman, in Bray. They were quickly tried and interned at Oldcastle. Two other reports on the same day appeared in the *Irish Independent*, regarding the arrest of Charles Kuntz, a dentist from Ballyhaunis, County Mayo, who was fined 40s. for travelling to Dublin (a prohibited area) without a travel permit. His intent was to try and get a child into a home. The second incident was at Dublin's North Wall where two German sailors were discovered stowed away on board the *Sierra Mirande*, a sailing ship from Portland, Oregon (USA). Many more incidents involving the arrest of enemy aliens throughout Ireland were reported in the newspapers from that date onwards, such as that of the German Anglican clergyman, E. H. A. Fisher (Merrion, Dublin) arrested for travelling to Limerick without a permit; and Carl R. Schmutz, a German hairdresser, arrested a second time and interned.¹⁰⁰ Spy fever also hit the town of Bandon, when it was reported that four German spies dressed as nuns entered the town, stayed at a local hotel and scouted the local barracks, an interned enemy alien's home and 'generally had a fine view of Bandon'. The police had to reassure the locals that the visitors were in fact French nuns visiting from Blackrock Road, Cork.¹⁰¹

However, enemy aliens with connections to political or military figures still often received special treatment. The Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers includes various examples of individuals who gained travel or residence permits due only to their employment connections to elite families within Ireland. Fräulein Louise Heinrichs, German governess of Major Thompson of the 3rd Inniskilling Fusiliers, was granted permission to travel to Londonderry to stay with the Major's family on the distinct understanding that she would not be able to reside in the prohibited areas of Inishowen or Milford. Londonderry was not only a region of military training barracks, such as Major Thompson's Everington Barracks, but also of naval importance, being situated on the strategically important north-western coastline, which was often the location of German U-boat activity and British merchant and naval casualties

¹⁰⁰ *Irish Independent*, 25 May 1915; *Leitrim Observer*, 29 May 1915. Schmutz was interned in Oldcastle detention camp until being transferred to the Isle of Man and repatriated back to Germany on 24 October 1918. His wife and family followed Schmutz to Germany while his two sons from his first marriage remained in Dublin to carry on the family business of Wholesale Corn and Potato Factors, trading under the name Smyth Bros. In November 1921, Schmutz applied to re-enter Ireland to assist his sons in the business; no objection to his return was evident from the police authorities. (the file can be found in NAI, CSORP/1921/2640/20).

¹⁰¹ *Southern Star*, 5 June 1915. See Appendix 3 for the *Southern Star* article

throughout the war. Therefore, it is surprising that an enemy alien was permitted to reside in this region, simply because she was the governess of Major Thompson. During March 1915, August Hessler, a German potato merchant, living in Blackburn, Lancashire, was also granted a permit to enter and reside in Co. Londonderry. The deciding factor was that Councillor W.J. McGowan and David Anderson, two influential Londonderry citizens who were prominent businessmen in the city, were prepared to vouch for Hessler's character. The final example of permits being granted due to an individual's connections was the case of Countess de Maistre seeking a permit to enable her daughter Erica (Austrian by birth), aged fourteen years, to travel from Weston-Super-Mare to Cashel, County Tipperary on 28 July 1915 to spend her summer holiday with a Mrs O'Connor and her children. The Countess's daughter had been seven years in England and was bound to return to her convent school at the end of her holidays. Though the file does not confirm that the permit was granted, the comments in the correspondence seems to imply that permission was granted by Dublin Castle.¹⁰²

Most enemy aliens were not lucky enough to be blessed with influential connections and had to live after May 1915 in an Ireland that was administered by more repressive British government legislation against aliens, both enemy and friendly. New government regulations introduced after May 1915 concerning enemy alien internment and repatriation stated that any enemy alien of military age who desired to stay in Ireland (or Britain) and claim exemption from internment, or males above military age and females who desired to claim exemption from repatriation, had to apply to the local police for the necessary forms, which would then be sent onto the Under Secretary's Office at Dublin Castle, for transmission to the Home Office in London before 17 July.¹⁰³ Internment exemption committees were also set up the previous month to examine individual cases. Ireland offered very few cases for exemption, but many applications can be found in the CSORP files.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

¹⁰³ *Irish Independent*, 9 July 1915

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 18 June 1915

DEPORTATION OR REPATRIATION OF ALIENS
APPLICATION FOR EXEMPTION.

A separate form must be filled in by each individual applicant. When husband and wife are both making applications, whether in respect of internment or repatriation, the two forms should be sent in together.

WHITFIELD, HOME OFFICE, SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON, W.C.2

THIS FORM IS TO BE FILLED UP AND RETURNED TO THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE, HOME OFFICE, WHITEHALL, LONDON, W.C.2

To be sent before the 1st July 1940

(1) Surname _____

(2) Christian names _____

(3) Where registered _____
Date of registration _____ No. _____

(4) Nationality _____ Birthplace _____
(If the applicant is a married woman or widow, a statement of her nationality before marriage should be added and her birth certificate submitted.)

(5) Nationality of parents _____

(6) Age _____ Date of birth _____

(7) Residence _____

(8) How long resident in this country _____ Age at which residence commenced _____
(If residence broken by absence abroad, state the periods and places of absence.)

(9) Ordinary trade or occupation _____

(10) Present means of livelihood _____

(11) Whether married, single or widowed (widow) _____
Name of wife (or husband) _____
(Add the nationality of the wife previous to marriage or the residence and registration number of the husband, if known to the applicant.)
Names, dates and places of birth of children:— _____

(12) Was (if any) military service _____
(Give dates, and if exempt attach papers showing exemption.)

(13) Names and addresses of British subjects willing to vouch for good behaviour. _____
(Attach written consents.)

1940-41 H.M.S.O. 1148

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Enemy aliens continued to live in an atmosphere that was dictated by xenophobic legislation and a British right-wing press that often managed to manipulate both the politicians and public to follow what Panayi has termed a policy of ‘ethnic cleansing’ of the German and Austrian communities throughout the British Isles. It is no wonder that in the aftermath of the *Lusitania* sinking, the German manager of the Queens Hotel in Queenstown, Otto Humbert (a naturalised Briton since 1905, with an English wife), quickly went into hiding in the hotel’s wine cellar, afraid of recriminations following

¹⁰⁵ An example of an application form for exemption from deportation or repatriation of aliens, from NAI, CSORP/1918/16626-8. Many examples of enemy alien wives and single females in Ireland having their exemption from repatriation applications refused can be found in file NAI, CSORP/1917/2224.

the sinking.¹⁰⁶ Public suspicion of enemy aliens did occasionally rear its ugly head, as has already been mentioned with the public fear that the four nuns visiting Bandon were suspected of being German spies.

Another example of public suspicion involved a German called William Winter. His first appearance in the press was a report on 13 March 1915 by the *Leitrim Observer*. William Winter was arrested and tried for not registering in Carrick-on-Shannon, where he was working. He was registered and living in Cloonfad (Cloonfad More / Clonfad Beg), which was within the five mile radius of Carrick town and within the regulations of the residence and travel permits he had obtained. After considerable deliberation over the Aliens Restriction Act regulations Winter was found to have abided by all laws and was released. The arresting officer, Detective Inspector Hussey, clearly showed his disdain for enemy aliens during the trial by quoting:

Mr Hussey, D.I.—It is an understood thing. The man is arrested here on a certain charge which I shall prove. He has failed to register himself in a new district. This man is a German who is not wanted in this country, as we have too many of them unfortunately. He belongs to that accursed race, and steps should be taken to have them put out of the Kingdom¹⁰⁷

Winter had previously been working as a motor mechanic in Belfast before war broke out. Once the Aliens Restriction Order came into being he was arrested and interned at Templemore detention camp.¹⁰⁸ He was subsequently released, firstly due to his marriage to a Cloonfad lady. Secondly, he registered himself as an enemy alien in December 1914 at Strokestown, Co. Roscommon and then at Cloonfad and had cooperated with the rules and wartime regulations of the Alien Restriction Order. Finally, the ex-German reservist had refused orders to be re-enlisted into the German Army. Winter's services were called on in Carrick-on-Shannon by P. Flynn, Justice of the Peace (J.P.) and County Councillor (Co.C.), to work in a local garage to help fix motor vehicles.¹⁰⁹ D.I. Hussey's clear xenophobia towards Winter re-emerged a couple of weeks later when he re-arrested the German for driving a motor vehicle past a military

¹⁰⁶ Nolan, Liam, and John E., *Secret Victory*, p. 70

¹⁰⁷ *Leitrim Observer*, 13 March 1915; *Irish Independent*, 15 March 1915

¹⁰⁸ 'Files of aliens seeking exemption from internment and repatriation certificates', CSORP/1919/3681

¹⁰⁹ *Leitrim Observer*, 13 March 1915; *Irish Independent*, 15 March 1915

barracks, breaking several rules of the restriction order in the process. Winter was acting as chauffeur for Flynn at the time of his arrest. This time Winter was fined £40 and one surety of £20 for his misdemeanour however, he escaped internment possibly because of his connection with Flynn.¹¹⁰ Winter did not escape the clutches of the law, as reports from the *Leitrim Observer* and *Roscommon Herald*, dated 7 August 1915, stated that Mrs Winter, ‘the British-born wife of an interned Alien enemy’ had to apply for a subsistence allowance from the L.G.B. due to her husband’s recent incarceration in Oldcastle camp.¹¹¹

Ireland’s friendly alien population in 1915

Confusion over the interpretation of the Alien Restriction laws and the nationalities which they affected continued throughout 1915. There were many examples of wrongful arrest of friendly aliens reported in Irish newspapers. The 1870-1 Franco-Prussian War saw the province of Alsace-Lorraine move from French to German rule, affecting over 1.8 million inhabitants. Confusion surrounded the Alsace-Lorraine people who found themselves in Ireland at the beginning of the war. Were they of ‘friendly’ French or ‘enemy’ German nationality? Much depended on what nationality appeared on an individual’s passport but, as was described in Chapters 1 and 2, questions materialised over French and German laws considering parentage links to determine the nationality of an individual. Therefore, in January John Butler, a German-born Alsace native, was able to receive compensation for his shop being burnt at Loughrea in County Galway.¹¹² This was clearly special treatment given to this individual - the same special treatment that was given to Armenians (another persecuted people caught up in the Turkish Ottoman Empire, but no more ‘enemy aliens’ than the French-speaking Alsace Lorrainers). Parallels were also drawn between Alsace Lorraine’s history and the history of the Irish people under British rule.¹¹³ The new Coalition government’s Home Secretary, Sir John Simon, brought to

¹¹⁰ *Leitrim Observer*, 27 March 1915; *Irish Independent*, 27 March 1915

¹¹¹ Further information can be found in the NAI, CSORP/1919/3681

¹¹² *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 January 1915

¹¹³ *Meath Chronicle*, 4 September 1915. The newspaper gives a brief history of Alsace Lorraine, written by P. J. Sheridan (possibly Patrick Joseph Sheridan, a Land Leaguer who fought alongside Parnell for Home Rule for Ireland), who quoted comparisons between Cromwellian Ireland, as well as the plight of the Polish people under Russian and German rule. The nationalist *Meath Chronicle* also stated that in 1911 a Bill was drafted and successfully introduced in the Reichstag proposing Alsace Lorraine to become an independent state – ‘a Republic within an Empire’, a type of home rule that the Irish had been

the attention of the House of Commons in November that steps were being taken in consultation with the French authorities, to exempt from internment aliens from Alsace Lorraine who were of French origin and sympathies.¹¹⁴ The British government had already received pleas from representatives of oppressed nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. On 7 January 1915 a memorandum respecting the Southern Slavs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was written to Sir Edward Grey from Frano Supilo, a Croatian journalist and politician who had opposed Austro-Hungarian domination before the war and worked to promote Croatian-Serbian interests in opposition to Habsburg supremacy through his journal, *Novi List*. Supilo made the point that a total of 12.7 million Southern Slavs were living within the Austro-Hungarian borders, including 7.2 million Serbs, 3.4 million Croats, 1.4 million Slovenes and 700,000 Southern Slav Mussulmans from Bosnia-Herzegovina. Most of these nationals were in support of Britain and the Allies and should therefore be considered friendly aliens in the eyes of the law.¹¹⁵

Aliens from Poland were another source of confusion. Various Polish regions had experienced both German and Russian rule over the centuries and a Polish individual's nationality had become uncertain due to this territorial battle during the nineteenth century. Polish refugees had fled from hostile outbreaks of xenophobia in Russian and German territories between 1830-1, 1848, 1863-4 and 1905 and found themselves seeking refuge in other countries, including Britain and Ireland.¹¹⁶ However, when war broke out in 1914, Poles were often found fighting in both Russian and German/Austrian Armies.¹¹⁷ By 1915, questions remained as to whether Polish aliens should be seen as 'enemy' or 'friendly' individuals, depending on which region they originated from. One example was the travel and residence permit application of Alfons Urbanik, sent to the Chief Secretary's Office for recognition, in January 1915. Urbanik wished to travel to Belfast to take up work at the Imperial Hotel, the proprietor of which was a naturalised Austrian who already had two Germans and one Austrian on his staff. The file

fighting for in the British Parliament for decades. As in the case of Ireland, Alsace Lorraine would not be given their independence from the German Empire.

¹¹⁴ *Irish Independent*, 26 November 1915

¹¹⁵ 'Memorandum Respecting the Southern Slavs' (CAB 37/123/46), 7 January 1915 (PRONI, MIC/219/38); Frano Supilo entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/574607/Frano-Supilo>

¹¹⁶ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 55; Norman Davies, 'The Poles in Great Britain, 1914-1919', *Slavonic and Eastern European Review*, Vol. 50 (1972), pp. 63-4; John Slatter (ed.), *From the Other Shore: Russian Political Emigrants in Britain, 1880-1917* (London, 1984)

¹¹⁷ Gilbert, Martin, *First World War* (London, 1994) pp. 78-80

consisted of a letter from the head of the United Kingdom's Immigration Service, Ulsterman William Haldane Porter, to the Commissioner of Belfast, O'Farrell, dated 12 January. In the letter Haldane Porter asked:

Alfons Urbanik, German subject aged 20, certified by the Polish Information Committee & by the Russian Consul General to be a Pole in sympathy with the allies, wishes to proceed to the Imperial Hotel Belfast to take up employment as a waiter. What are your views as to issue of a permit?

The following day the Inspector General of Belfast, Robert Dunlop, replied:

I consider it extremely inadvisable to allow any more Germans into the staff of the Imperial Hotel. The proprietor is a naturalised Austrian, and 2 Germans and an Austrian are employed on the staff, having residence permits. I would strongly object to any more Germans being allowed in there, and the military authorities also object

Urbanik's permit was subsequently refused.¹¹⁸

Another example was the case of Edward Emmanuel Ashe, who was arrested for not registering as an enemy alien by Belfast City's R.I.C. in January 1915. A typed letter from Edward Ashe to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland complaining that he was wrongly registered as a German, when in fact he should have been registered as a Russian subject. He stated he was a Russian Jew:

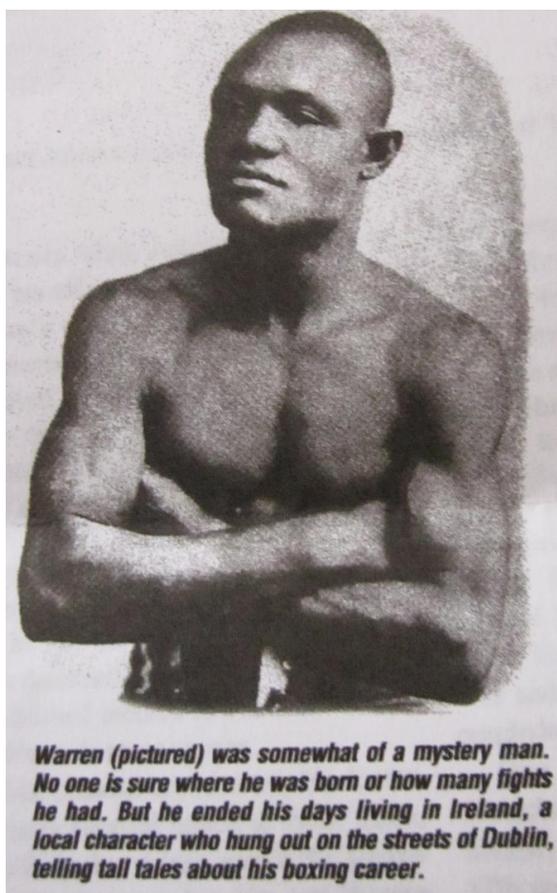
Born in Eytkuhen, Germany, on the border of the Russian Frontier in 1874. My parents were Russian Jews belonging to Vilna. In 1880 or 1882 I left Eytkuhen with my parents and went to live in Vilna, their ancestral home. The reason of this change was due to the fact that a law had been enforced in Germany whereby all Russian Jews were compelled to leave that country ... My eldest brother was a Russian soldier and still lives in Warsaw ... At the age of seventeen years [in 1891] I left Vilna and came to live in Dublin where I duly married a Dublin woman by whom I have four daughters, the eldest one being almost 18 years of age'¹¹⁹

However, the Lord Lieutenant could not change Ashe's registration details until Ashe could produce satisfactory evidence to show his Russian nationality. There were no further details about Edward Ashe's application request.

¹¹⁸ 'Files of enemy and friendly aliens', NAI, CSORP/1915/13931

¹¹⁹ 'Files of aliens in Ireland', NAI, CSORP/1915/1954 (Nos. 1631-2132; Box 5542)

Confusion reigned with regard to “hyphenated-Americans” and aliens of Jewish religion. A Dublin American who continued to appear in the newspapers throughout 1915, was an Afro-American, ex-professional boxer by the name of “Cyclone” Billy Warren. His nationality still remains a mystery today, with some boxing historians believing that he came from either America or Australia. His Christian name was in fact Joseph, not Billy.¹²⁰ He proved to be a stubborn individual, spending eight days in Cashel Prison, Co. Tipperary, at the end of February 1915, for refusing to answer police questions as to his name and nationality. At one stage, Warren had in fact answered his police interrogators with the name ‘The Kaiser’, which probably led to his arrest at the local fair he was attending.¹²¹ It was also reported by the *Anglo-Celt* on 22 May 1915 that Warren was arrested again under the Defence of the Realm Act, at Templemore fair, where he was trying to sell shirt studs. The reasons for his arrest were unclear.



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¹²⁰ Patrick Myler, ‘Untwisting the Cyclone. Solving the Mystery of Old-Time Heavyweight Billy Warren’, *The Ring Magazine* (August 2003), p. 51

¹²¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 20 February 1915; *Leitrim Observer*, 27 February 1915

¹²² More information on “Cyclone” Billy Warren can be found on http://boxrec.com/media/index.php/Billy_Warren and in Myler, ‘Untwisting the Cyclone’, Op.Cit., where the picture is taken from. In 1909, Warren had become the Irish Heavyweight Champion by

Other friendly aliens who experienced hostility in Ireland during 1915 included the Russian Jew Harry Enlander, acquitted after trial in February 1915 for being wrongfully charged with the theft of a lady's silver watch in Kiltyclogher, near Manorhamilton, County Leitrim. Enlander was a Jewish peddler operating around the borders of counties Leitrim, Cavan and Fermanagh.¹²³ In April, Rupert Blair, a Jamaican fortune teller and traveller, was arrested and sentenced to three months imprisonment at Clonmel, for being 'a rogue and vagabond'.¹²⁴ In the same issue it was reported that even the famous Irish novelist and playwright George Bernard Shaw was stopped in Birr on his travels to Galway after visiting Sir Horace Plunkett's residence in Dublin. Birr's police constable asked Shaw for his name and business after catching Shaw taking a photo of the Cumberland column, stating that the police had to be careful of foreigners. 'Oh yes, replied Shaw, 'and perhaps not friendly foreigners!'¹²⁵

After the *Lusitania* disaster arrests of friendly aliens occurred more frequently. In May Waldemer Kracke was arrested in Rathmines for not registering as a German enemy alien. He had to prove that he was of American nationality with German parents, with help from the American Vice-Consul of Dublin.¹²⁶ In June, two Dutchmen were arrested in Dublin for not registering as aliens on their arrival into the country, both having escaped Belgium from the invading German Army, before entering Dublin via France and Britain. The Dutch Consul in Dublin guaranteed that their Dutch passports were genuine and that they were 'both from well-to-do families'.¹²⁷ During July, a Russian Jew was remanded in Belfast after attempting to elicit information as to the movement of the Ulster Division. An American, Gerald W. Flahavan of Johnstown, Glanworth, County Cork, was also charged under D.O.R.A. at Fermoy due to pro-German statements made to a police constable after allegedly being

beating Jem Roche in Belfast, however, his title was disputed due to the two minute duration of the rounds and the fact that Warren was not Irish. He would lose the rematch the next month (http://boxrec.com/list_bouts.php?human_id=39950&cat=boxer). Warren did not box throughout the war period and lost four more fights after 1918 before he hung up his gloves in 1929, at the age of 52. In the latter part of his life Warren became a familiar Dublin character, with his bowler hat, cane and faded Crombie overcoat as he stood every day outside the GPO in O'Connell Street right up to the time of his death. There he would tell of his boxing exploits to anyone prepared to listen. He passed away in 1951.

¹²³ *Leitrim Observer*, 6 February 1915

¹²⁴ *Irish Independent*, 14 April 1915

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Irish Independent*, 28 May 1915

¹²⁷ *Irish Independent*, 14 & 21 June 1915; *Leitrim Observer*, 19 June 1915

robbed in the Connaught Rangers mess in Fermoy.¹²⁸ In August, three school teachers were arrested in Tralee and charged under D.O.R.A. for failing to register as aliens. They were fined 2s. 6d. each.¹²⁹ In the same month, two of Dublin's Russian Jewish community were arrested. Hyman Kineviskiy of Lennox Street was charged and fined for not registering as an alien, and Solomon Levy, for failing to register the former as a resident at his abode.¹³⁰

There was also positive news reported on friendly aliens. Great efforts were made by the residents of Queenstown, Kinsale and other south coast communities in saving the survivors of the *Lusitania* and collecting the bodies of the dead, notwithstanding their nationality or religious denomination. One individual especially affected by that day's events was Queenstown's American Consul, Wesley Frost, who stated that 'scores of the private residents of Queenstown took survivors into their homes, utterly irrespective of nationality'.¹³¹ The name and efforts of Wesley Frost would be 'remembered for years in Queenstown with admiration for the compassion he had shown and the selfless way he had drawn on his essential decency for looking after the living and the dead'.¹³² Flag days were also held in aid of Italy and Russia and collections continued to be made for the Belgian refugees and various Red Cross organisations. In return, Ireland received help from other countries, such as a huge consignment of flour from Canada being well received by various Irish regions during the winter and spring months, as well as shipments of flax from Russia to help the northern linen industries, which were suffering due to a lack of this raw material.

Therefore, friendly aliens experienced a similar intensity of hostility as enemy aliens in Ireland due to the increase in official alien restrictions after the *Lusitania* disaster in May 1915. However, these individuals did not face the wrath of internment and repatriation, as their German, Austrian, Hungarian, Turkish and Bulgarian neighbours faced after October 1915 if arrested.

¹²⁸ *Anglo-Celt*, 3 July 1915; *Irish Independent*, 9 July 1915

¹²⁹ *Irish Independent*, 18 August 1915

¹³⁰ *Irish Independent*, 23 August 1915

¹³¹ Liam, and John E. Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 74; Bernadette Whelan, *United States Foreign Policy and Ireland*, pp. 83-9, gives a concise account of Wesley Frost's duties and actions during the *Lusitania* disaster.

¹³² *Ibid.*

Belgian refugees and Irish hospitality

Ireland's Belgian refugee population continued to increase throughout 1915. A 'fresh contingent of Belgian refugees arrived at the North Wall [Dublin]' on 5 January, bringing the country's Belgian refugee population to just short of one thousand individuals.¹³³ By 13 January, a report in the *Freeman's Journal* stated that on interviewing Lady Maloney of the Belgian Refugees' Committee, she remarked that the numbers of Belgian refugees in Ireland had grown to 1,500 in size.¹³⁴ Of these new arrivals in January the numbers included one Belgian family accommodated at Cashel; another family at Tudenham Park, Mullingar; three families in Clonmel; seven families accommodated in Cavan; and ten Belgians arrived at Scarva House, in Clones by 9 January. It was reported by the *Freeman's Journal* on 11 January that a further twenty refugees were to be housed by the Kingstown Belgian Refugee Committee, at the Corrig schools (practically doubling the region's Belgian population in one day). Another large contingent of a hundred refugees was reported to have arrived at Dublin's ports on 12 January, en route to Letterkenny (50 refugees), Derry (numbers unknown), Balrothery Workhouse (25), Roscrea and Lifford (1 family each). It was reported on 23 January by the *Kildare Observer* that Celbridge Workhouse had received forty more refugees from Dublin. It is unknown whether these refugees were members of the 12 January contingent, or had been relocated to Celbridge to make room for new arrivals in the Dublin district. On Saturday 30 January, the London and North-Western Company (L. & N.W. Co.) steamer conveyed a further 108 Belgian refugees to Dublin. Of those, sixty were immediately sent to Dunshaughlin Workhouse (the workhouse had already received seventy refugees from Dublin a week earlier), while the L.G.B. sent a number of Belgian families to various towns in County Cavan, such as Mullagh and Ballintemple, which had been preparing accommodation and reception for their visitors since mid-January.¹³⁵

¹³³ *Irish Independent*, 6 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 6 January 1915. The majority of the hundred refugees were accommodated in Clones, Mullingar, Balrothery, Naas, Gorey, Rathdrum and Celbridge, while a small percentage remained in the Dublin district. The *Anglo-Celt* reported on the 23 January 1915 that the Belgian refugees sent to Scarva House, Clones were 'thoroughly satisfied with the place and the arrangements, and appreciate the kindness of the committee and all concerned'.

¹³⁴ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', has estimated that 'about 3,000 Belgian refugees came to Ireland in the period 1914-1919, peaking towards 2,300 near the end of 1914, while about 1,000 was the norm at other times.' (quote taken from Peter F. Whearity, 'Belgian Refugees in Ireland during World War One: Part One', *Ríocht na Midhe*, Vol.20 (2009), p.254).

¹³⁵ *Anglo-Celt*, 16 January 1915; *Meath Chronicle*, 30 January 1915; 1 February 1915

until 11 p.m. at night. We remained in Holland for six weeks. After that we were taken on board a merchant ship and brought to England, where we remained two days. On the 17th January, 1915, we for the first time placed our feet on Irish soil, where we received great kindness. Now, we thank the townspeople of Cavan, and particularly the Committee, for the kindness they showed us, and also for giving us shelter in our needs. Again and again we thank you all from our hearts."

THE BELGIAN REFUGEES.

February saw another large contingent of Belgians arriving in the country with 140 refugees arriving on the L. & N.W. Co.'s *Rathmore* steamer on 16 February.¹³⁷ Fifty more refugees arrived into Dublin port on 11 March and even though over sixty Belgian refugee males signed up to fight for the Belgian Army in February (a hundred Belgian refugees from Ireland had already enlisted in November 1914), the total figure of Belgian refugees accommodated in Ireland by the start of May 1915 was reaching close to 2,000 – if we take Lady Maloney's estimate from the Belgian Refugees' Committee as sacrosanct (2,000 was the figure that the *Freeman's Journal* also quoted on 1 April, which would tie in with the figure of 1,646 given for the end of March, by the L.G.B. and reported in the *Irish Independent* in 9 September edition).¹³⁸

The difficulty in reaching an exact figure for Ireland's Belgian refugees in 1915 was that the collation of numbers and location of Belgian refugees was placed in the hands of the DMP and RIC, instead of a central refugee department or committee, as had been set up in England and Wales by 1915. There was a reliance placed upon the Poor Law Unions, their Board of Guardians and private contributions from local individuals and individual Belgians appeared to be moved from place to place on their arrival into Ireland before a private residence was offered. There was a general consensus that the Belgians should not be treated as prisoners of war or interned as enemy alien civilians, so there appeared to be a general attempt to move the refugees on from the workhouses at the earliest opportunity.

¹³⁶ An excerpt from an interview of Cavan's Belgian refugees, by the *Anglo-Celt*, 30 January 1915 that portrays the thankfulness of the Belgians for their refuge and the support shown by the people of Cavan after the harrowing journey taken from Belgium to Ireland, via Holland and England.

¹³⁷ *Irish Independent*, 17 February 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1915

¹³⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 February; 12 March; 1 April 1915; *Irish Independent*, 23 February 1915. The figure would be considerably increased if we took Clare O'Neill's over-estimate of 2,300 Belgian refugees for the end of 1914 into consideration. The *Irish Independent* (9 September 1915) states that there was clearly some 'discrepancy' with regard to Ireland's Belgian refugee figures for the end of March 1915, between the L.G.B. (1,646) and the Belgian Refugees Committee (3,000).

Accommodation was of great concern among the charitable organisations and local authorities in Ireland. Letters continued to be printed in the newspapers about the use of workhouses to accommodate Belgians. The Poor Law Union workhouses in Ireland were always supposed to be a temporary measure until alternative accommodation was provided by Ireland's general public. However, offers of accommodation were not forthcoming by January 1915 and therefore the workhouses continued to be the first port of call for Belgian refugees arriving in the country. With the wartime situation considered, every effort was made to make the Belgians as comfortable as possible. Christmas was enjoyed by the thirty-five Belgians at Celbridge workhouse, the *Kildare Observer* reporting:

Mrs. Barton, Straffan ... presented to the Belgians a number of turkeys for dinner on Christmas Day ... the Master [of the workhouse] provided Christmas wine, sweets, cigars, etc., in connection with the feast, so that nothing was wanting towards brightening the lives of these people, and they heartily enjoyed and appreciated it all.¹³⁹

However, within a month, the *Freeman's Journal* began to question the use of workhouses to accommodate Belgians. The newspaper estimated that upwards of a hundred refugees out of the 1,500 in Ireland were placed in workhouses across the country, including Dunshaughlin, Celbridge, Balrothery, Ardee and Gorey. But while many of the financial contributions collected by county councils, parishes and private organisations found their way to Cardinal Mercier in Belgium, the article suggested the funds could be put to better use by accommodating the refugees, instead of relying on the LGB and Boards of Guardians to cover the cost of the workhouses.¹⁴⁰ This fact created some issues within the various county Boards. Not only did the Boards of Guardians and LGB have to pay for the accommodation, food, clothing, heating and medical care of a locality's poor, sick and distressed, they now had to look after the Belgians. The Guardians of a county's Poor Law Union were often not invited to participate in discussions regarding a workhouse's suitability and decisions were often made in secret by the LGB and a Union's Chairman. This clearly created unnecessary tension and animosity between the LGB and a Union's Board of Guardians, resulting in action often being taken to try and prevent Belgian refugees being placed in a

¹³⁹ *Kildare Observer*, 2 January 1915

¹⁴⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 30 January 1915; Peter Whearity made comment on the reluctance to spend money on items deemed necessary for refugees in workhouses, giving one specific example of the guardians of Balrothery workhouse in February 1915 'in conflict over whether to order a cotes-drying press for the refugees', 'Belgian Refugees in Ireland', p. 266

workhouse. Heated meetings of the Board of Guardians and local authorities over the cost of accommodating and feeding the refugees were reported in the local newspapers and negative letters expressing an attitude of ‘them’ (Belgian refugees) versus ‘Us’ (the Irish poor who were being moved from the workhouse and relocated often to another locality).¹⁴¹ The Meath Board of Guardians even produced a list of disused and unoccupied mansion houses throughout the county that could provide alternative locations to accommodate refugees. The list was sent on to the LGB for consideration. This was also of concern at Tullamore’s Union workhouse, in Co. Offaly, where the guardians had refused to allow refugees into their workhouse; and in Navan, where the guardians and county councillors met to discuss alternative accommodation.¹⁴² The only firm effort made to relocate Belgians from the workhouse to private accommodation took place at Celbridge, County Kildare between January and April. However, the final eleven refugees were simply transferred to County Meath’s Dunshaughlin workhouse, set up in January to house a large number of Belgian refugees, instead of to private housing. The remaining Belgian occupants of Balrothery workhouse were also moved to Dunshaughlin in early April 1915.¹⁴³ The reason given for the closure of Celbridge to the refugees was the poor living standards of the workhouse. An LGB report confirmed that ‘there is no bath of any kind for inmates of the body of the house’, an inadequate supply of blankets within the workhouse and a lack of a water supply ‘owing to the river being flooded ... the turbine wheel ... and the pump in the well ... broken’.¹⁴⁴ Adverts continued to appear in local and national newspapers pleading to the public for private accommodation and cash contributions for Belgians. Waterford’s Belgian Refugee Committee contributed to the housing of three Belgian refugee families in February 1915. Due to the charitable work of some of Waterford’s prominent ladies the families were housed in Mr. Fennessy’s ‘fine house’ in William Street (formerly occupied by the YMCA); providing an example that private contributions on a local level continued to work to accommodate the refugees.¹⁴⁵ The

¹⁴¹ *Meath Chronicle*, 13 March 1915

¹⁴² *Freeman’s Journal*, 4 February 1915; Whearity, ‘Belgian Refugees in Ireland during World War One: Part One’, p. 264; and ‘Part Two’, *Ríocht na Midhe*, Vol.21 (2010), p. 204

¹⁴³ *Kildare Observer*, 3 April 1915; *Freeman’s Journal*, 7 April 1915; Whearity, ‘Belgian Refugees in Ireland during World War One: Part Two’, p. 202

¹⁴⁴ *Kildare Observer*, 13 March 1915

¹⁴⁵ *Munster Express*, 24 June 1916. Employment would be found for the head of each family and soon the Belgians would contribute a portion of their earnings to the upkeep and housekeeping of the refugee home. One of the families would move to Dublin in November 1915, being replaced by another family at Williams Street.

Meath Chronicle reported on 16 January of the arrival of seventeen Belgians in Mullagh, Co. Cavan, with private houses offered by Messrs. T. P. McKenna and G. F. Mortimer. On the same day the *Anglo-Celt* advertised Cavan's Belgian Refugee Fund Concert, which took place in the Town Hall on 27 January. February saw the Cookstown Relief Committee, Co. Tyrone, welcome nineteen more Belgians into their community.¹⁴⁶ By April, Monaghan's Belgian refugees were granted increased living and clothing allowances by the town's Belgian Relief Committee.¹⁴⁷

The employment of Belgian refugees also continued to be another contentious issue during 1915. By January 1915 there were already discussions in the press about using Belgian expertise in industry and agriculture for the benefit of the country. The *Anglo-Celt* stated that 'intensive culture of land ... in Belgium has proved extremely profitable', and 'scientific cultivation' methods were available for Ireland's farmers to put to great effect.¹⁴⁸ The 'Government Belgian Refugee Committee' considered areas where other industries in Britain and Ireland could be created or enhanced with the help of Belgian production methods and techniques to assist with the country's economic development, while 'not conflict[ing] with the interests of home labour'.¹⁴⁹ It was decided in the first week of January to allow Belgian refugees the opportunity to work in two of the three employment classes, including armament-makers, glass-blowers, miners, woollen-workers, agricultural labourers and motor mechanics, while the final class was left to the decision of local authorities and commissioners employed by the L.G.B. (these professions included tailors, milliners, dress-makers, jewellers, printers, book-binders, carpenters, cabinet-makers, ironmongers and fancy goods makers). Within Ireland discussions took place concerning the re-establishment of the glass and embroidery-making industries and the introduction of new agricultural produce, such as beetroot. A proposal for a glass-making factory in Dublin was passed by the British Treasury at the start of February, with two Belgian refugees, Gustav Peeters and Leon de Ridder, as its leading experts.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 25 February 1915

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 21 April 1915

¹⁴⁸ *Anglo-Celt*, 2 January 1915; *Connacht Tribune*, 8 May 1915

¹⁴⁹ *Irish Independent*, 4 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 8 January 1915

¹⁵⁰ *Freeman's Journal*, 8, 14, 20 & 26 January 1915; 4 February 1915; *Anglo-Celt*, 9 January 1915; *Irish Independent*, 19 & 21 January 1915

However, questions were soon asked about the Belgian refugees' eligibility to work in Britain and Ireland. If the male refugees were fit enough to do manual work in Ireland, should they also be fit enough to fight for their homeland? Another question asked whether the refugees were as patriotic as the Belgians who decided to stay in Belgium?¹⁵¹ By the last week of February, fears of a labour shortage in agriculture meant that farmers might need to turn to Belgian refugees to fill the gap left by labourers going off to fight on the front or moving to urban or industrial centres.¹⁵² A total of over 50,000 Irishmen had already volunteered for service in the British Army since the start of the war.¹⁵³ By allowing refugees to work in agriculture and industry, trades unionists and socialists, such as James Larkin and James Connolly, worried about the Belgians becoming a source of cheap labour by employers, threatening the jobs of Irish workers. By mid-March, Lord Kitchener and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George, allayed these fears by stating that refugees were to be paid the current rates of the trade union wages. Compared to the rest of Britain, Ireland had significantly smaller numbers of Belgian refugees, meaning less pressure was put on the labour market.¹⁵⁴ One industry that did benefit from Belgian refugee workers was the Arigna Coal Mining Company, situated in Ballinamore, Co. Leitrim. Several Belgians made up the 200 strong labour force of the company; the first of the Belgian miners started at the mine in mid-May and was offered cottages by the owners of the mining company.¹⁵⁵ Other individual Belgian families would find employment in other locations; a cabinet-maker was employed in Galway city in August;¹⁵⁶ with help from the Belgian Refugees Committee, Belgians from Scarva House, Clones found work in a munitions factory, while three refugees were sent to be employed in France and one family was able to support itself in Clones.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵¹ *Leitrim Observer*, 30 January 1915

¹⁵² *Irish Independent*, 29 January 1915; *Freeman's Journal*, 22 February 1915. One problem with this solution was that many of the Belgian refugees were either urban townies or fishermen and therefore had little experience of farm work, as was the case when refugees were given the opportunity to work on the Dunshaughlin Workhouse farm, *Freeman's Journal*, 24 March 1915; *Meath Chronicle*, 27 March 1915 & 2 October 1915

¹⁵³ Catriona Pennell, 'Going to War', p. 46; Fergus Campbell, *Land and Revolution: Nationalist Politics in the West of Ireland, 1891-1921* (Oxford, 2005), p. 196

¹⁵⁴ *Irish Independent*, 20 March 1915, *Freeman's Journal*, 30 March 1915

¹⁵⁵ 'RIC Monthly Report for Co. Roscommon, May 1915', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/97; *Leitrim Observer*, 15 & 29 May 1915

¹⁵⁶ *Connacht Tribune*, 14 August 1915

¹⁵⁷ *Anglo-Celt*, 9 October 1915

Refugees who were unable to work were looked after by the L.G.B., Poor Law Unions, the Belgian Refugee Committee, the War Refugees Committee, the Belgian Relief Fund, private societies and charitable bodies, individuals and Ireland's Catholic and Protestant clergy, who all helped to raise funds and collections in a variety of means, including Belgian Flag Days, clothing collections, art exhibitions and sales. One such example being the art exhibition held in March 1915 by the Royal Hibernian Academy, which had among its exhibits work by two prominent Belgian artists. Edmond Delrenne, a landscape painter had found shelter with the help of the Academy's President, Dermot O'Brien at Cahirmoyle, Co. Limerick. During his stay in Ireland, Delrenne experienced and painted Dublin during the 1916 Easter Rising (See Appendix 4).¹⁵⁸ Four paintings were also exhibited by Marthe Donas, one of the world's first female abstract painters, who as a refugee in Dublin had taken up training in stained glass art, resulting in the installation of three stained glass windows for Irish churches.¹⁵⁹ The paintings of both these Belgian refugee artists shared the same Royal Hibernian Academy wall as Irish artists such as Jack B. Yeats and W. J. Leech.¹⁶⁰

The numerous Belgian refugee collections started to anger certain nationalists. Roger Casement already held negative views of the Belgian nation, its leaders and people, from his time in the African Congo, where he had reported on the atrocities imposed by the Belgians on the native Congolese population.¹⁶¹ James Connolly also 'expressed his outrage at how quickly Britain had chosen to forget Roger Casement's exposure only a decade previously of Belgian genocide against the Congolese'.¹⁶² The pro-German sympathies of Connolly and Casement reacted angrily against British propaganda, which sided with 'Poor Little Belgium' and against the brutality of the German Hun, especially prominent after the German naval and air bombardment of Britain and the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915. Laurence Ginnell, an

¹⁵⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 March 1915; Adrian le Harivel & Michael Wynne (eds), *National Gallery of Ireland Acquisitions 1982-1983*, (Dublin, 1983); for examples of some of Delrenne's work in Ireland see http://www.artnet.com/artists/lotdetailpage.aspx?lot_id=0F66177643F7AB63DA200BB3A1A05066 and <http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/1885797> (these can be viewed in Appendix 4)

¹⁵⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 22 March 1915; a biography of Martha Donas can be found at <http://www.museemarthedonas.be/>. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find where the three church stain-glass windows were installed.

¹⁶⁰ *Irish Independent*, 12 March 1915

¹⁶¹ For further information on Roger Casement, his work in the African Congo and his attitudes towards Belgian nation and its leaders read Angus Mitchell, *Casement* (London, 2003)

¹⁶² O'Riordan, 'James Connolly Re-Assessed', *Op.Cit.*; James Connolly, 'Belgian Rubber and Belgian Neutrality', *Irish Worker*, 14 November 1914

independent Nationalist MP for Westmeath North, also delivered a ‘sensational speech’ stating that:

Belgium brought her present woes upon herself by resisting the march of the German army when they were willing to pass through without doing harm, as they had been allowed to pass through Luxembourg without doing any harm.

The *Freeman’s Journal* reacted against Ginnell, stating that his views were shared by people like Kuno Meyer.¹⁶³ Some nationalists also linked the assistance and refuge offered to Belgians in Great Britain and Ireland to the ‘economic benefit’ of the British Government and not as an example of British philanthropy and hospitality.

Among the many positive reports of Irish philanthropy and generosity to Belgian refugees, negative reports also started to appear in the press about the behaviour of Belgian refugees in Ireland. From the days of reports appearing in the press playing on the Irish sympathies and devout generosity to their Belgian Catholic brethren, such as Katharine Tynan’s *Irish Independent* report on 1 April 1915, ‘Guests of Honour: the Belgian Refugees’, which pointed to the £30,000 contributions made to the Belgian Relief Fund by Ireland’s Catholic dioceses and the refugees’ eagerness to work; two weeks later the same newspaper (on 12 April) reported refugee trouble in the United Kingdom, with the headline ‘Scum of Belgium. Refugees Get Into Trouble: “Big strapping” Belgian refugees [who] ... ought to be in the firing line’ were arrested for being drunk and disorderly and using abusive language in London. On 17 April the *Meath Chronicle* reported a letter of eviction of an Irish family in Kells, while the town’s Belgian refugees received contributions and housing. Many Irish families had experienced a family member or neighbour march off to war or die on the fields of Belgium and France, while more Irish soldiers were being lined up to fight on the eastern front, with the Dardanelles/Gallipoli campaign beginning in April 1915. It was natural that some sections of the Irish public questioned why ‘big strapping’ Belgians were being housed, fed and even working in Ireland, while Irishmen died for the saviour of ‘Poor Little Belgium’. Even though the *Lusitania* sinking diverted Irish attention back to German brutality, by September 1915 negative articles on Belgians began to appear in the press again. On 22 September the *Irish Independent* reported that two Belgian refugees were fined £1 each for entering a prohibited area without

¹⁶³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 January 1915

permission. The defendants also had £100 in their possession and were employed by a Belgian horse trainer – money and employment becoming a key issue in the article. In October the LGB had to investigate a report of ‘incivility’ by a female Belgian refugee to a Belgian priest.¹⁶⁴

Even though war losses and pressures were beginning to concern the Irish people, these were the only reports to appear in the Irish press by the end of 1915 and the majority of reports continued to express sympathy towards Belgians in Ireland and the generosity of the Irish towards the refugees. Financial collections and offers of hospitality continued to be given to Belgians who entered Ireland, even though the anti-British and pro-German attitudes of radical nationalists were growing in strength by the end of 1915.

Conclusion

By the end of 1915 it was becoming clear to the Irish public that the conflict was becoming a war of attrition between the Alliance and Entente countries. This would have a defining effect on Irish attitudes towards enemy and friendly aliens. The year had seen the Irish death toll rise considerably due to Irish involvement in the British forces, especially the failed Dardanelles/Gallipoli campaign (April-December 1915), as well as the intense fighting continuing on Europe’s Western Front.

Ireland’s enemy alien population experienced the wrath of Germany’s air and naval actions and the xenophobic propaganda that followed the bombardment of the south and east coasts of Britain and the vast damage and loss of life dealt by German submarine action in British and Irish waters. Many of Ireland’s enemy alien civilians were arrested and interned in Oldcastle, or repatriated, while the numbers that remained throughout Ireland lived in constant fear of retribution from their adopted country. Enemy alien arrests increased after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915, but Ireland did not experience the backlash of hostility that culminated in mass riots throughout the rest of the British Isles and in other Commonwealth countries.

There can only be speculation as to why no rioting occurred in Ireland. Politically, the issue of Home Rule and an independent Ireland tended to overshadow the enemy alien threat for the political protagonists and press in Ireland. The riots in

¹⁶⁴ *Irish Independent*, 25 October 1915

Britain were heavily reliant on the persuasive influence of the right-wing press and politicians, an element that did not carry as much weight in Ireland. Economically, Ireland was not yet feeling the pinch of war. The considerable rise in the prices of food and fuel added pressure to the country's lower classes and the demands of the war affected the production and costs of the linen, flax, fishing and sea-faring industries. However, other sections of the population were experiencing little change in their daily lives. Prosperity was felt by the agricultural classes as harvests proved to be especially healthy in 1915. Shopkeepers prospered from the rising prices and demands on food and materials. Many Irish families with husbands, sons or relatives fighting in the war also received financial aid from the British Government. Socially, a general apathy existed among the Irish public, as Irishmen and women were confused with which opinion to believe - the pro-German and anti-British information that was being written by Irish nationalist and Irish-American elements, or the pro-British and anti-German propaganda. It was often safer to keep quiet about opinions in a tense wartime atmosphere. Even though sympathy was expressed towards the loss of life due to the *Lusitania* sinking, there was more concern about the growing strength and support for radical nationalists which were evident in the DMP and RIC monthly police reports. There was more newspaper reporting on enemy alien arrests after May 1915, mostly due to the increasing pressure placed upon the Irish authorities to clamp down on infringements by aliens of all nationalities and by the introduction of more restrictive anti-alien measures by the new British coalition government.

The restrictive government measures also affected friendly aliens in Ireland, with reports (especially after May 1915) appearing in newspapers of the arrest of individual friendly aliens who had not adhered to the rules and regulations laid down by the British and Irish authorities regarding residence and travel restrictions. Confusion continued to reign in Ireland as to what nationalities were regarded as 'friendly' and 'enemy' to the country; especially the territories of Alsace-Lorraine and Poland that had gone through transition of being the property of more than one country throughout its history. Should Armenians be considered enemy aliens because of their (oppressive) relations within the Turkish Ottoman Empire – a situation not dissimilar to the plight of the Irish with the British Empire?

While the closure of Templemore's POW camp in the first few months of 1915 (to the regret of military inmates who had made it their temporary home in Co.

Tipperary) was due more to political fears rather than economic reasons, a large proportion of Ireland's enemy alien civilian population were interned in Oldcastle's internment camp. Upwards of 580 enemy aliens were housed at His Majesty's pleasure by the end of 1915. The fact that several escape attempts were made during 1915, points to the fact that the workhouse living conditions for the enemy alien civilians were possibly not as comfortable as the U.S. Embassy in London and news reports suggested.

Finally, Belgian refugees continued to enter Ireland in large numbers throughout 1915. While much of the efforts by the Irish people were positive towards the Belgian refugees, such as the large financial contributions collected throughout 1915, problems started to arise concerning a lack of private accommodation and the fact that several Union workhouses had to be used to house a proportion of the refugees, as the public showed a certain amount of apathy to lending assistance to the Belgians. Questions regarding Belgian employment rights, eligibility to fight and abuses of hospitality appeared more regularly in the Irish newspapers as the year progressed. It is important to mention that these reports were in a minority compared to the positive press coverage concerning the Belgian refugees in Ireland, such as the expertise (in agriculture and lost industries like glass-making) that Belgians could offer to Ireland's economy.

The events and issues that played a part in determining the daily lives of many of Ireland's alien population during 1915, illustrates how the country proved to be such a complex and often confusing place to live in. The war played a central part in determining the freedoms and restrictions given to both enemy and friendly aliens, but these groups also had to contend with the heightened political atmosphere created by the Home Rule issue and Nationalist-Unionist and Catholic-Protestant divisions, which would play a significant role in 1916.

CHAPTER 4

1916: The Effects of the Easter Rising on Ireland's Alien Population

As the conflict moved into 1916, cracks began to appear throughout Irish society due to the exigencies of war. Even though government contracts and wartime demands for food, clothing and manufactured goods benefited Ireland's farmers and industrialists, high prices for food and fuel added economic pressures upon the country's lower classes. Even though Ireland's employment rate benefited from the war, strikes became frequent throughout the provinces, as many of the country's working population sought higher wages to compensate for the increased wartime living costs. While the working classes saw their employers in agriculture and industry getting richer from the war, they often had to endure higher food and fuel prices, as well as the heartbreak of losing family members and friends on a weekly basis due to the conflict.¹

The appearance of social cracks and tensions only added fuel to the radical nationalist cause in Ireland. Enlistment figures had already plummeted before the start of 1916, as the Irish people began to listen to alternative voices from the more radical nationalist groups, such as the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Republican Brotherhood. 'The process of radicalisation predated the Easter rebellion. Even the optimistic Augustine Birrell felt a change of atmosphere from his study of the local press in late 1915 – "an increasing *exaltation of spirit* and a growth of confidence ... I feel the Irish situation one of menace".² Supporters of complete Irish independence continued to grow up to April, when the radical nationalists and their supporters started a rebellion. Irish lives were lost during and after the week of the rebellion, either killed in the week-long battle in Dublin, or afterwards when British courts martial condemned many of the leaders to execution for treason against the British Crown. Other Irish men and women involved in the rebellion found themselves interned in English camps, a similar

¹ David Fitzpatrick, 'Home Front and Everyday Life', in John Horne (Ed.), *Our War...*, pp. 136-7; Pauline Codd, 'Recruiting and Responses to the War in Wexford', in David Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Ireland and the First World War* (Dublin, 1986) pp. 15-26

² Charles Townshend, *Ireland: The Twentieth Century*, p. 70. Augustine Birrell was the Chief Secretary of Ireland from 1907, but resigned from his position in the immediate aftermath of the 1916 Rising; Pat Jalland, 'Birrell, Augustine (1850–1933)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/31901> (21 October 2012)

treatment to that dealt out to their German, Austrian and Hungarian neighbours (although most enemy aliens interned had not performed a treasonable act against Britain). The year continued to see Ireland lose men in battles abroad (especially on the fields of the Somme between July and November), whilst more Irish lives were lost at sea with Germany's introduction of a sea blockade against Britain and an intensive U-boat campaign around British and Irish waters.

How did the war's political, economic and social pressures on Ireland affect the country's enemy and friendly alien nationalities during 1916? How were alien nationals affected by the exigencies of the Easter Rebellion, Germany's U-boat war and the economic and social pressures from a war weariness that was beginning to be apparent in the Irish psyche?

Enemy aliens, the Easter Rising and its aftermath

Britain was experiencing an increasing number of air raids by German Zeppelins in the first two months of 1916, while the German Admiralty delivered the promise to Britain of 'unrestricted submarine warfare'³ within British and Irish waters on all shipping (including neutral and passenger vessels) that operated around the coastline. Coupled with the newspaper reports of German plots in Canada and the USA⁴ it was not surprising to find Dublin's Gaiety Theatre advertising the production of a German spy play, 'The Man Who Stayed at Home' in the same month.

AMUSEMENTS.

GAIETY THEATRE
MATINEE TO-DAY AT 2.30
To-Night at 8.0. Early Doors at 7.0.
The Enormously Successful Spy Play.
THE MAN WHO
STAYED AT HOME

GAIETY THEATRE. 5

³ Liam & John Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 140-9

⁴ *Irish Independent*, 8 February 1916. The Canadian secret service announced attempts by the German military to enter the United States in the guise of Belgian refugees, while 200,000 Mauser rifles were secretly purchased in New York and sent to points along the Canadian border, all of which was reportedly in preparation for a military invasion of Canada.

⁵ *Irish Independent*, 12 February 1916. The play was written by Lechmere Worrall and J. E. Harold Terry. It was also made into a silent UK film in 1915, directed by Cecil M. Hepworth. The storyline was about a detective posing as a shirker to unmask spies at an East Coast boarding house.

The ‘unrestricted submarine warfare’ promised by the German Admiralty began in March and by 14 April the *Irish Independent* reported that 30 neutral vessels had either been sunk or seriously damaged around the coasts of Britain and Ireland.⁶

How did this affect enemy aliens residing in Ireland? Alien restrictions were extended to order aliens entering any of Britain and Ireland’s prohibited areas to apply for an identification book by 13 March. Police and military authorities could demand to view an alien’s book at any time.⁷ This was yet another restrictive measure to assist the authorities in monitoring the numbers and whereabouts of the country’s alien population, as well as suppressing the enemy alien danger.

Repatriation and internment policies

In May 1915 Lord Charles Beresford had stated:

If you have bad laws, or no laws at all, the people will take the law into their own hands ... Let the Government govern and not let the people indulge in outrageous performances because the Government has not done their work.⁸

Unfortunately, Beresford was proved correct by 12 May when the worst of the anti-German riots occurred in London. The next day Asquith announced a new internment policy:

Persons of hostile origin residing in this country were divided into 2 classes – those who have been naturalised and have therefore become British subjects, and those who have not ... non-naturalised aliens ... [totalling] 19,000 interned and ... some 40,000 (24,000 men and 16,000 women) at large ... all adult males of this class should ... be segregated and interned, or, if over military age, repatriated ... women and children in suitable cases will be repatriated, but there will, no doubt, be many instances which justice and humanity will require that they should be allowed to remain ... In the case of the naturalised aliens, who are in law British subjects (numbering about 8,000), they would not be interned unless it could be ascertained by the advisory body that it would be dangerous if they were allowed to remain free.⁹

⁶ *Irish Independent*, 14 April 1916. The *Leitrim Observer*, 15 April 1916 also gives figures of British vessels lost by German U-boats, warships or mines.

⁷ *Leitrim Observer*, 18 March 1916

⁸ *Hansard*, fifth series, LXXI, 1607-8, 1610, 1612, 11 May 1915; taken from Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 77

⁹ *Hansard*, fifth series, LXXI, 1842, 13 May 1915; Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 78

The new steps were put into effect almost immediately, but the process of internment was relatively slow because additional space had to be found to house the enemy aliens. By 5 June 1915, 3,339 additional males had been interned in Britain and by the end of July 'internment was proceeding at the rate of 1,000 cases a week, and there still remained 6,000 aliens to be interned'.¹⁰ Repatriation was also proceeding apace with 14,400 registered 'German female adults' (5,000 were Englishwomen married to Germans) deported to Germany. The Home Office informed the police forces that the only group who should be allowed to remain were those women who had gained enemy nationality through marriage. The rest, unless they obtained an exemption certificate from the Advisory Committee, had to 'voluntarily' leave the country otherwise a deportation order would be issued against them. Two Advisory Committees were set up; the first covering Scotland, while the second covered England and Wales. The British authorities continued to rely on the DMP, RIC, the military and Dublin Castle to make decisions over repatriation and internment exemption applications in Ireland. Therefore, even though there was no further anti-German rioting in Ireland since the isolated incident in Dublin in August 1914, Ireland's enemy aliens would experience official discrimination through the anti-alien legislation passed by the British government and enforced by the police and military authorities. It is possible to conclude that the effectiveness of the anti-alien legislation on interning and repatriating the majority of Ireland's enemy alien population by 1916, prevented any further antagonism being created between enemy aliens and their Irish hosts.

In England, Wales and Scotland a total of 16,000 applications for exemption from internment were considered during the First World War, of which 7,150 were granted; while there were 16,456 applications for exemption from repatriation, of which 14,939 were granted.¹¹ By 22 November the number of internees had reached 32,440, an increase of 12,871 from the figures of 13 May and it remained steady until the summer of 1916. A total of 22,000 alien enemies were still at liberty, including 10,000 women. Of the 12,000 men, exemption was granted to 4,000 who were 'violently hostile to Germany and Austria', which included Czechs, Poles, Alsations, Italians from the Trentino, Southern Slavs, as well as a proportion of Armenians.¹² Also exempt were

¹⁰ *Hansard*, fifth series, LXXII, 360, 10 June 1915; Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 80

¹¹ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp. 80-1

¹² An example of a Czech national residing in Ireland was Frank Stowick, Portrush (NAI, CSORP/1918/13642). Stowick had arrived in England in 1895 and settled in Ireland four years later. He

1,500 men over 70 years of age, while individuals whose sympathies lay with the Allies and those who carried out 'valuable scientific or industrial service to the country in connection with the war' also achieved exemption. About 6,000 others, mostly people of long residence, two-thirds of whom had resided in the country for over thirty years and many with sons fighting in the British Army were also able to apply for exemption certificates. Approximately 10,000 people were repatriated (many voluntarily) between May 1915 and June 1916. Enemy aliens who found themselves automatically deported were single women with less than five years residence.¹³

In a Cabinet report written by the Home Secretary, Herbert Samuel, on 19 June 1916, it was stated that since the May 1915 alien policy initiative,

there have been interned about 13,000 male alien enemies, in addition to the 19,000 interned at the date of the Prime Minister's statement making 32,000 in all. Further, about 10,000 alien enemies (men not of military age, women and children) have been repatriated voluntarily or compulsorily since May 1915 ... There remain –

- (a) Rather more than 10,000 women, not including English [most likely meaning British and Irish] women married to alien enemies.
- (b) About 4,000 men of friendly alien origin – Czechs, Poles, Alsations, Italians, South Slavs, etc.
- (c) About 1,500 men over 70 years.
- (d) A few individuals whose sympathies are with the Allies ... doing valuable scientific or industrial service.
- (e) About 6,000 others ... persons of long residence ... two-thirds ... resided for +30 years ... and many ... have sons fighting in the British Army.¹⁴

Figures for repatriation and exemption from deportation or internment are more difficult to quantify in Ireland, due to the lack of a central advisory committee and the piecemeal administration of files kept on aliens and their dependents by Dublin Castle,

was registered as an Austrian (and enemy alien) when war broke out, but was exempted from internment due to his Czech nationality and his eagerness to enlist in the British Army. He actually gained summer work at the Eglinton Hotel, Portrush (a coastal town in Co. Antrim) in 1915 and 1916, before travelling to the Czech Agency Office in London in December 1916 to gain status as a friendly alien, which would ultimately assist him in joining the Royal Field Artillery in February 1917. His wife (Lena) and their four children were still registered as enemy aliens in Portrush and only gained exemption from the Aliens Restriction Order in May 1918.

¹³ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp. 81-2

¹⁴ 'Cabinet report on enemy alien subjects in Britain, written by Herbert Samuel (19 June 1916)', PRONI, MIC 219/45 (CAB 37/150/3). The 'Prime Minister's statement refers to the quote used in the above cabinet report *Hansard*, fifth series, LXXI, 1842, 13 May 1915; Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 78 (fn. 14).

the police and military authorities. Exemptions from repatriation could be granted in the following cases:

1. Applicants of either sex with English-born dependent children (5-15 years of age)
2. Men and women with English-born children irrespective of age who had been resident in England for over 35 years
3. People without English-born children, living in England for over 40 years
4. Women in pregnancy, invalids, or those nursing invalids
5. Persons involved in development of an industry in Britain or Ireland
6. Technical alien enemies such as Czechs and Poles.¹⁵

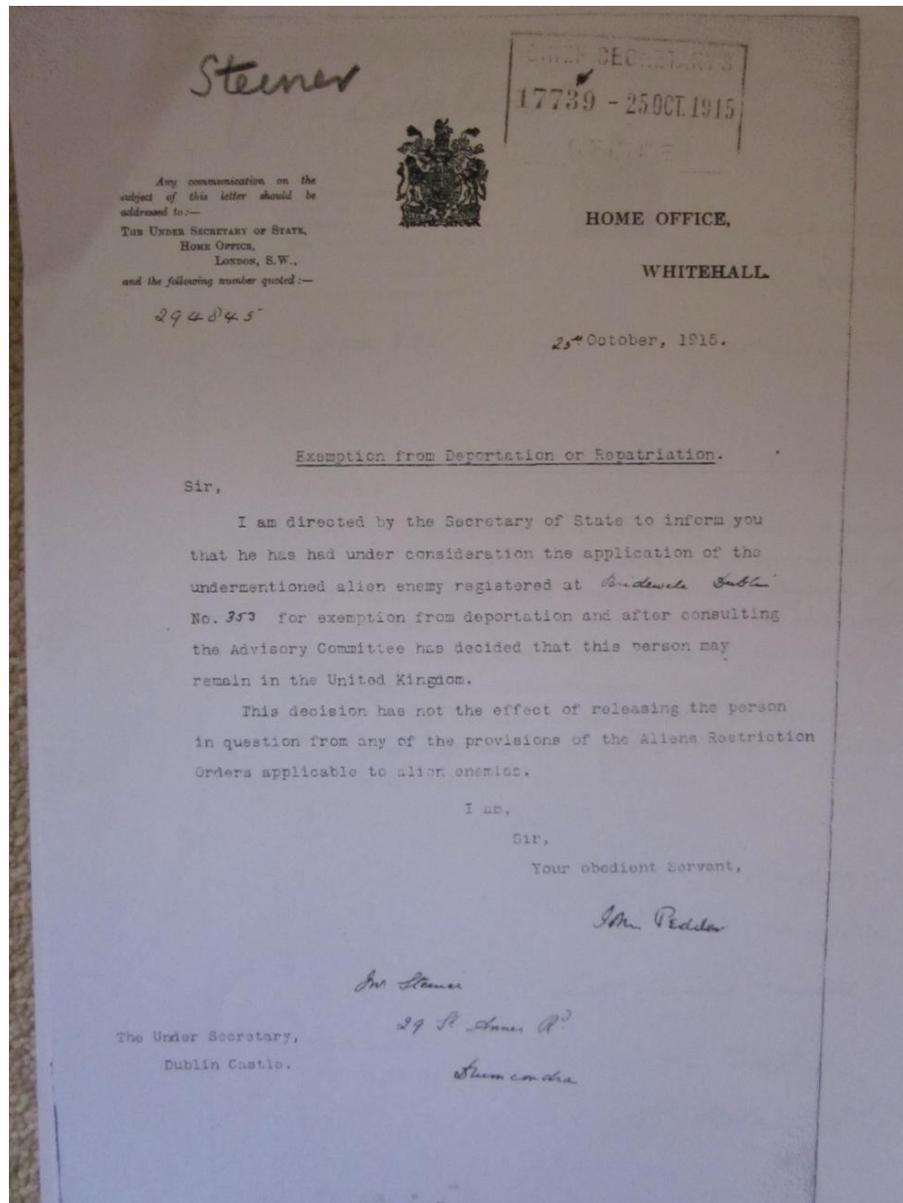
Various examples of applications of exemption from internment by enemy aliens, or exemption from repatriation by their wives and dependents can be found in Dublin Castle's Chief Secretary's Office Papers. One particular file holds 216 individual names and applications for exemption from deportation, dating from August 1915 to April 1916. The file contains familiar names of aliens, such as the venerable collector John Joseph Steiner, who was given exemption from deportation on 25 October 1915 (photograph below). Mrs B. Reitz of Bannowville, of Castlewood Park, Rathmines, wife of George Reitz, whose Dublin shop was targeted in August 1914, was another individual granted exemption from repatriation on 29 January 1916.¹⁶

However, another file discovered in the Chief Secretary's Office Registered Papers (CSORP/1919/3681) gives lists and case files of enemy aliens who applied for exemption from internment. These cases date from June 1915 until as late as 1919 and provide more difficult reading and include appeals of over ninety enemy aliens who helped to make up the file. One example refers back to Dublin's Reitz family (mentioned above and in Chapter 1). Although George Reitz's wife had been granted exemption from repatriation on 29 January 1916, her husband was arrested and conveyed to Oldcastle detention camp on 23 September 1915, soon after applying for a certificate for exemption from internment. His wife's pleas for his subsequent release continued until 13 April 1916 when his application for release from internment was refused by the Home Office. As with many other cases, George Reitz spent the rest of

¹⁵ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp. 82

¹⁶ 'Collection of files of alien nationals in Ireland seeking exemption from deportation/repatriation certificates', NAI, CSORP/1918/18748

the war interned at Oldcastle detention camp.¹⁷ The file also provides evidence that Frederick Lang was also arrested on 20 September 1915 and interned at Oldcastle. His appeal for release dragged on for several months (from January to July 1916) before the Home Office decided not to grant his release from internment.



Copy of letter exempting John Joseph Steiner from deportation or Repatriation (NAI, CSORP/1918/18748)

Charles Seezer (the third victim of the August 1914 Dublin riot) had his appeal for exemption from internment refused by the Home Secretary in July 1915. Other familiar names to appear in this file include William Winter of Carrick-on-Shannon, and Victor

¹⁷ 'Collection of files of alien nationals in Ireland seeking exemption from internment certificates', NAI, CSORP/1919/3681

Zorn, whose eight month appeal for repatriation was fought on medical grounds (between 22 June 1916 and 20 February 1917), though the details of the illness were never mentioned in any of the reports.¹⁸

The Easter Rising

The Easter Rising brought more attention to the existence and collaboration of the radical nationalists and Ireland's enemy aliens, as well as the foreign influence of individuals and groups from America and Germany. Many pressures were moving diverse forces toward a showdown. Firstly, the casualties in France and on other fronts prompted British demands for more Irish replacement troops, leading to a call for conscription to be introduced to Ireland. Secondly, the German U-boat offensive against British-bound shipping was creating an urgent need for food, fuel and materials, which could be produced in Ireland for the war effort. Finally, with serious shortages developing in Britain and prices of goods and materials increasing in Ireland, the country's rumour mill began to circulate fears of depression and even another famine developing due to the war pressures. All these aspects assisted in developing and spreading ideas of insurrection and rebellion throughout the country.¹⁹

Enemy aliens in Ireland were already being viewed as "Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects" - as per the title given for the list of individuals under investigation by the British government and its various authorities. One such suspect was Fräulein K. Reinemer, a German governess in the employment of John Griffith, a Dublin engineer to the Port and Docks Board, living at "Greenane", Temple Road,

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Charles Townshend, *Ireland: The Twentieth Century*, p. 74, mentions that 'For Connolly ... a really dramatic insurrection could trigger a mass response [as, by 1916] Ireland was a "powder keg" of discontent. The fact that a relationship (however, unstable) emerged between the radical nationalist movement and Connolly and Larkin's socialist labour movement before April 1916, emphasises that the economic pressures felt by the country contributed to increased public support for the nationalist movement. Also Keith Jeffery, 'The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire', in Keith Jeffery (ed.), *'An Irish Empire'? Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester & New York, 1996), pp. 99-100, and Patrick Callan, 'Recruiting for the British Army in Ireland during the First World War', *Irish Sword*, XVII (1987), pp. 42-3, both mention the significant drop in recruitment figures from February to August 1916, with only half as many men enlisting compared to the previous six months. Enthusiasm for the war had waned and the radical nationalist movement had benefited from this decline in public support for the war. Stephen Gwynn, *John Redmond's Last Years* (London, 1919) also admitted that, 'Proof of sympathy [for the radical nationalist movement] was not difficult to obtain, and the propaganda against recruiting had now reached the point of attempts to break up recruiting meetings'. Other books that offer insight into the reasons behind the rise of the radical nationalist movement and the Easter Rising in 1916 are Fearghal McGarry, *The Rising: Ireland, Easter 1916* (Oxford & New York, 2010); Charles Townshend, *Easter 1916: The Irish Rebellion* (London & New York, 2005)

Rathmines. The British and Irish authorities were concerned with her access to company information, her residence within a prohibited area and her constant letter-writing to Germany, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands since the start of the war. Even though surveillance of Reinemer continued, she was granted a Deportation and Repatriation Exemption Certificate in October 1915. A note from Major Price, Sir Mathew Nathan's intelligence officer in Dublin Castle, stated:

I think this lady might be permitted to stay where she is at present, but when she leaves Mr Griffith's employment next July, she might well be repatriated, especially as she herself desires to return to Germany in the autumn.²⁰

By July, Reinemer was under orders for repatriation in accordance with government directions and as a consequence of the Easter Rising. By the 8 July Reinemer had departed by a Kingstown boat for Germany.²¹

Another case from the same file was the investigation of Miss Lena Riehle and Sophie Riedlinger, German servants of Henry Hilser, a Cork-born man of German parents and residing in the prohibited area of Cork. On 20 February 1916 a report from Major Price to the Under Secretary at Dublin Castle stated that Hilser 'is very pro-German' and that 'it is highly desirable that these two servants should be repatriated ... and there will be less danger of Hilser doing anything prejudicial to the safety of the realm'. By 20 March the decision had been made by the authorities to repatriate these two women.²² It took until 10 May for both women to be deported from Cork to Tilbury, England, having to report to the Home Office in London to organise the next part of their trip back to Germany.²³

The insurrection itself culminated in the arrest, trial and execution of sixteen of the rebel leaders, while thousands of other individuals who were suspected of supporting the rebellion were incarcerated in British prisons and internment camps. Diarmaid Ferriter states, 'John Dillon quite rightly branded as lunacy the decision to round up everyone who might be a rebel sympathiser ... Heavily armed mobile columns

²⁰ "British in Ireland, Series 1" Microfilm series, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921, Reel 136 (TNA, CO 904/213/359-379)

²¹ List of refused repatriation exemption applications, including Kate Reinemer file (NAI, CSORP/1917/22244)

²² Ibid.

²³ List of refused repatriation applications requested, including Riehle and Reidlinger, NAI, CSORP/1917/22244

scoured the country arresting 3,340 men and 79 women following the collapse of the Rising. Within a week 1,424 of the men and 73 of the women were released, while 1,836 men and five women were interned without trial, ensuring a scale of resentment against British rule in Ireland which was unprecedented.²⁴

Alongside Irishmen and women who were arrested were enemy and friendly aliens. The arrest of Captain Karl Spindler and the twenty-one strong crew of the *Aud*²⁵ took place on 22 April for assisting Roger Casement in the transportation of ammunition for use by the Irish Volunteers in the rebellion. Spindler and the *Aud* were escorted into Queenstown harbour by *HMS Bluebell*, but the German naval officers scuttled their vessel before it reached port. This was a common occurrence by captured German naval vessels, preventing ammunition and important information and secret communication codes falling into enemy hands. Spindler and his crew were subsequently conveyed by *HMS Adventure* to Milford Haven and onto a POW camp for the remainder of the war.²⁶

A German national who has not received the same publicity by historians for his involvement in the Easter Rebellion was Professor Valentine Steinberger. The professor was Chair of Modern Languages (since 1886) and chief librarian at Queen's College, Galway (later University College, Galway) from 1908.²⁷ More importantly Steinberger was also a prominent member of Galway's Irish Volunteer branch and a close friend of Thomas McDonagh, member of the IRB and a leader of the Easter Rising.²⁸

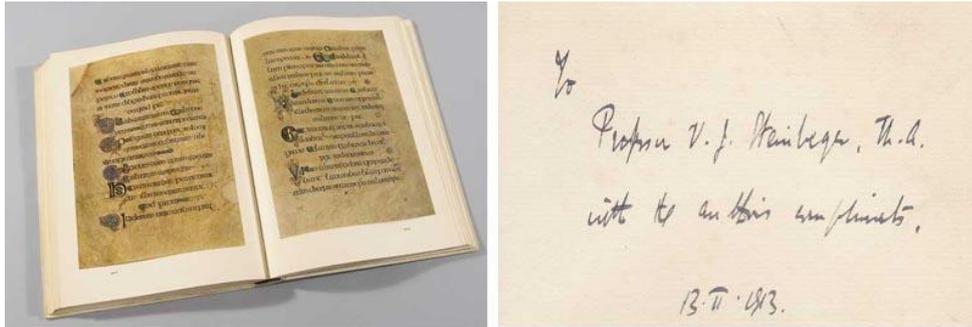
²⁴ Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2005), p. 153-4

²⁵ The *Aud* was in fact the S.S. *Castro*, a 1,400-ton British three-island tramp steamer, which went through a name-change when she was caught in German waters at the outbreak of the war. The German Admiralty re-named the vessel the *Libau*. However, one further name change occurred when the *Libau* was chosen to carry the firearms and ammunition for Casement's rebellion plans and was re-named the *Aud* (already a Norwegian three-island tramp steamer of the same name somewhere on the high seas.); See Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 134-5.

²⁶ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 138

²⁷ Steinberger had previously been the headmaster of the School of Modern Languages at the Royal Belfast Academy before arriving in Galway. His portrait can still be found hanging in the corridor of Áras Na Mac Léinn Building, NUIG.

²⁸ On 14 March 2009, Whytes Auctioneers held a 'History and Literature' exhibition and auction in Dublin, where one of the items was a signed copy of Thomas McDonagh's book *Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry* (1913), presented to Professor Steinberger and transcribed 'To Professor V. J. Steinberger MA with the Author's compliments 13.11.1913 Thomas McDonagh'. A photograph of the transcription (taken from the Auctioneer's website) can be seen above.



Transcription of the signed copy of Thomas McDonagh's book *Thomas Campion and the Art of English Poetry* (1913), presented to Professor Steinberger in 1913, <http://www.whytes.ie/4ImageDisplay.asp?AUCTION=20090314&IMAGE=1302> (viewed on 19 January 2012).

Steinberger was arrested at his home in Rockbarton, Salthill, Galway, on 27 April 1916 (four days after the Rising in Dublin had begun). The first report of his arrest was in the *Connacht Tribune* on 29 April:

PROFESSOR STEINBERGER ARRESTED.

Galway, Thursday.
Shortly before noon, Mr. Heard, D.I., accompanied by four policemen went out in a motor car and arrested Professor Steinberger, professor of German in University College, Galway. The professor was in his back garden at the time, and the D. I. went around by the back and apprehended him. Mrs. Steinberger felt the position keenly. Immediately afterwards Mr. O. O'Leary, who is supposed to be the head of the Volunteers in the College, was arrested in his lodgings in Flood-street, and both were brought back in a motor car to the Dominick-street station. The captors were cheered, and the prisoners, especially Professor Steinberger, fiercely hissed.

Thursday, 3 p.m.
The 5 prisoners, Messrs. Flanagan, Falter, O'Leary, Dr. Walsh and Professor Steinberger have just been handed over to the custody of the Fleet out at sea.

As the above article stated, Steinberger and several other radical nationalist suspects were detained on board a minesweeper that was anchored in Galway Bay. Una Newell writes that ‘on their way through the streets the prisoners were made the object of hostile demonstrations where the *Galway Observer* reported that “mud was thrown on them by a number of viragos who booed and hissed them and shouted that they ought to be in the trenches”’.²⁹ County Galway had been a hotbed of agrarian unrest since the time of Parnell, but since the war land agitation and the secret societies had made the county a recruiting centre for radical nationalist sympathisers. Therefore, it was not surprising to read an article in the *Irish Independent* on 8 May stating that County Galway had been ‘isolated’ from any information entering from outside during the week of the Rising. Reinforcements of police and the British military forces prevented information coming from Dublin as to the insurgents’ progress, with a total censorship of newspapers and journals around Galway’s city and county, with only the *Connacht Tribune* able to publish daily bulletins on local news items.³⁰ On 13 May the *Connacht Tribune* reported that on 6 May ‘about 200 prisoners from Galway and 10 from Wexford districts were brought to Dublin for trial’. Also mentioned were ‘19 rebel prisoners ... on their way to Queenstown’ from County Galway.³¹ It is not clear from this article whether Steinberger was a member of these two groups of prisoners, but the numbers of arrests in the various towns and counties around the country show that outside of Dublin, County Galway was considered to be the most troublesome area for the police and military authorities to quell during the last week of April.

According to the 1911 Census Steinberger was fifty-eight years old and had been born in Bavaria, which would make him about sixty-three years of age at the time of his arrest in April 1916.³² His wife Elizabeth, five years his junior and a native of Coleraine, Co. Derry, became increasingly distressed about her husband’s whereabouts, revealed in a solicitor’s letter to the Chief Secretary’s Office at Dublin Castle on 19 May 1916. The Coleraine solicitor, Samuel A. Wray, enquired on Mrs Steinberger’s

²⁹ Una Newell, ‘The Rising of the Moon. Galway, 1916’, *Journal of the Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, Vol. 58 (2006), p. 125; *Galway Observer*, 29 April 1916

³⁰ *Irish Independent*, 8 May 1916.

³¹ *Connacht Tribune*, 13 May 1916. On the same day the *Leitrim Observer* gave a very descriptive ‘county-by-county’ account of disturbances and arrests made. This included the arrest of the prominent Oldcastle Sinn Feiner Charlie Fox, who had been arrested in 1915 for his alleged involvement in the escape attempt of German prisoners at the Oldcastle detention camp (see previous chapter).

³² http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Galway/Galway_South_Urban/Attythomasreeva/454951/

behalf, that ‘I would feel obliged if you [the Chief Crown Solicitor] would tell me where he [Steinberger] is now to be found.’ This letter was subsequently passed on to the Attorney General on 20 May ‘for your directions’. A reply note on the letter dated 22 May stated: ‘Inform Mr Wray that Professor Steinberger is in the custody of the military authorities and think he should apply to them.’³³ A reply letter was sent back to Mr Wray, from Henry Arthur Wynne, advising the solicitor to take the said action.³⁴

Unfortunately, no further correspondence exists in the Chief Secretary’s Office Registered Papers to offer insight into the internment of Steinberger. On 25 October, the *Irish Independent* reported that:

A further list of 197 deported prisoners brings the total [of insurgents arrested, sentenced, imprisoned or executed] up to 1,573. Among the notable names in Monday’s list [is] Professor Steinberger, Galway University College.

Where he was deported to is unclear from the CSORP files and newspaper reports, but an entry in Hansard’s House of Commons Debate of 2 August 1916 stated that William Coote (MP for Tyrone South) asked the Home Secretary ‘if a certain professor of Galway College, named Valentine Steinberger, is an enemy alien, being the son of a German father and an Austrian mother; if he is aware that this man was mixed up with the recent Sinn Fein rebellion and that he was deported to Wandsworth; and will he explain why he was liberated and permitted to go back again to Galway to continue in the employment of the State?’. Herbert Samuel replied to Coote’s question, ‘I am making full inquiries in this case, and I should be obliged if the Hon. Member would repeat his question next week’.³⁵ Whether Steinberger had been released by August and returned to Galway is unclear, but it seems that the journey and conditions of his internment were fatal for Professor Steinberger, who contracted pneumonia during his period of incarceration and died on 3 November. His grief-stricken wife, Elizabeth, later placed the following acknowledgement in the *Irish Independent* on 10 November:

³³ ‘Letters and correspondence regarding the arrest and internment of Professor Valentine Steinberger’, NAI, CSORP/1916/8624

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ ‘Galway College’ entry in Hansard, House of Commons Debate, 2 August 1916, Vol. 85, cc. 317-8, online edition, <http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1916/aug/02/galway-college>

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

ROGERS—The family of the late Mrs. Rogers, Knockmore, Enniskillen, beg to thank the many kind friends for letters and telegrams of sympathy, as it would be impossible to reply to each individually.

STEINBERGER—Mrs. Steinberger and family desire to express their heartfelt thanks for the numerous expressions of sympathy received from friends during their recent sad bereavement. Mrs. Steinberger will reply to each individually as soon as possible.

A report printed in the *Irish Times*, on 27 April 1917, detailed the probate and wishes of his last will:

PROFESSOR STEINBERGER'S WILL.

Professor Valentine Steinberger, of Belmore, Salt-hill, Co. Galway, Professor of Modern Languages at University College, Galway, who died 3rd November last, left personal estate in the United Kingdom valued at £8,475 18/11. Probate of his will, dated 1st November, 1916, has been granted to Mr. Samuel Alexander Wray, of Coleraine, Co. Londonderry, solicitor, and Mr. Patrick Joseph Hogan, of Longwood, Herbert Park, Co. Dublin, barrister-at-law. The testator left £500 each to his children, Frederick and Lillian Steinberger; £200 per annum each to his children Charles and Cecilia, and, should his son and daughter die without issue, he bequeathed the annuities to the Roman Catholic Bishop of Galway for the time being, to be applied by him towards the erection and maintenance of the new Roman Catholic Cathedral which is to be erected in Galway. He also left £100 to his servant, Delia Dixon; £50 to John Faly, the library clerk at University College; £100 each to the executors of his will; his interest in property at Coleraine to his wife, and the residue of his estate is to be distributed among his next-of-kin according to law.

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The month of May saw another spate of German Zeppelin raids on the British coast while German U-boats terrorised the waters off Ireland. This may have convinced some Irish people that the insurgents were in the wrong, but the execution of many of the rebel leaders by the British government in the same month brought a tumult of sympathy for the radical nationalist cause. The swing in the nation's attitude was evident in the monthly police reports of the DMP and RIC for the month of May. The Inspector General's report stated:

The [Redmondite] National Volunteers ... remained unmoved ... They showed no sympathy with the rising ... As time passed, however, a reaction of feeling became noticeable. Resentment was aroused by the number of persons punished by Courts Martial and by the great number of those arrested and deported ... a belief is springing up that in some quarters it is sought to brand the Sinn Fein rebellion as a Catholic and

³⁶ *Irish Times*, 27 April 1917. The Calendar of the Grants of Probate and Letters of Administration for the year 1917 also gives details of the probate of Steinberger's will (to be found at the NAI).

Nationalist rising. Undoubtedly many Nationalists who at first condemned the rising ... have changed their attitude ... and now consider that unnecessary severity is being used.³⁷

German involvement in the preparation of the rising was clearly evident to the British Government, with the involvement of Roger Casement's German connections, alongside the support and arrest of Captain Spindler and the German crew of the *Aud*. But German support for Ireland's radical nationalist movement was only one of the many worries for the British Government. Eunan O'Halpin states that, 'the 1916 rebellion did not occur in a vacuum [with] ... vastly greater worries facing Britain', including Major-General Charles Townshend's army surrendering at Kut in April, while May saw the British Navy fight to a fierce stalemate with their German counterparts at the Battle of Jutland and July saw the first Battle of the Somme produce unimaginable casualties.³⁸

Another peak of anti-alien feeling was reached in June 1916. Herbert Samuel believed this derived 'its force in part from the hardship which is felt when a British subject is called up for military service and fears that his business will be lost to an alien competitor'.³⁹ However, just as important a factor in shaping Britain's attitude to their German communities was the death of Lord Kitchener, on board the *HMS Hampshire*, which was sunk by a German mine off the Orkney Islands on 5 June on its voyage to Russia.⁴⁰ Kitchener's death at the hands of the German Admiralty sent shockwaves around Britain sparking a new wave of anti-German riots, similar to the reaction that the *Lusitania* disaster brought the previous year. However, this time the British Coalition Government reacted quickly in quelling any public unrest and by 29 June there were 'debates ... in both Houses of Parliament, during which more stringent measures were demanded'.⁴¹

In the month of June the German-Jewish-Irish connections of the Jaffe family and Belfast came to an end. After almost two years of slanderous allegations of being an enemy alien spy, Sir Otto Jaffe finally resigned his post as Alderman of Windsor Ward

³⁷ Monthly Police Reports, May 1916, 'British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/100

³⁸ Eunan O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union*, p. 118

³⁹ David Cesarani and Tony Kushner, *The Internment of Aliens in Twentieth Century Britain* (London & Portland, 1993), pp. 61-2

⁴⁰ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 82; *Irish Independent* 9 June 1916; *Leitrim Observer*, 10 June 1916

⁴¹ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 83

at Belfast City Council and moved with his family to London. The ex-Mayor of Belfast and highly respected Jewish pre-war politician and businessman had found himself and his family ostracised from the city he had done so much for. He was forced to escape the persecution that government measures, press propaganda and war hysteria had created. Sir Otto Jaffe's story is a rare and exceptional example of the xenophobia that took place in Ireland. A prime example of the ill-judged paranoia and "spy" allegations that surrounded Sir Otto Jaffe can be found in the secret military and police file kept on him and his business interests.⁴² The file consists of several reports and correspondence, dating from the outbreak of war to June 1916, from the Home Office, Dublin Castle, Belfast City's R.I.C. and even the High Commissioner's Office in Australia (concerning the Jaffe Bros. shares and business interests).

Various sections of the Belfast public were concerned about the loyalty of the Jaffe family. In a 'Crime Special' report by the RIC in Belfast on 14 November 1914 the Commissioner's Office emphasised the distinct pro-German sympathies of Sir Otto and Lady Jaffe (See Appendix 5). However, most of the allegations came to the authorities' attention from the gardener and servants of the Jaffe family, as well as several busybodies in Belfast. The lack of hard evidence to support the allegations is evident in the Censor notes added to the report, 'They [Sir Otto and Lady Jaffe] are naturalised British subjects and up to the present, though kept under observation, nothing tangible has been discovered against them'.⁴³

The Jaffe family lasted through the anxiety of the Lusitania episode and the recriminations that followed enemy alien residents after the May 1915 incident. Lilian Spender made reference to mixing in the same social circles as the Jaffe family when she wrote in her personal diary:

'Last Friday was a lovely day, and we spent it quietly, as Marjorie had only arrived that morning, sitting on the verandah most of the day. Lady Jaffé called about teatime - her first call. She is exceedingly German and was very indiscreet earlier in the War, but she is apparently quite pro-English now. I wish she hadn't called, as it makes me feel uncomfortable receiving her here when I signed a petition the other day (the one that Lord C. Beresford presented two days ago) pleading for the greater restriction of aliens. She wanted us to come motoring with them on

⁴² 'The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921' (CO 904, Boxes 193-216), Reel 127

⁴³ Ibid.

Saturday, but I got out of it. It is indeed a relief that the Government is taking steps at last in the matter.' (14 May 1915) ⁴⁴

The Jaffe family found themselves ostracised in their public and private lives, but they still remained as un-interned enemy aliens within the Belfast community after May 1915 and the changing government policies towards aliens thereafter.

By May 1916 views of the Jaffe family had not changed since the start of the war. A letter from the High Commissioner's Office of Australia, dated 30 May 1916, enquired whether Sir Otto Jaffe was 'a naturalised British subject of German birth' and stated that he was also 'the holder of shares in four Australian companies and is applying for exemption for the provisions of the Commonwealth law requiring shares held by naturalised persons of enemy origin to be transferred to a Public Trustee appointed by the Australian Government.' The next day a hand-written letter from Edward O'Farrell, the Assistant Under-Secretary of Ireland at Dublin Castle, to Mr. Power at the Irish Office in London stated: 'I do not think Sir O. Jaffe should be exempt. Probably he should have been interned long ago. Interesting time!' However, the official telegram that was sent back to Australia's High Commissioner read:

Jaffe is reported by the police to be of strong pro-German sympathies and has many relatives fighting on the German side. His wife is a German connected with a banking firm in Frankfurt and has ... relatives fighting ... in the German Army. The family has been under close observation since the war broke out but nothing tangible has come to light.⁴⁵

Sir Otto Jaffe's position, respectability and life-long generosity, not only to the Jewish community, but also to the people of Belfast, had been forgotten by the people of the city and replaced by an anti-German suspicion as soon as war was declared. Forgotten were his representative positions as Lord Mayor, Alderman and his consular position in Belfast. He had been knighted in 1900 and was a naturalised British citizen since 1888. Forgotten was his generosity to the people of Belfast; for example, during his first term as Lord Mayor, Sir Otto and Lady Jaffe had raised £10,000 for the dependents of soldiers and sailors serving in the Boer War; provided £1,000 of his own money for the original building fund of the city's Royal Victoria Hospital; had given £4,000 in 1905 to fund better equipment for the city's Queens College; and had helped

⁴⁴ PRONI, D1633/2/20, Personal Diary of Lady Lilian Spender, January-September 1915

⁴⁵ 'The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921' (CO 904, Boxes 193-216), Reel 127

to establish the city's first free public library. Also forgotten was the fact that the Jaffe Bros. company provided over 650 people of Belfast with jobs (including the production of munitions for the British armed forces) by 1914. Consequently, it was the war hysteria and spy-fever felt among the people that eventually pushed one of the most influential figures out of the city by June 1916, when he resigned his position as Alderman of Belfast City Council's Windsor Ward and moved to London for the remainder of his life.⁴⁶

Sir Otto Jaffe was not the only alien to be subjected to scrutiny over enemy business interests. Already mentioned in this chapter is the investigation of Henry Hilser of Cork and the repatriation of two of his German servant girls. By October, his mother Josephine Hilser⁴⁷ was being investigated by the Home Office and the Australian Government, as to her eligibility for the sale of shares and exemption from the provisions of the War Precautions (Australia) Act. Unfortunately for Josephine Hilser, her deceased husband's inability to gain a British naturalisation certificate before he died in 1885 meant that she reverted to German nationality. Her son's pro-German sympathies also worked against her in several ways. By the end of December she was instantly labelled as an unregistered enemy alien and unable to claim her financial assets due to the wartime restrictions placed on enemy aliens and their business interests.⁴⁸

Two German families residing and working in Drogheda⁴⁹ came up against local persecution from competing businessmen. The Rombach and Duffner families had established prominent and well respected businesses before the war. The heads of the families had moved from Germany over thirty years before war had been declared. However, soon after war was declared the Duffner family began to experience anti-German hostility from a local family owning a competing jewellery shop called the Harbinsons. The Harbinsons had strong links with the local unionist organisations and therefore harboured equally strong pro-British sentiments regarding the war. The Rombach and Duffner family businesses suffered from a loss of business in the first

⁴⁶ 'Celebrated Citizen – Sir Otto Jaffe', *City Matters. Belfast City Council Residents' Magazine* (November-December 2009), p. 28; Paul Hainsworth, *Divided Society. Ethnic Minorities and racism in Northern Ireland* (London, Sterling & Virginia, 1998), pp.224-7; Manus O'Riordan, 'Justification of James Connolly', *Op.Cit*; Linde Lunney. 'Jaffe, Sir Otto'. *DIB* (Cambridge, 2009), online version, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a4250> (29 October 2012)

⁴⁷ http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1901/Cork/Cork_Urban_No_4/Buxton_Hill/1106268/

⁴⁸ NAI, CSORP/1918/18748

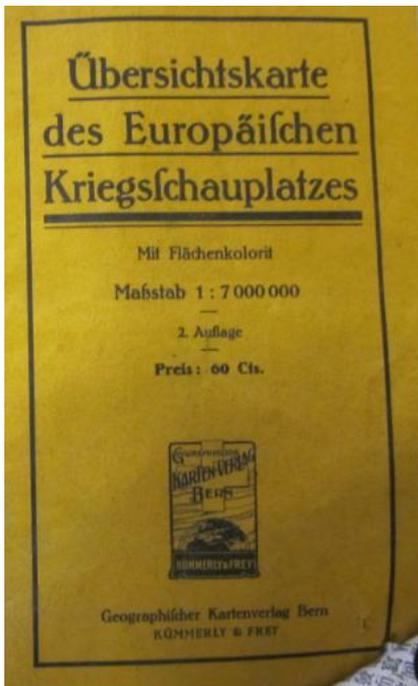
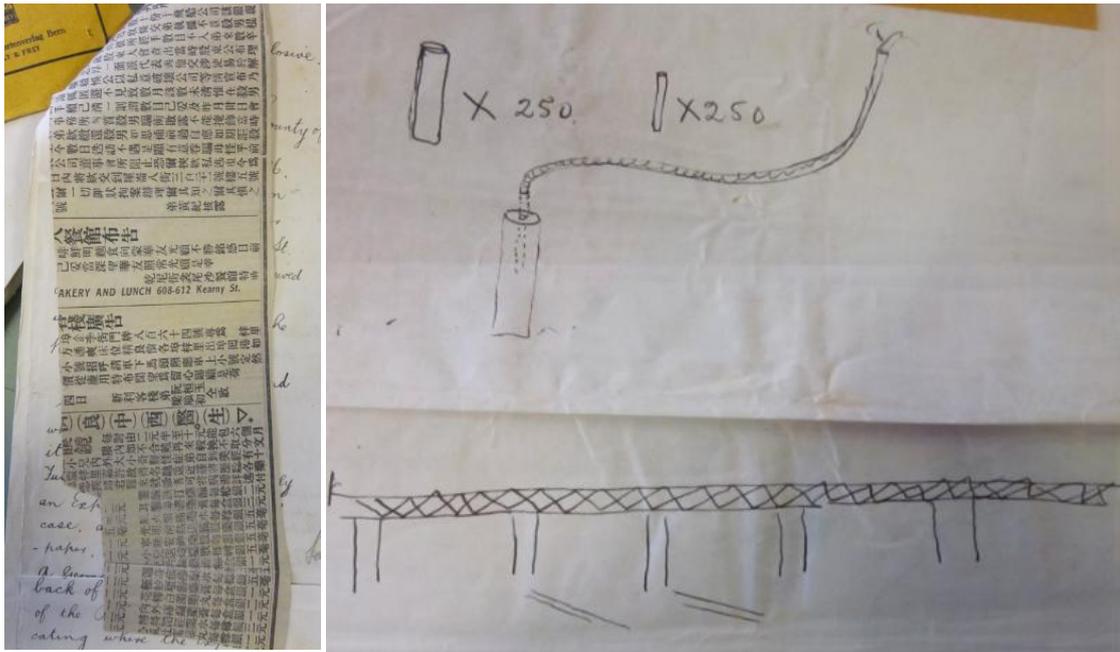
⁴⁹ Drogheda had become an important coastal town for Irish trade by the start of the war.

two years of the war, due to local boycotting of the German and Austrian businesses (similar to what was experienced by Frederick Lang and George Retz, Dublin's pork butchers, mentioned in the first and second chapters). With the heightened anxiety and fear created by the unrestricted U-boat campaign by Germany at the start of 1916 and the severe losses experienced by Ulster unionist battalions during the military campaigns on the Eastern and Western Fronts throughout 1915 and into 1916, the Duffner family experienced several anti-German threats during the year. The first threat to the Duffner family came in the form of an explosive cartridge and diagram, a German map and a Chinese newspaper cutting, sent through the post to Joseph Duffner's business address in February 1916. The local authorities had already run checks on all the family members, concluding that the Duffner family had not been involved in any suspicious actions since the start of the war. Therefore, it was concluded that the parcel was sent to the Duffner's business in an attempt to frame the family with subversive connections with Germany, by a local business competitor; possibly the Harbinson family.



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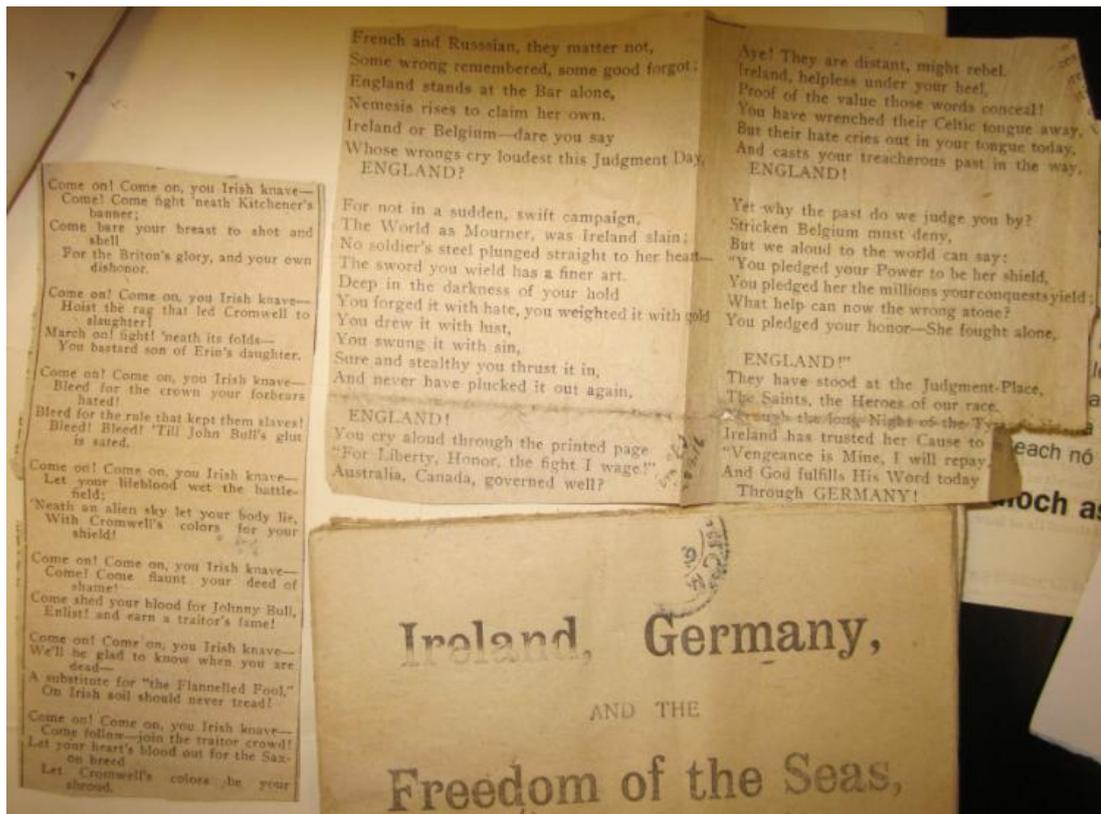
⁵⁰ From 'File of the Duffner and Rombach families (enemy aliens) in Drogheda', NAI, CSORP/1918/15126



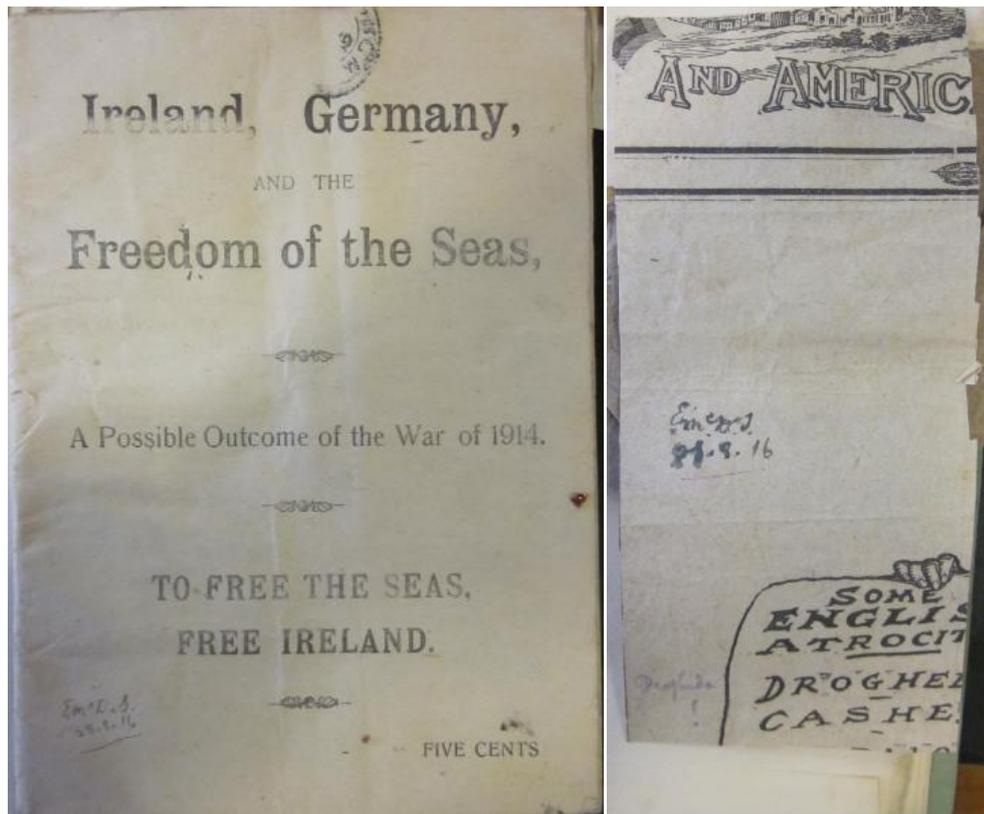
From previous page, the envelope containing the Chinese press cutting, a fold-out German map, an explosive cartridge and diagram, sent to Duffner about the 18 February 1916. ⁵¹

The second threat came in the form of a pamphlet entitled ‘Ireland, Germany and the Freedom of the Seas’ and press cuttings from an American newspaper, delivered to the same address in August 1916.

⁵¹ Ibid.

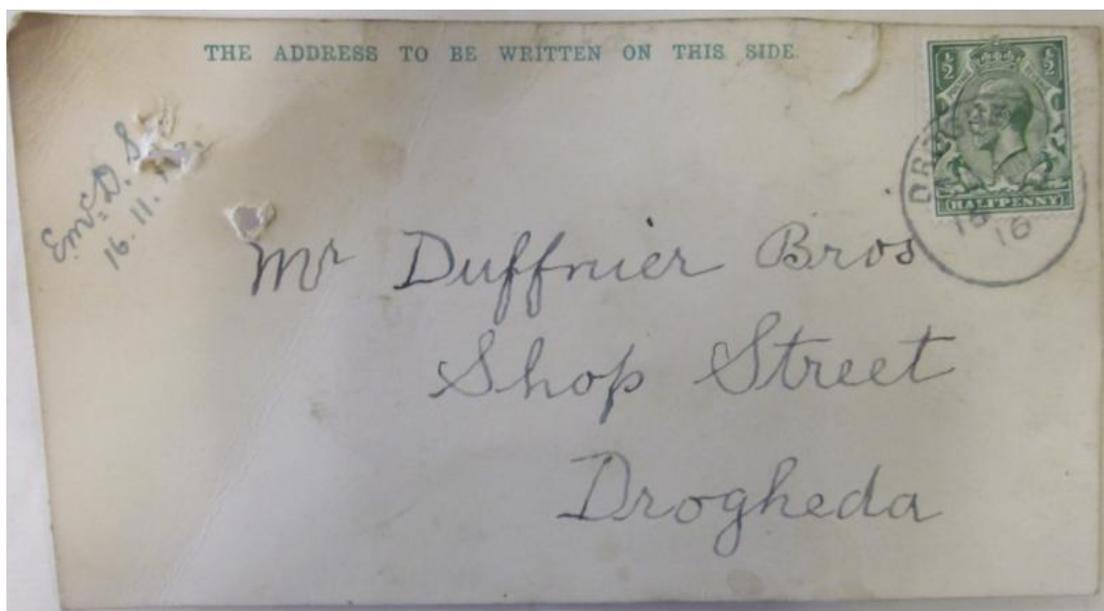


⁵² Ibid.



From previous page the post-marked envelope and various press cuttings from an American newspaper or journal, sent to the Duffner family business on 26 August 1916.⁵³

Finally, in November, a small postcard was delivered to the Duffner family which stated:



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⁵³ Ibid.
⁵⁴ Ibid.

Beware ^{no.1.} you german swine
for if my brouther is killed
i will kill you an eye for
a eye a leg for a leg so we
say you can give this to the
poulice if you like
yours. death to  all
germans in this town

55

By 1917 and 1918 the Duffner and Rombach families had regained respect from many of their neighbours and business acquaintances, except for the Harbinson jewellers who continued to write letters of complaint and false statements stating members of the Duffners had been seen erecting wireless equipment on their property and linking the families to the alleged 1918 ‘German Plot’. Many of these false allegations were put down to ‘trade jealousy’ of the Harbinsons, by the police and military authorities. Both families remained un-interned for the entirety of the war, due to the respect in which the families and businesses were held in the locality and to the fact that no evidence could be found to tarnish their reputations as loyal citizens.⁵⁶

The anti-German hostility shown towards the Jaffe family in Belfast and the Duffner and Rombach families in Drogheda show a distinctive quality to the situation elsewhere in Ulster. Ulster’s military losses in the Gallipoli/Dardanelles campaign of 1915 and further losses of Ulster unionists experienced in the Battle of the Somme from July to November 1916, left significant scars on many northern Irish communities. Coupled with the bombardment of the northern coastline by the German U-boat campaign, leading to the sinking of much innocent cargo, passenger and fishing vessels by the end of 1916 led to a heightened xenophobia experienced by aliens throughout the northern counties of Ireland.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

Several other enemy aliens were affected by the government's increasing restrictions and closer observation by the police and military authorities. Due to the increasing suspicion after the Easter Rising concerning merchant vessels and their foreign crews the Mercantile Marine Association (MMA) pushed for more restrictive measures to be imposed on vessels entering British and Irish waters. By the end of May a new order from the Admiralty regarding the MMA's suggestion not to allow alien captains and staff to be employed on British vessels.⁵⁷ This restriction seemed to materialise as a reactive measure to the sinking of several ships around Britain and Ireland. The latest was the sinking of the White Star passenger liner, *Cymric*, on 8 May, torpedoed and sunk by the German submarine, *U-20*, 140 miles from the Fastnet with the loss of five lives.⁵⁸ The restrictions imposed by the British government and the Admiralty was still not restrictive enough for Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly, Commander-in-Chief of the Western Approaches, Queenstown Command, who had been given the responsibility of keeping the approaches to Britain safe from U-boat attacks since July 1915. Precious few resources were thrown at the U-boat menace that continued to terrorise the waters of Britain and Ireland, until Bayly finally received the assistance and command of a flotilla of US destroyers from May 1917. It had been under Bayly's command that British plans to capture Casement and the *Aud* were arranged in April 1916. But, for the first two years of his command, Bayly found himself seriously under resourced to deal with the threat of Germany's unrestricted U-boat war, as well as managing the German and Irish spy menace that concerned the authorities.⁵⁹

Questions were also being asked in the newspapers as to who was to pay for the grants to enemy alien dependents. The money was supposed to be paid to the dependents and their families by the German and Austrian governments (and vice versa for dependents of interned British citizens held in Triple Alliance countries). However, as the *Leitrim Observer* newspaper reported on 8 July, the Carrick-on-Shannon Union was informed by letter from the L.G.B. that exact finances of payments to dependents

⁵⁷ *Sunday Independent*, 28 May 1916. The Order was also in response to government fears of further German gunning-running and invasion plans that could assist in starting a second Irish insurrection in the near future.

⁵⁸ *Leitrim Observer*, 13 May 1916; Liam & John Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 144. The reason why only five lives were lost was because the *Cymric* was being used as a goods ship and not a passenger liner at the time. By that time Captain Schweiger of the German *U-20* had been dubbed 'The Baby Killer'.

⁵⁹ Roy Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, p. 58; Liam and John Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 134-9, 146

had to be fully disclosed, as 'the money allowed to aliens came from the British Exchequer and not from Germany and Austria'. The money would eventually be refunded by Germany through the American Consul.⁶⁰ A week later the following article appeared in the same newspaper:

There has been a good deal of exaggeration with regard to the number of alien enemies interned. The demand to "intern them all" has been made with increased insistence during the last few weeks, and a good many wild statements have been made. Mr. Herbert Samuel has told the House of Commons what is the truth of the matter. There are at present 22,000 Germans and Austrians uninterned. More than 10,000 of these are women, all of whose cases have been specially examined. In the opinion of the Government no clear necessity has been shown to put them in internment camps. Of the men there are many who, though born in Germany and Austria, are bitterly opposed to those countries. Deducting further men over seventy years old and men suffering from serious diseases, the number comes down to 6,500, and there are circumstances in each case which, in the opinion of the authorities, make internment unnecessary. 61

Hotels located around the Irish coastline and close to prohibited areas were more closely monitored after the Rising, especially businesses with management and staff suspected of having close enemy alien links, both before and during the war. Many German and Austrian hotel and restaurant staff had been arrested during the first eighteen months of the war, removing a potential threat to the prohibited areas of coastal cities and ports. However, hotels continued to operate under the management of German and Austrian owners, or their dependents. When the *Leitrim Observer* reported on German influence in Kerry the journalist was keen to mention the continued efforts to get the German manager of the Killarney Hotel arrested: 'It was at that hotel that the spy [Carl Hans] Lody had stopped. There was no doubt that much German money found its way to Kerry, which swarmed with German agents in the

⁶⁰ *Leitrim Observer*, 8 July 1916

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 15 July 1916

guise of waiters'.⁶² The manager had been arrested in April 1915, but subsequently released to return to Kerry and what concerned the journalist most was the manager's continued presence in the prohibited area and the connection between German influence and Sinn Feinism in Kerry.

Concerns over enemy alien hotel businesses continued. The wife of the interned German Alfred Bressler, proprietor of the Salthill Hotel, Monkstown, Co. Dublin, applied to the City Licensing Sessions in October for the transfer of the seven-day licence for the hotel. Due to Mrs Bressler's husband being an interned enemy alien of German origin the granting of the licence to the dependent was delayed, even though she had managed the hotel since the end of 1914, when her husband had been ordered to move outside of the prohibited area of Monkstown. Alfred Bressler would be interned during 1915 for continuously failing to abide by the Aliens Restriction Order.⁶³ The Bressler family was affected by the restrictions so severely that they sold the hotel business to the Board of Trade and then on to Mr Paul Besson in 1918.⁶⁴

Enemy alien firms were forced to close throughout Britain and Ireland during the second half of 1916, as pressure was put on the government by groups such as the British Empire Union, to destroy the 'alien canker', as their Australian and Canadian neighbours had done. The Canadian electors of Berlin, Ontario had gone as far as demanding the town to be renamed Kitchener in July 1916, to rid the area of its German links.⁶⁵ By August, even the Irish migratory workers were feeling the growing pressure of the reaction to the Easter Rising. After the Rising Irish migratory workers were treated more as aliens, even suspected of being enemy aliens, by an increasing proportion of the British public. The Inspector General's monthly report stated: 'A large number of migratory labourers have returned from Great Britain as owing to the

⁶² Ibid., 10 June 1916

⁶³ *Irish Independent*, 12 October 1916; 'The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921' (CO 904, Boxes 193-216), (Horlacher file – this file also holds correspondence on Rudolf Spacek, the Austrian manager of the Royal Marine Hotel, Kingstown and the restrictions placed upon himself); plus Bressler's 1911 Census return:

[http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Kingstown_No_1/Salthill_Part_of/98796/;](http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Kingstown_No_1/Salthill_Part_of/98796/)

⁶⁴ 'Application for the Salthill Hotel, Monkstown, to be put in the name of Mrs Bressler', NAI, CSORP/1919/3681; Máirtín Mac Con Iomaire, 'The Emergence, Development and Influence of French Haute Cuisine', p. 161. Besson was one of the major players in the Irish hotel and restaurant industry, who also influenced the growth of *haute cuisine* during the first half of the twentieth century after arriving in Ireland.

⁶⁵ *Irish Independent*, 30 June 1916; *Leitrim Observer* 15 July & 14 October 1916; *Sydney Morning Herald*, 9 August 1916 even gave lists of enemy alien firms wound up in London and throughout the U.K.

strong feeling against them they were unable to get employment.’ This coincided with the public trial of Sir Roger Casement and his execution at the start of August.⁶⁶ The German banks in London were wound up after a spate of four separate Zeppelin raids on London and the east coast in mid-October, helping to tie up over £30,000,000 of German assets in the process.⁶⁷ Even though restrictions noticeably increased within Britain and throughout many of the dominions, in Ireland the British authorities were more concerned with how to deal with the radical nationalists of the country after the Rising. The British Parliament’s debate over the issue of the Partition Bill,⁶⁸ conscription and Ireland, plus the delicate issue of what to do with the high number of interned Irish insurgents, inadvertently drew much of the attention away from Ireland’s alien population during these months. This did not prevent further legislation being passed, such as the Registration of Business Names Act enacted on 22 December 1916, preventing enemy aliens changing the name of their business to a more Anglophile name.⁶⁹

Ireland’s interned enemy alien civilians

The year 1916 did not start well for the military authorities in charge of the internment camp at Oldcastle. January saw the first of three escape attempts by prisoners. Two Germans, Karl Graurnam, alias John Haalm, and August Bokmeyer managed to fool the camp sentries and escape the enclosure ‘on Friday night or early Saturday morning’, according to a *Meath Chronicle* report.⁷⁰ It remained a mystery how the two prisoners escaped the compound but the *Meath Chronicle* remained suspicious of a lack of vigilance about the camp. The two prisoners were recaptured a few days later near Rathowen, Co. Westmeath, twelve miles outside Mullingar.⁷¹ They were forced to

⁶⁶ ‘British in Ireland: Series 1: Part 4: Police Reports, 1914-1921’ (CO 904, Boxes 92-122 & 148-156A). By September the county police reports stated Irish labourers were returning through fear of conscription into the British army and navy, as well as anti-Irish sentiment.

⁶⁷ *Leitrim Observer*, 14 October 1916; *Irish Independent*, 10 November 1916

⁶⁸ The Partition Bill was suspended in July 1916 after Lloyd George held secret negotiations (from May to July) with the Ulster Unionist Council, offering (and accepting) the exclusion of the six northern-eastern counties, as well as the immediate establishment of a self-governing parliament in Dublin. The negotiations ended in failure as a consensus of opinion could not be agreed. See D. G. Boyce, ‘British Conservative Opinion, The Ulster Question and the Partition of Ireland, 1912-1921’, *Irish Historical Studies* Vol. XVII, No 65 (1970), pp. 93-5

⁶⁹ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 132-49. This Act was an extension to the Trading with the Enemy Acts of 1914 and 1915.

⁷⁰ John Smith, ‘The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp’ p. 234; *Meath Chronicle*, 22 January 1916; *Anglo-Celt*, 22 January 1916; *Westmeath Examiner*, 22 January 1916

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

serve one year imprisonment in Arbour Hill Military Prison, Dublin.⁷² A report in the *Anglo-Celt* newspaper on 22 January 1915 detailed the escape of two seamen from Oldcastle camp on the previous Friday, 15 January:

GERMANS RE-CAPTURED AND BROUGHT BACK TO OLD- CASTLE.

The two German seamen who escaped from Oldcastle internment camp on Friday night were arrested late on Monday night near Rathowen, Co. Westmeath, twelve miles from Mullingar. The escaped prisoners, August Boykneyer and Karl Graurnam, bore all the marks of a hurried journey. Evidently police vigilance on a comprehensive scale was exercised. Police information at Mullingar on Monday afternoon indicated that after quitting Co. Meath they made for Lis-macaffrey and Kildevin, keeping clear of big towns. At Coole they inquired for Limerick, and they passed through Ballinalack, and were arrested at Rathaspic, near Rathowen. They were brought back to Oldcastle.

Word of the escape reached as far as Nenagh, County Tipperary, where an incident involving the apprehension of an armed, suspicious man (believed to be one of the escaped German prisoners) by a Lance Corporal of the Dublin Fusiliers caused quite a stir in the locality. The apprehended individual turned out to be a native of Cahir, who stated he was also an American citizen, with no fixed address. He was indeed armed with a revolver and put up quite a fight against the soldier, before being arrested and put on trial. As word spread around the town, locals were advised to keep doors and windows secured that night, for fear of a second German might still be at large in the vicinity. Due to the suspicious nature of the homeless individual the local magistrate granted bail at an extremely high price of £50 and two sureties of £25 each, therefore maintaining the individual's incarceration until the trial.⁷³

⁷² *Meath Chronicle*, 12 February 1916

⁷³ *Nenagh Guardian*, 22 & 29 January 1916. The latter report stated that the individual, Thomas Byrne, was in fact a native of Cahir and had been discharged from the British Army after only a short time, due to the death of his mother. He never returned to his army position since. The police constable was content with discharging Byrne once the true owner of the revolver was corroborated.

Following the third escape attempt in the camp's existence, 'it was rumoured that the guards 'will be reinforced by 100 men during the coming week'.⁷⁴ The incident was an embarrassing episode for the Commandant of the camp, as the British authorities needed the camp to be secure with the ever-growing menace of the Irish Volunteers and other radical nationalist groups in Ireland. The escapades of Charlie Fox, one of Oldcastle's leading Sinn Feiners, had already offered a warning in 1915 to the possibility of radical nationalists infiltrating the camp. However, there seemed to be no further plans of prisoner breakouts or successful attempts to overtake the camp by Irish insurgents during the week of the Easter Rising. The *Meath Chronicle* reported on 6 May that during Easter week, 'The camp was strongly fortified and machine guns placed in position. On Sunday last a naval detachment travelled in an armoured train to Oldcastle on some business connected with the security of the camp'.⁷⁵

The increased security of the camp may have been due to the increasing rumours that the insurgents were planning to organise an escape plan for the enemy alien prisoners of Oldcastle in the hope that they would assist the nationalists in attacking the British. This theory is given foundation by Sean MacEntee's account of the preparations for the April Rising. MacEntee claimed that Donal O'Hannigan, a member of the IRB, met with Padraic Pearse two weeks prior to the Rising to receive instructions concerning the west Dublin and Co. Meath Volunteers. O'Hannigan was to lead certain branches of Volunteers in a mission to release the German prisoners at Oldcastle.⁷⁶ The January escape attempt was not just an isolated incident. On 29 January, the *Leitrim Observer* reported the recapture of four German prisoners who had escaped from Knockaloe detention camp on the Isle of Man. All four men were sailors and were apprehended attempting to board a yacht at Peel Harbour.

On 10 June, Oldcastle was visited by a member of the U.S. Embassy, in London, who had been given the job of writing a full report on the condition of the camp and its inmates. The report confirmed that 'the camp contained 579 prisoners, all civilians, with the exception of one naval officer. Of these 468 were German, 110 were Austrian, and one was "of other nationality". The conditions were described as good. The

⁷⁴ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 235

⁷⁵ *Meath Chronicle*, 6 May 1916; John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 242

⁷⁶ Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland: World War I and Partition* (London, 1998), pp. 130-1; Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', pp. 106-7

prisoners [were] divided fairly equally between civilians...and merchant sailors'.⁷⁷ The bleak condition of the former workhouse was brightened up by the internees placing flowers in their rooms, as well as 'singing birds in a cage hanging on the windows [and] ... pictures and portraits of the German Emperor, German Generals, the king of Saxony and many photographs' in rooms that were 'fresh and spotlessly clean'.⁷⁸ With facilities like adequate sanitary conditions, bath tubs with hot and cold running water, a washroom, drying room and special taps with filtered drinking water, it can be argued that the enemy alien internees were better catered for than many Irish people living in the slums of Dublin, Limerick, Cork and other towns and cities in Ireland. The inmates were given facilities to eat, work and play; football being 'the game of choice on ... fields which were "dry without mud"'. Unfortunately, even though the report mentioned that no prisoner had died in the camp since the Embassy's last visit, the football field was the scene of a sporting fatality in February 1917, when a collision with another player led to a 31-year-old internee dying of internal injuries. The inmate was buried in Oldcastle's Catholic cemetery, with fellow prisoners and a band in attendance.⁷⁹

Even though the U.S. Embassy report concluded that 'they, [the prisoners] appear to be, on the whole, content', this visit just involved one day's assessment and was only 'a snapshot of camp life'. It 'belied the fact that many of the internees wanted to get out'.⁸⁰ The second attempted escape of the year came in July 1916, which took place in broad daylight during one of the prisoners' football matches. An inmate managed to clear the perimeter wall and 'started across the countryside'. Several warning shots failed to frighten the escapee, even though he was recaptured after a short while. The prisoner was declared insane for his opportunistic escape attempt and was removed to a lunatic asylum.⁸¹

The same month, George von Streng, a German civilian prisoner of the Isle of Man's Douglas detention camp, attempted a daring escape, involving scaling the high barbed wire fence, before making it to the shore line, swimming out to a nearby steamer

⁷⁷ *Meath Chronicle*, 23 September 1916; John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 228-9

⁷⁸ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 228-9

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*; *Meath Chronicle*, 3 February 1917. This was only one of two deaths that occurred at Oldcastle Detention Camp during the war.

⁸⁰ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', p. 229-30

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 235

bound for Dublin, in the dead of night, before having to turn back to the shore when the vessel steamed away. The police retrieved the exhausted prisoner as soon as he reached shore and was escorted back to the camp.⁸² Some of the reasons behind the escape attempt by the prisoner may have been due to the government and military authorities calling on the camp's available manpower for menial, labour-intensive jobs, such as the cutting of peat (to relieve the scarcity of coal), working on the roads and in quarries on the island, manual work that many prisoners may not have been used to.⁸³

Oldcastle's third and final (fifth in total) escape attempt ended with the fatal wounding of a prisoner. That prisoner was in fact August Bockmeyer,⁸⁴ attempting to escape, along with fellow prisoner Henric Kreutz, on 17 September. On scaling the outer wall at 9.30pm, the prisoners attempted to escape across the fields, only for one of the sentries on duty, Private Robert Tiernan, firing at the escapee and severely wounding Bockmeyer. The wounded prisoner was conveyed to the camp hospital where the camp chaplain (and fellow internee) Rev. Knowles remained with Bockmeyer until his death a few hours later. At the coroner's inquest it was decided by the jury that the sentry was 'quite justified' in shooting the prisoner, in the 'discharge' of his duty, even though Bockmeyer's dying words were quoted as:

I crawled along and a voice said: "Halt, who goes there" and I jumped up and said 'I am a prisoner: don't shoot.' – he shot me. I send my regards to my mother unless I do not see her anymore. I have nothing more to say.⁸⁵

The hunt for Frederick Johann Henric Kreutz began at 10pm, after a roll-call noticed he was missing. It took until Monday for the military and the police to eventually arrest Kreutz near Castlepollard, about ten miles from Oldcastle. There was also a rumour reported by the *Meath Chronicle* that the military authorities had discovered 'a stealthy tunnelling operation ... burrowing under the boundary wall and were on the point of making an exit well outside the wall when they were detected.' The discovery was uncovered by a letter carried by an Austrian prisoner who had been

⁸² *Leitrim Observer*, 15 July 1916

⁸³ *Leitrim Observer*, 10 June 1916

⁸⁴ Possibly the very same prisoner who tried to escape in January ('Boykmeyer'), alongside Karl Graurnam, even though it proves difficult to fully confirm this fact, as 'Boykmeyer' was supposed to be serving one year's imprisonment in Arbour Hill Military Detention Camp, in Dublin

⁸⁵ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', pp. 235-6; *Meath Chronicle*, 23 September 1916

transferred from Oldcastle to London. Security became much tighter in the camp after September.⁸⁶

The prisoners tried other means to evade internment. Victor Zorn attempted several times between June 1916 and February 1917 to gain release and even repatriation on medical grounds. Frederick Lang (who was finally interned on 20 September 1915) and George Reitz (interned on 23 September 1915, after applying for an exemption from deportation certificate) failed in their appeals for release in July and April 1916 respectively. On the other hand, internees who were successful with appeals included Frank Heyduck, finally released on parole on 25 July 1917. However, he never arrived at his agreed destination by that date. Herman Saloshinky was released on 9 March 1917 to take up agricultural work in Britain, while Alfonso Palcic was discharged from Oldcastle for enlistment into the British Army in February 1918. Many other appeals fell on deaf ears and some of the prisoner files show their appeals running into July and August 1919.⁸⁷

The wives and children of interned aliens continued to appeal for grants from Ireland's LGB, Boards of Guardians and Poor Law Unions. However, with the LGB sending a circular to the Poor Law Boards in January 1916, instructing the Guardians 'to take care in the "processing of resources" so that "the help may be properly reduced"' and in late February sending another instruction advising, 'Greater care may be exercised in future in the submission of claims', as other sectors of the war effort that needed to be financed and resourced took precedent over the families of enemy aliens.⁸⁸ Therefore, it was surprising to the LGB when the wife of a German barber from Kerry, interned at Oldcastle was granted assistance after the Board of the South Dublin Poor Law Union was made aware that the Messerer family had attempted to 'exploit the system' and 'outwit the authorities'. The Oldcastle guards had found a letter written by Mr Messerer instructing his wife 'not to spend money you have got on hand. Whatever you require withdraw from the Post Office and in a month or two you make an application for assistance. You simply tell them you lost your money in business'.⁸⁹ This was certainly a risky move on the part of Mrs Messerer, who almost

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ NAI, CSORP/1919/3681

⁸⁸ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', pp. 238-9; Poor Law Minute Books, (Oldcastle), 1 January 1916

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 238; *Irish Independent*, 1 October 1916

lost the only support open to her at a time when the country was experiencing increasing living costs by the middle of 1916.

In fact, the wives and families of interned and repatriated enemy aliens found assistance and help from a number of different organisations and charities. One significant body was the Quaker's Religious Society of Friends. At the beginning of the war, the Society of Friends had established the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress, 'to aid innocent "alien enemies" in Great Britain rendered destitute by the war'. The report continued:

The need we are trying to meet is two-fold. Our common Christianity demanded that special succour should be accorded to the helplessness of the innocent 'Alien enemies' - cut off suddenly from home and means of livelihood, and without the protection of their own Embassy or Consulate.

It was felt too, that, with a view to the settlement after the war, an organised effort should be made, at once, to bind up some of the wounds which the present disaster is inflicting upon the nations, however unpopular that task might be.

Happily, we have had, from the start, the full approval and co-operation of the Home Office, as well as the sympathy of the American Embassy, and are working in touch with other bodies who are helping all aliens, irrespective of nationality.

The National Peace Council is largely represented on our Committee, and is giving us a generous hospitality in a portion of their offices. Here a band of volunteer workers, both men and women, have given tireless and faithful service, interviewing the applicants, visiting their homes, investigating their references and carrying on the manifold duties of the office, in a spirit of Christian love and sympathy.⁹⁰

The organisation was recognised by the Home Office as a regular war relief agency by the London County Council under the War Charities Act, 1916. About the same time 'the *Evening News* ... violently attacked the Emergency Committee and its work, giving us the nickname of "Hun-coddlers"'.⁹¹ The name was also used in a more jocular sense than hatred by much of the British press as the war progressed and the good work of the committee was recognised throughout Britain and Ireland. The committee would provide regular reports to the British Government and Press, on the living and employment conditions of interned aliens within Britain and offered

⁹⁰ Anna Braithwaite Thomas, et.al., *St. Stephens House. Friends' Emergency Work in England, 1914-1920* (London, 1920) – to be found at <http://www.isle-of-man.com/manxnotebook/fulltext/sh1920/index.htm#contents> and link came from <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/internees.htm>

⁹¹ Ibid.

assistance to the dependents of the enemy aliens. The Commandant of Oldcastle's detention camp wrote to the Society on several occasions during the first few months of the war for advice and assistance in relation to the enemy alien prisoners in their care. The Society provided the prisoners with books, paper, Christmas decorations, timber for carpentry classes and a football for George Meifsner, a prisoner who had the money but not the means to obtain the item. Meifsner duly paid for the football.⁹²

The committee also extended its hand to other nationalities, such as Belgian refugees and other nationalities found to be in distress in Britain throughout the war, including Armenians, Czechs and Poles, who were recognised to be in sympathy to the Allied cause. There were various regional sub-committees set up in Britain's major cities, including Dublin. Under the leadership of Edith Webb, the Society set up its Dublin offices at 6 Eustace Street.⁹³

Although it was common for many British-born wives of enemy aliens to be loyal to their country of birth, there were many cases of a woman's love for her husband overriding the love of her country of origin. Therefore, police and military authorities had to be suspicious and alert for the possibility of the wife of an enemy alien being just as dangerous as her spouse. This led to a governmental review body, in accordance with police commissioners, to be set up in December 1916, to reassert to police constables throughout Britain and Ireland, the importance of thorough investigations of enemy aliens and their dependents when considering applications for residence permits, travel permits and exemption from deportation or internment certificates, especially in prohibited areas.⁹⁴

Friendly aliens: Jewish Ireland during 1916

Ireland's friendly aliens had further restrictions placed upon them during 1916 due to the increasing security fears of the British authorities, created by the continued coastal raids of Zeppelins, Germany's U-boat war and the continued suspicion of spy activity. The Home Office stated that after 13 March:

⁹² George W. Meifsner, prisoner of war, Oldcastle, Co. Meath, letter to 6 Eustace Street requesting a football, 4 January 1915 (Society of Friends, MS/69/1/2), cited in Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front 1914-18', p. 92

⁹³ Society of Friends, MS/69/1/57, cited in Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 91

⁹⁴ *Kildare Observer*, 30 December 1916

an alien may not enter a prohibited area unless he is in possession of an identity book in the form prescribed by the Secretary of State, or has obtained special permission from the registration officer of the prohibited area ... An alien who is resident and duly registered in a prohibited area ... may continue to reside there without obtaining an identity book or special permission.⁹⁵

This increased security of coastal and prohibited areas was as a result of a successful operation by the German Admiralty to bring an unrestricted U-boat war to the waters of Britain and Ireland. Fears that both enemy and friendly aliens might communicate information to the enemy led the government to monitor all non-British nationals.

These fears manifested themselves into scathing verbal attacks on both enemy and friendly aliens in Ireland. One minority group that felt the brunt of these attacks was Ireland's Jewish community. Even though the newspapers reported contributions from the Irish people towards both the Russian Jewish War Victims Relief Fund, with a musical concert held at the Empire Theatre in Dublin on 23 January⁹⁶ and the Elphin diocese contributing £390 to the Polish Relief Fund in February,⁹⁷ there were more negative articles that attacked aliens who were Jewish. The *Anglo-Celt* printed a derogatory article highlighting the immorality and corruptness of the financial and political power of 'the Irish Jew'. Jewish political figures that came under attack by the author included Sir Mathew Nathan, the Under-Secretary at the Chief Secretary's Office in Dublin Castle; Herbert Samuel, the Home Secretary; and the British Liberal politician and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Edwin Montagu. Jewish financiers were blamed for not only promoting the conflict, but also financially benefiting from the war's continuance, as Jews had allegedly done during the Boer War at the start of the century. As for Ireland, the author believed, 'the Jews are bent upon capturing this underdeveloped country and upon running it on their own lines'.⁹⁸ Also in January the Jewish Australian-British soldier, Sergeant Issy Smith, recipient of the Victoria Cross, was heckled during a recruiting meeting in Hawkins Street, Dublin, on 15 January.⁹⁹ As Sergeant Smith was asking for Irishmen to volunteer for military service, while all other British men of military age were forced into conscription, it was interesting to read in the RIC's monthly police report for March the arrival of 'several

⁹⁵ *Leitrim Observer*, 18 March 1916

⁹⁶ *Irish Independent*, 24 January 1916

⁹⁷ *Irish Independent*, 16 February 1916

⁹⁸ *Anglo-Celt*, 22 January 1916

⁹⁹ *Irish Independent*, 17 January 1916

young men, who had come over ... from England to evade the Military Service Act, have been arrested and sent back under military escort. They are chiefly of the low Jew type'.¹⁰⁰

British Jews were not the only group seeking refuge in Ireland from the new conscription laws. Irish migrant workers were also returning to the country for fear of being conscripted into the British armed forces. They also received abuse from fellow British workers for the government's decision to exempt Ireland from the Military Service Act, which had been passed in January and enforced from March onwards. In fact, a yearning for their own homeland encouraged many Jews in the southern counties of Ireland to sympathise with Irish Home Rule, as well as the more radical nationalist groups and their fight for complete independence.¹⁰¹

The Judeo-Irish Home Rule Association was set up in 1908 to support self-government for Ireland, exemplifying that the younger generation of Ireland's Jewish community was beginning to 'integrate into the nationalist mainstream'.¹⁰² Respectable Jewish women joined Cumann na mBan, the women's auxiliary of the Irish Volunteers, helping to nurse the wounded, carry dispatches, transport ammunition and 'everything but shoot'.¹⁰³ Two examples are Fanny Goldberg, a daughter of a Russian Jewish draper from Cork and Estella Solomons, the Irish-Jewish artist and daughter of one of Dublin's Justice of the Peace and Austro-Hungarian Consul, Maurice E. Solomons. As a member of Cumann na mBan, Estella Solomons was involved in the organisation of the Easter Rising and thereafter served as a committee member of the Irish Volunteer Dependents' Fund (IVDF).¹⁰⁴ Abraham Spiro was involved with the secret printing of the IRA's underground newspaper, *An tÓglach*, as well as employing Oscar Traynor (Officer commanding the Dublin Brigade of the Irish Volunteers and later Minister for

¹⁰⁰ Monthly Police Report (Belfast), March 1916, TNA, CO 904/99, Hyman, *Jews in Britain...*, p. 37

¹⁰¹ Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland*, pp. 189-210; Dermot Keogh *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, (Cork, 1998) pp. 69-76. In his chapter, 'The Revolutionary Years, 1916-23' Keogh quotes Melisande Zlotover as stating Dublin's Jews 'were most sympathetic [to the Rising] and many helped in the cause.'

¹⁰² Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, pp. 179-190

¹⁰³ Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland*, pp. 189-210

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*; and from the 1911 Census reports (online) for Fanny Goldberg's family residence:

http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Cork/Cork_No_5_Urban_part_of_Anglesea_Place/397475/ and Estella Solomon's family residence:

http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Pembroke_West/Waterloo_Road/28758/.

Maurice Solomons is also mentioned in Dermot Keogh's *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 60-62. Further reading on the Solomons family can be found in Bethal Solomons' *One Doctor in His Time* (London, 1956).

Justice) in his printing press.¹⁰⁵ The future TD and Lord Mayor of Dublin, Robert Briscoe, also became involved in a German plot to import arms and men into Ireland when travelling on the White Star liner, *Baltic*, in 1916. His Lithuanian father and mother (his mother Ida was described as German in the 1911 Census¹⁰⁶) had sent Robert off to America at the start of the war, apparently to avoid the fear of conscription, an accusation being made against some Jewish men at the time. Robert returned in 1916 and went on to work closely with Michael Collins, at first as a messenger for the IRA and later collecting and transporting arms for Collins, who promoted Briscoe to the General Head Quarters of the IRA.¹⁰⁷ Michael Noyk was another Jewish individual who became well-known with the radical nationalist movement in Ireland. He was born in Lithuania, but immigrated to Ireland with his family when he was one year old. He graduated from Trinity College and trained after as a solicitor and became sympathetic to the Irish republican cause after befriended Arthur Griffith. He was Griffith's personal solicitor and defended a number of interned prisoners after the Rising. He joined Sinn Fein in 1917 and assisted with the East Clare by-election campaign for Éamon de Valera and he became a high level official and advisor with the Department of Finance, under Michael Collins, during the War of Independence.¹⁰⁸

Ireland's Jewish communities still had their critics. After the Easter Rising, one publication that began a series of anti-Semitic attacks on Ireland's Jewish population was the *Catholic Bulletin*.¹⁰⁹ The first in a series of racist articles appeared in the May-June 1916 issue, entitled 'Ritual Murder Among the Jews', written by Fr. T. H. Burbage, a priest of the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin. The article was also accompanied by a publicity poster, hung up around Dublin city proclaiming 'Murder by Jews!'¹¹⁰ The article and posters brought bitter complaints from members of Ireland's Jewish community and Superintendent Owen Brien of the DMP assisted in raising the community's complaint to the Chief Secretary's Office on 5 June. Although the

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.; Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, pp. 179-190

¹⁰⁶ http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Dublin/Rathmines_Rathgar_East/Leeson_St_Upper/54905/

¹⁰⁷ Ray Rivlin, *Shalom Ireland*, pp. 189-210

¹⁰⁸ Dermot Keogh, *Jews in twentieth-century Ireland*, pp. 72; Paul Rouse, 'Irish lives: Michael Noyk, 1884-1966' *The Irish Times*, 5 June 2010; Michael Noyk's Obituary, *The Irish Times*, 24 October 1966

¹⁰⁹ Dermot Keogh *Jews in Twentieth Century Ireland*, pp. 69-76. The *Catholic Bulletin* was by no means an official organ of the Catholic hierarchy, but instead a journal to express the independent Irish Catholic nationalist voice, under the editorship of J.J. O'Kelly from 1911.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.; *Catholic Bulletin*, Vol.6, No.6 (May-June 1916), pp. 309-14

complaint was sent on to the editor of the *Catholic Bulletin*, Dublin Castle declined to intervene in the matter and the journal continued to publish further anti-Semitic articles by Burbage.¹¹¹

American involvement in the Rising

The increasingly hostile political atmosphere in Ireland during the first months of 1916 confirmed the suspicions the British authorities had held towards friendly aliens in Ireland. The support from Irish-America for the radical nationalist movement was clearly evident to the British government, with articles and financial support coming from individuals like John Devoy and John Kenny of Clan na Gael, Thomas St. John Gaffney (ex-American Consul in Munich until 1915), George Freeman of the *Gaelic American* newspaper, Joseph McGarrity of Philadelphia, John P Keating of Chicago and Jeremiah O’Leary of New York City.¹¹²



SIR ROGER CASEMENT DRINKING TEA WITH MR. AND MRS. ST. JOHN GAFFNEY AND OTHER FRIENDS IN MUNICH (SEPTEMBER, 1915)

Taken from the *Irish Independent*, 14 October 1915

When the Easter Rising took place in April it was no surprise to find Americans arrested as part of the insurgents’ plot. One file from the ‘British in Ireland’ series, ‘Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects’ section, details the arrest and internment in

¹¹¹ Ibid.; *Catholic Bulletin*, July-September 1916; ‘What is Freemasonry?’, *Catholic Bulletin*, Vol.7, No.2 (Feb 1917); ‘Masonic Crimes and Terrorism’, *Catholic Bulletin*, Vol.7, No.6 (June 1917)

¹¹² Bernadette Whelan states in *United States Foreign Policy and Ireland*, p. 63, that in 1914, most ethnic communities in the US were not organised and did not have structures through which to influence politicians, but most quickly learnt how to do so ... in late 1914 and into 1915 ... the Zionists, the Slovaks, the Czechs and the south Slavs came into this category but the Irish and Germans were in a different category and were well organised and experienced in the lobbying and propaganda game’.

Frongoch internment camp of John Kilgallen and three other ‘American citizens’ (Michael Joseph Lynch, Peter Fox and William Pedlar¹¹³) for their involvement in the Easter Rising.¹¹⁴

According to an RIC Special Branch report from 9 December 1916, John Kilgallen of New York City had travelled in Germany, France and England during 1910, before settling in Dublin from 7 September 1914, where he resided as a student at P. H. Pearse’s St. Enda’s school, Rathfarnham. His links with the Irish Volunteers became apparent there and he was regularly ‘seen armed and in uniform’. At the conclusion of the Easter Rising, Kilgallen ‘surrendered with the other rebels ... in Dublin.’¹¹⁵ Michael Joseph Lynch (from Granig, near Kinsale, Co. Cork), Peter Fox (Carrickmore, Co. Tyrone) and William Pedlar (Co. Down) were all natives of Ireland, but had claimed American citizenship. Lynch’s American citizenship was questioned by the Special Branch – ‘further enquiry is being made to ascertain if he ever was in America’ – as the only American link was his step-brother, Jeremiah (Diarmuid) Lynch who was an American citizen and was sentenced to death for his ‘complicity in the Dublin Rising’ (the sentence was later reduced to ten years penal servitude). Michael Lynch was a well-known local Irish Volunteer organiser and was ‘very active in drilling and distributing arms’.¹¹⁶ Peter Fox had spent eight years in Philadelphia, returning back to Ireland in 1915 as an American citizen ‘believed as an emissary from Joseph McGarrity (also born in Carrickmore, the same birthplace as Fox) to Dr. P. McCarton and took an active part in the Irish Volunteer movement’.¹¹⁷ Finally, William Pedlar (or Pendlar), an American citizen living in New York with his wife and two children up to March 1916, arrived in Dublin in April, after a short stay in Glasgow. A DMP report of 21 May 1916 stated that his wife and children resided at 27 Brookfield Terrace, Blackrock, while Pedlar strangely stayed by himself at Neary’s Hotel, Parnell Street. On 24 April, Mr and Mrs Pedlar reported at Kingstown police station for registration but were

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 64. Whelan writes that William ‘Liam’ Pedlar and James McGuinness (members of Clan na Gael and associates of McGarrity) were paid informers for the British agent, Gloster Armstrong, who was based in New York, from the outbreak of the war. Pedlar worked for both sides throughout the war, along with a number of other British-paid spies within the Clan ranks.

¹¹⁴ ‘The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921’ (CO 904, Boxes 193-216), Kilgallen file.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. Bernadette Whelan, *Untied States Foreign Policy and Ireland*, pp. 95-6 gives an account of U.S. State Department’s enquiries into the Easter Rising and Belfast’s US Consulate’s reply to Walter Page in London, as to the alien registration and arrest of Peter Fox.

directed to call back. They both returned to Blackrock and ‘about 2pm he left ... Brookfield Terrace ... and has not since been seen by his wife’. Only after the conclusion of the Rising did Mrs Pedlar learn from the wife of a fellow deportee, that William Pedlar had been sent to England on 8 May for his involvement in the Rising. Pedlar had only taken out a U.S. Certificate of Naturalisation on 12 January 1916 and the fact he chose to settle his family at 27 Brookfield Terrace was also looked on with suspicion by the police. Eugene Finn, the occupier of the house, and his brother Timothy, were both ‘pronounced Sinn Feiners’ and were also deported in May. Lynch, Fox and Pedlar were all considered ‘dangerous men’ by the police authorities.¹¹⁸

On 14 December, the release of all four individuals was considered by the Chief Secretary at Dublin Castle:

He will not raise any objection to their release provided that the Secretary of State can take effective steps to ensure that they are sent to America and not returned to Ireland or made eligible to return there.¹¹⁹

However, it is evident from a further letter from the Chief Secretary’s Office, dated 17 January 1917, that a conversation with Mr. Bell from the U.S. Embassy, in London, that same day confirmed Kilgallen had been ‘released from Frongoch with the rest just before Christmas, and went to Dublin’. The U.S. Consul in Dublin was sent money from Kilgallen’s father in America, for his ‘comforts in the camp’ and ‘to pay his passage home’. The Consul stated that the money would not be sent to Kilgallen ‘unless they are quite certain of his going’. The Chief Secretary stated, ‘I do not suppose Kilgallen [sic] is doing any good in Dublin and ... the Irish authorities [should] ... give him a hint to go’.¹²⁰ Due to the second ‘unrestricted submarine war’ announced by Germany at the start of January 1917, Killgallen was unable to leave Ireland until 4 April. No further information was provided in the file regarding the other deportees, however, an *Irish Independent* report from 9 June stated, ‘in the case of Peter Fox ... a request had been made to the British Government by the American Embassy that he be released immediately or put upon trial.’¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ *Irish Independent*, 9 June 1916.

Michael and Diarmuid Lynch continued to be influential in the republican Sinn Fein movement after 1916. After his release, Michael became Staff Captain of the Cork IRA, while Diarmuid was aide-de-camp to James Connolly and Staff Captain in the GPO during the Rising, assisted Michael Collins in the reorganisation of the IRB in 1917 and became one of the first Sinn Fein TDs of the First Dail in 1919, standing for Cork South-East constituency. Diarmuid was also a topic of debate in the House of Commons in February 1916 when Alfred Byrne (MP for Dublin Harbour constituency) asked the Home Secretary, Herbert Samuel, why Lynch had:

Since 24th January, 1916, been confined to a five-mile radius from his temporary residence in Dublin and subject to all the provisions relating to alien enemies as specified in the Aliens Restriction Act, 1914 ... [and] had registered as such in Ireland in July, 1915, and since that date complied with the regulations respecting friendly aliens.¹²²

In reply, Herbert Samuel retorted:

He had been in Ireland since November, 1914, without registering or otherwise complying with the Aliens Restriction Order, and it was only after proceedings had been instituted against him that he registered. It is not the case that since that date he has complied with the regulations applying to alien friends; on the contrary, in spite of express warning, he continued to disregard them by entering and leaving prohibited areas from time to time without notifying the police. It was therefore decided to place him under the same restrictions as an alien enemy.¹²³

Here was an example of friendly aliens being re-labelled enemy aliens due to the suspicion of the authorities of their residence in the country.

Tightening of restrictions towards friendly aliens

In the months after the Easter Rising restrictive measures towards friendly aliens were tightened and prohibited areas were more stringently monitored for suspicious alien activity. Foreign nationals from neutral countries could no longer be trusted. By August, with the whole of the country under martial law since the end of the Rising, the British Government was forced by further pressure from the press and right-wing MPs to extend Article 19 of the Aliens Restriction Order to require the registration of all male aliens above the age of eighteen of French, Italian, Russian and Serbian

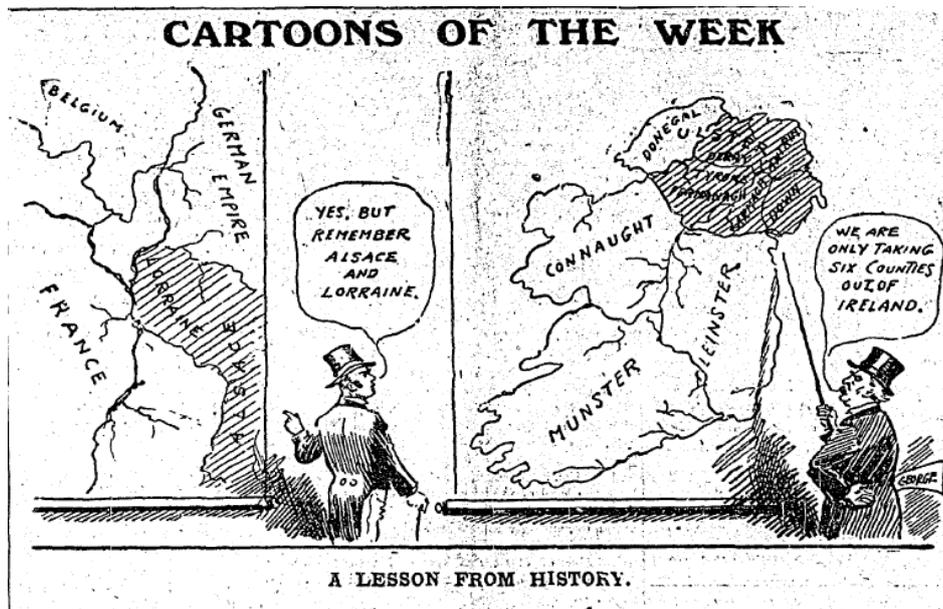
¹²² House of Commons Debate, 29 February 1916, vol. 80, pp. 913-4:
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/written_answers/1916/feb/29/aliens-restriction-order-ireland#S5CV0080P0_19160229_CWA_65 (viewed on 23 March 2012)

¹²³ Ibid.

nationality by 15 August at the latest.¹²⁴ Even the liberal Home Secretary, Herbert Samuel, announced in the House of Commons:

“With regard to the presence in this country of men of military age of Allied nationality it has been decided that they must either join the British Army or return to the country to which they belong.”¹²⁵

At the same time Parliament decided to drop the Partition of Ireland Bill at the end of July, after strong opposition from unionists and nationalists.



On 18 June, the *Sunday Independent* gave its readers an indication of the British Government's intentions to force the Partition Bill upon Ireland as no better than what Germany had done to its Alsace-Lorraine neighbours.

During August, an American, Bernard Maguire, living in Carrickmacross and employed on the Great Northern Railway was fined for not registering in Clones, Co. Monaghan (his place of employment). As he had been born in America to Irish parents but living in Ireland for the last seven years, Maguire never considered himself an alien and therefore never registered. He was fined 1s. plus costs, as was the individual of the house where Maguire was living, for failing to notify the authorities of an alien residing

¹²⁴ *Leitrim Observer*, 29 July 1916. In the same newspaper, the arrest of Mr Laurence Ginnell (independent Irish nationalist MP for North Westmeath) was reported. Ginnell attempted to enter Knutsford Military Barracks on 25 June by using his Irish name, Lebrics McFingal, to fool the guards. Ginnell was subsequently fined £100 or six weeks imprisonment for the offence (*Leitrim Observer*, 5 & 12 August 1916), later reduced to £5 or three weeks imprisonment on appeal (*Leitrim Observer*, 11 October 1916). He regularly visited many of the prisoners interned in England and Wales after the Rising, smuggling out correspondence for them in the process.

¹²⁵ *Leitrim Observer*, 15 July 1916

with him.¹²⁶ Another American, Charles O'Connor, was arrested and charged on 20 December for not following the conditions set by the Aliens Restriction Act, 1914. O'Connor failed to notify the police of his change of residence from Newbridge, Co. Kildare, to Drogheda, Co. Louth. On the 14 December, O'Connor had admitted to the magistrates of Newbridge petty sessions that he was a native of Buffalo, U.S.A. and had failed to register with the local authorities. He then travelled to Drogheda to obtain a witness for his court hearing, getting himself arrested a second time in the month for travelling to Drogheda without a permit. The defendant had actually come over from America to Liverpool as a stowaway and entered Dublin around March 1916.¹²⁷

These cases often caused intense debate in the law courts, as to the interpretation of the Aliens Restriction Acts, DORA and the labelling of foreign nationals as either friendly or enemy aliens and their subsequent rights during wartime. The O'Connor case also emphasised the problems of communication that existed between the police, military authorities and the alien population in Ireland. Aliens were being arrested due to a general ignorance of the rules of law during wartime. The fact O'Connor was arrested in Drogheda 'on suspicion' also provides an example of the heightened awareness of the police authorities of unknown and suspicious aliens, enemy or otherwise, after the events of the Easter Rising and the population's increasing sympathy for the radical nationalist movement thereafter.

On 24 November, the *Irish Independent* reported the arrest of Mr Marcesrobinovitch for being an unregistered enemy alien. He had left Sligo to visit the prohibited area of Dublin without a permit. On 12 October Mr Marcesrobinovitch attempted to register with the police, but had no evidence of his nationality. The accused stated he was a native of Russia and had fought in the Argentine Navy.¹²⁸ No further information was reported on this individual, but the article clearly shows the problems and confusion that often existed when labelling foreign nationals in Britain and Ireland. Argentina was still officially seen as a neutral country in the war and Russia an ally to Britain; however, the suspicion surrounding the nationality of Marcesrobinovitch led the police authorities to treat this individual as an enemy alien.

¹²⁶ *Anglo-Celt*, 5 August 1916

¹²⁷ *Kildare Observer*, 30 December 1916

¹²⁸ *Irish Independent*, 24 November 1916

The case of David Max Cohen, a Belfast Jew, was yet another example of how the daily lives of aliens in Ireland were affected by the restrictions imposed by the British administration and the confusion of interpreting the laws by police and military authorities in Ireland. Several similar cases have been used in the previous two chapters, but the length of time taken to correct 1914 claims of Cohen's German nationality at the start of the war, confirming his claims of Russian nationality and eventually achieving his British naturalisation in July 1916, showed the discomfort and anguish that the restrictive wartime measures created for friendly aliens in Ireland. In September 1914, Cohen had written to Belfast's R.I.C. Commissioner to have his nationality as a German (and enemy alien) struck off the register, as he was born in Memel, a city in East Prussia (now known as Klaipeda, part of Lithuania) in 1878, a son of Russian parents. He followed his parents to Glasgow at three or four years of age, possibly as part of the mass migration of many Lithuanian Jews due to the Russian pogroms and discrimination of the period.¹²⁹ Cohen had never left Britain since that date. He was married in 1901 to a Manchester Jewess and had five British-born children. His business as a travelling salesman around Belfast was affected by the wartime restrictions after August 1914, as the authorities registered him as an enemy alien German national. Restrictions were relaxed by the military authorities for Cohen to be able to carry on his business, only due to his long residence in Britain and his Russian parentage. However, it took until 1916 for his application for a certificate of naturalisation to be considered. He finally achieved British naturalisation in July 1916,¹³⁰ incidentally, the same month that the British government made the decision that all Russian Jews in Britain would be recruited for the British Forces or else be deported back to Russia. Until then, Russian Jews had declined to join the Russian Forces due to the history of persecution Jews experienced under Tsarist rule in the Russian Empire.¹³¹ According to a November report in the *Leitrim Observer* a total of 31,500 Russians of military age were residing in Britain during that month, providing the government with another avenue for boosting their recruiting numbers.¹³² It is not known whether Cohen was called up for service, deported or continued to reside in

¹²⁹ Cormac Ó Gráda, *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce*, pp. 12-29, 179-90

¹³⁰ NAI, CSORP/1916/11761 – refers to Box 5617 (Nos. 11506-11958)

¹³¹ *Leitrim Observer*, 29 July 1916. If Russian Jews signed up to the British forces, they would be granted British citizenship at the conclusion of the war. A more positive article also appeared in the same newspaper stating that Russian Flag Days around the Irish provinces had helped raise a total of £10,000.

¹³² *Leitrim Observer*, 11 November 1916

Belfast. Even though there is evidence in the newspaper reports that friendly aliens were still welcomed into Ireland during 1916,¹³³ many of the country's friendly alien population experienced a tightening of restrictions regarding their rights and movement around Ireland as the year progressed.

Belgian refugees in Ireland

There seems to be very little work done on the existence of Belgian refugees in Ireland after 1915, the main reason being that Belgians were no longer the centre of attraction for the press and public. Two theses that have been of help to uncover information on Ireland's Belgian refugees after 1915 are Timothy J. Moloney, 'The Impact of World War I on Limerick' (MA, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, 2003), and Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front 1914-18 with Particular Reference to the Treatment of Belgian Refugees, Prisoners-of-war, Enemy Aliens and War Casualties' (PhD, NUI Maynooth, 2006). Peter F. Whearity's *Ríocht na Midhe* articles on 'Belgian Refugees in Ireland during World War One' concentrated on the local efforts of Co. Meath, Drogheda and Dublin towards the Belgian visitors, but only covered up to the end of 1915.¹³⁴

However, occasional mention of Belgians did continue to appear in Ireland's local and national newspapers up to the Easter Rising. The *Kildare Observer* reported on 1 January 1916, that Belgian refugees had replaced some of the sixty Irish workers at Athy's Wolfhill Colliery, who had left to "join the colours". This allowed the colliery to keep up with production demands through the winter months. However, Belgian refugees also attracted concern from councillors and politicians with their employment and as possible strike breakers. The Belgian Refugee Committee was in trouble in January for supplying a Belgian man through the Labour Exchange to a Dublin glass manufacturing firm whose employees were on strike. Employment strikes

¹³³ On 5 August 1916, the *Anglo-Celt* reported the arrival of a number of French Benedictine nuns to Loftus Hall, Co. Wexford; the mansion and lands being bought for £4,000 for their use. The *Irish Independent* reported on the 12 October, the visitation of four distinguished French bishops to Ireland. They all attended the Catholic Truth Society on the 11 October and intended visiting Maynooth. This seemed to be an attempt by the Vatican to bring the Irish and French Catholic clergy together under a unified stance in support of the Allied cause. The New Zealand Premier, William Ferguson Massey, visited Belfast and Dublin in October (*Irish Independent*, 24 November 1916), in an attempt to show the collective support of Ireland, New Zealand and the other British Dominions for the Allied cause, stating they were 'no longer Dependencies; they were partners'.

¹³⁴ Peter F. Whearity, 'Belgian Refugees in Ireland during World War One: Part One & Part Two', Op.Cit.

became a common occurrence in Ireland throughout 1916, as prices and the cost of living increased faster than the average Irishman's wages. Most strikers were more concerned with achieving an increase in their weekly wages than any other single motivating factor. This was the reason for the miners' strike at the Arigna Colliery in County Roscommon during February. As mentioned in Chapter 3, a few Belgians had found employment at the colliery in 1915. There is no mention whether any of the Belgians were to be found on the picket-line alongside their Irish compatriots during February, but the company refused to increase the men's wages and the miners resumed work almost at once. The Inspector General of the R.I.C. mentioned in his February report that there was 'indications that labour trouble is brewing in several places', often related to the industries that achieved war contracts from the British government.¹³⁵ Workers were experiencing increasing demands being placed on them to complete the war contract orders, while large profits were being made by their employers without the workers noticing any financial benefits for themselves for the increased workload.

February's newspapers also reported the arrival of thirteen Belgian nuns from Ypres, accommodated at Merton House, The Slaney, Co. Wexford.¹³⁶ Macmine Castle and Merton House were also used by refugee nuns as a residence (and later a boarding school at the end of the First World War) before a permanent home was made for the Benedictines at Kylemore Abbey, in Connemara in 1919. Monks were also accommodated at the nearby Edermine House, home to the Power family of whiskey distilling fame. The Belgian monks were under the guardianship of Abbot Marmion.¹³⁷

The famous pianist M. de Greef gave another memorable recital to a large crowd at Dublin's RDS arena on 28 February,¹³⁸ while the Belgian Refugee Committee also offered Belgian cookery classes to the Dublin people during the month:

¹³⁵ Inspector General's Monthly Report, February 1916, TNA, CO 904/99

¹³⁶ *Leitrim Observer*, 5 February 1916

¹³⁷ *Enniscorthy Echo*, 22 September 2011 - <http://www.enniscorthyecho.ie/news/eykfmhidgb/>. Today Macmine Castle is unfortunately a ruin - <http://www.abandonedireland.com/macmine.html> - compared to the grand house and gardens of Kylemore Abbey, which the Ypres nuns accommodated after the war.

¹³⁸ *Irish Independent*, 29 February 1916

**BELGIAN REFUGEES COMMITTEE
(IRELAND).**
For information to the **BELGIAN COOKERY
CLASSES** beginning Wednesday Next, 18th Inst.,
apply to the Belgian Refugees Committee, 82
Upper Mount street.

Advert for Belgian Cookery classes, *Irish Independent*, 12 February 1916

The work of the Belgian Relief Fund was praised by America's Rockefeller Foundation, in helping accommodate refugees, provide for their 'material wants' and offer the refugees 'remunerative work' within Ireland and Britain. The Fund did not forget about the Belgians still living in their war torn homeland with a lack of shelter, food and clothing, all of which had been relieved somewhat by the work and subscriptions gathered by the Fund and its Irish contributors.¹³⁹ By 13 March, the *Irish Independent* reported that £1.5 million had been collected by Britain and Ireland in the previous ten months, however, a lot more was required to achieve a steady income of £250,000 per month to assist the Belgian people. Refugees continued to arrive on British shores (although in fewer numbers than the previous eighteen months) and the register of war refugees compiled by the English Registrar-General had recorded by 31 March the total number of Belgian refugees on Britain's shores had reached 180,000 people.

Belgians living in Britain and Ireland were placed under similar obligations as their British counterparts with the introduction of conscription into Britain. This helped to diffuse any potential antipathy towards the refugee population, as increasing pressure was being placed on the Belgian minority to engage in military service.¹⁴⁰ However, the demands that Belgians had brought to Ireland were starting to have an adverse effect on a population who had their own wartime political and socio-economic problems to deal with. The rural population was not enjoying as favourable year as the previous year had offered and the winter and spring months threatened floods, as well as blight to the potato crop. Labour strikes in Ireland's urban areas, due to insufficient wages the political upheaval caused by the various separatist organisations, with the additional fear of conscription and political partition of the country debated in the political arena, made collecting and accommodating Belgian refugees an untenable

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island. Immigration and British Society, 1871-1971* (London, 1988; 1992) pp. 90-3

issue. Offering accommodation, employment and money to Belgian refugees was seen as an additional burden to the people of Ireland. War weariness was starting to have a detrimental effect on the Irish people.

No reported involvement of Belgians during the Easter Rising has been found to date, but from May onwards, newspaper reports regarding Belgian refugees began to take a more negative outlook. Questions were asked about the use of the monetary contributions raised by Carrick-on-Suir's Red Cross Gift Sale in May. A portion of the proceeds was allocated to the Belgians of Clonmel, to the disapproval of some members of the Carrick Committee, who believed that the monies collected should be used for Red Cross use to help Ireland's own wounded soldiers, instead of Belgians.¹⁴¹ Reports of Belgian subscriptions quickly disappeared from the newspapers, replaced after the Rising by calls for contributions towards the Irish National Aid Association (INAA)¹⁴² founded by influential men, women and clerics and 'set up to help the dependents of those killed and imprisoned on the rebel side in the Rising'.¹⁴³ This organisation was a lot more successful than the Irish Volunteer Dependents Fund (IVDF), but the creation and popularity of both organisations emphasised the swing from sympathy for Belgian refugees to the fallen martyrs, internees and dependents of the Easter Rising and its radical nationalist movement. The Inspector General's monthly police report for July showed concern over 'the restless feeling ... still prevalent throughout Ireland' and 'a considerable number of persons are professing sympathy with the rebels ... not ... regarded as extremists.'¹⁴⁴ The monthly collections for the INAA amounted to nearly £9,000 and the IVDF was nearly £1,100 for the month – money that would have been donated to the plight of the Belgians in the previous year. Irish Republican and Mourning badges could regularly be seen worn on the lapels of Irish men and women in a public show of sympathy for the executed and interned rebels.¹⁴⁵ The Inspector General's August report stated the amalgamation of the INAA and IVDF 'at the instigation of two American delegates – J.A. Murphy and J. Gill – who brought over ... £5,000 collected under the patronage of Cardinal Farley of

¹⁴¹ *Munster Express*, 27 May 1916

¹⁴² Caoinhe Nic Dhaibheid, 'The Irish National Aid Association and the Radicalization of Public Opinion in Ireland, 1916-1918', *Historical Journal*, Vol.55 (3), (September 2012), pp. 705-9

¹⁴³ Michael Farry, *Sligo, 1914-1921. A Chronicle of Conflict* (Trim, 1992 & 2005), p. 89

¹⁴⁴ Inspector General's Monthly Report, July 1916, CO 904/100

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

New York'¹⁴⁶ showing support from both the U.S.A. and its Catholic clergy. By the Inspector General's October report the INAA/IVDF fundraising had exceeded £53,000, with half of this total coming from outside of Ireland (including the USA, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Argentina).¹⁴⁷

Occasional contributions to Belgian refugees continued to be reported in the Irish press. The *Munster Express* reported on 24 June that the Waterford Belgian Refugee Committee managed to raise over £214 by holding a Belgian Flag Day, a concert and a guest lecture by Rev. Fr. Gill. Two of the three Belgian families in Waterford had already left the locality to go and work in munitions factories in England, while the third family (the Debrackes) were managing to pay their own way in a fine house in William Street, donated to the committee by Mr Fennessy in 1915. The head of the Debracke family had gained employment at the Messrs. Hearne and Co. factory. Also in Dublin, Mrs H. Fowle had opened a gift shop on Grafton Street in July, in aid of Belgian Refugees.¹⁴⁸ In September, the LGB provided a rent-free house to assist the Guild Hostel, Northbrook Road, Ranelagh, with housing the Belgian refugees under their care.¹⁴⁹

However, even when positive stories appeared, such as a number of Cavan's Belgians going to the Front in August¹⁵⁰ and refugees finding employment and teaching opportunities to prevent them being a drain on the nation's resources,¹⁵¹ a couple of committee members managed to paint a negative picture of the refugees by stating their unwillingness to work when employment was offered in England or their very existence in the country being a threat to Irishmen's employment opportunities.¹⁵² On 2 September the *Leitrim Observer* reported the arrest of a Belgian postman in London for stealing from British soldiers. The Belgian was sentenced to six months

¹⁴⁶ Inspector General's Monthly Report, August 1916, CO 904/100

¹⁴⁷ Inspector General's Monthly Report, October 1916, CO 904/101

¹⁴⁸ *Irish Independent*, 25 July 1916

¹⁴⁹ Eileen Reilly, 'Women and Voluntary War Work', in Adrian Gregory & Senia Paseta (eds), *Ireland and the Great War: 'A War to Unite Us All'?* (Manchester, 2002), p. 61

¹⁵⁰ All Belgian men of military age (18-40 years) were called up for military service by order of the Belgian Government.

¹⁵¹ *Anglo-Celt*, 5 August 1916. The Cavan Belgian Refugee Committee created an opportunity for technically proficient Belgian craftsmen in wood-carving and cabinet-making to teach Cavan students their skills; the refugees being paid a salary instead of a grant to give the Belgians some individual worth during wartime, as well as providing skills to Irish people to be able to start a new business and industry in wood-making.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

imprisonment. Another wounded Belgian soldier was arrested for stealing silver cutlery from a London hotel. Closer to home, in Dublin's Gresham Hotel, a Belgian waiter, Armond Fourneau was stabbed by Capt. J. H. Heaney-Reeves. Heaney-Reeves (or "Captain Hardknocker" as he called himself during the court hearing) had accused Fourneau of being a German before stabbing him in the chest with a dagger. Fourneau received £3 compensation for his injury, with no further penalty issued to Captain Heaney-Reeves.¹⁵³

It was clear by the end of 1916 that Irish sympathy towards the plight of Belgian refugees was on the decline, as the international conflict and Ireland's political atmosphere was taking its toll on a war-weary population. However, as financial contributions to Belgian refugee funds were on the wane, Belgians were acclimatising to their new temporary lifestyle and able to be less of a burden to their hosts by finding employment or teaching opportunities in newly created industries (from woodcraft to glass-making), or industries suffering from labour shortages (such as mining, weaving, or munitions industries). Belgians were also being called up to the Front by their own government by August, even though many Belgian refugees had already joined the colours voluntarily beforehand.

Conclusion

The Easter Rising brought serious consequences to Ireland's alien population from May onwards. Suspicion towards alien nationalities increased throughout the year, especially with threats of invasion and insurgency throughout the country. These fears came from the British government, its authorities in Ireland and Britain's radical right-wing press, who all helped increase restrictions on friendly as well as enemy aliens throughout Britain and Ireland. At the same time, the British government's ruthless executions of the Rising's rebel leaders and the extreme internment policy against its followers led to increased sympathy for the radical nationalist movement.

War-weariness was also taking its effect on Ireland's attitude towards elements of its alien population. Irish people were not giving the same amount of attention and provision to its Belgian refugees, as money was going towards radical nationalist funding organisations instead of the Belgian Relief Fund. The fear of conscription and

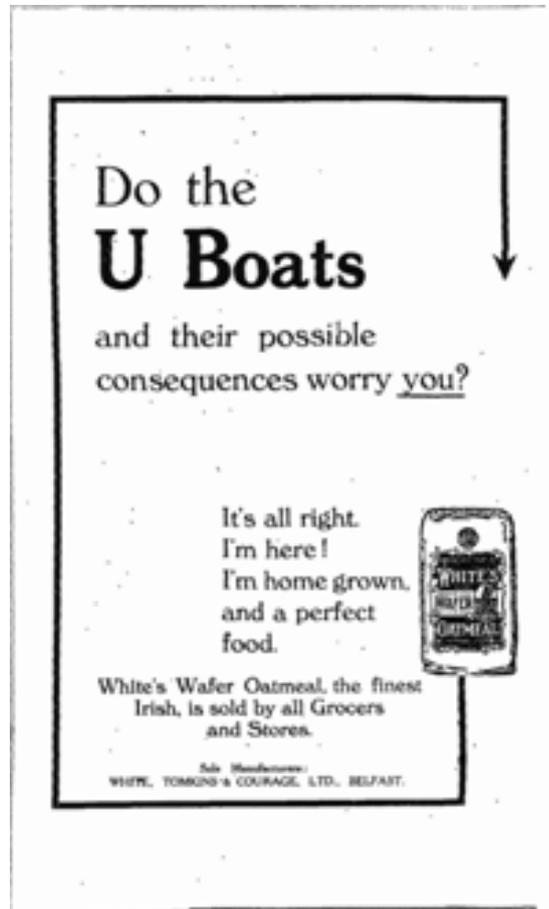
¹⁵³ *Irish Independent*, 3 October 1916

the partition of Ireland debate proved to be further detrimental to the relations of Britain and Ireland, while radical nationalist sympathy towards Germany increased as the war moved into 1917.

As the British Government made further amendments to the Aliens Restriction Order, DORA and other restrictive alien measures, general confusion continued as Dublin Castle, the police and military authorities tried to interpret the revised rules concerning its alien residents and visitors. The question of which of the alien nationalities were to be considered 'enemy' and 'friendly' by the British government were beginning to get blurred by small nationalities of old empires, such as the Slavs, Armenians, Polish and Irish rising in revolt against their old oppressors. Issues of naturalisation laws led to further debate of the loyalty of individual aliens. Influential individuals would also have their status and loyalty within a community questioned, such as Belfast's distinguished naturalised Briton, Sir Otto Jaffe, who was forced to leave Belfast due to the level of suspicion and abuse received by the rest of the community due to his German Jewish family heritage. If individuals with influence and power within a community felt such anti-alien pressure from the country's authorities and its people, ordinary alien individuals had to have felt even more helpless and unprotected by the end of 1916.

CHAPTER 5

1917: America Enters the War



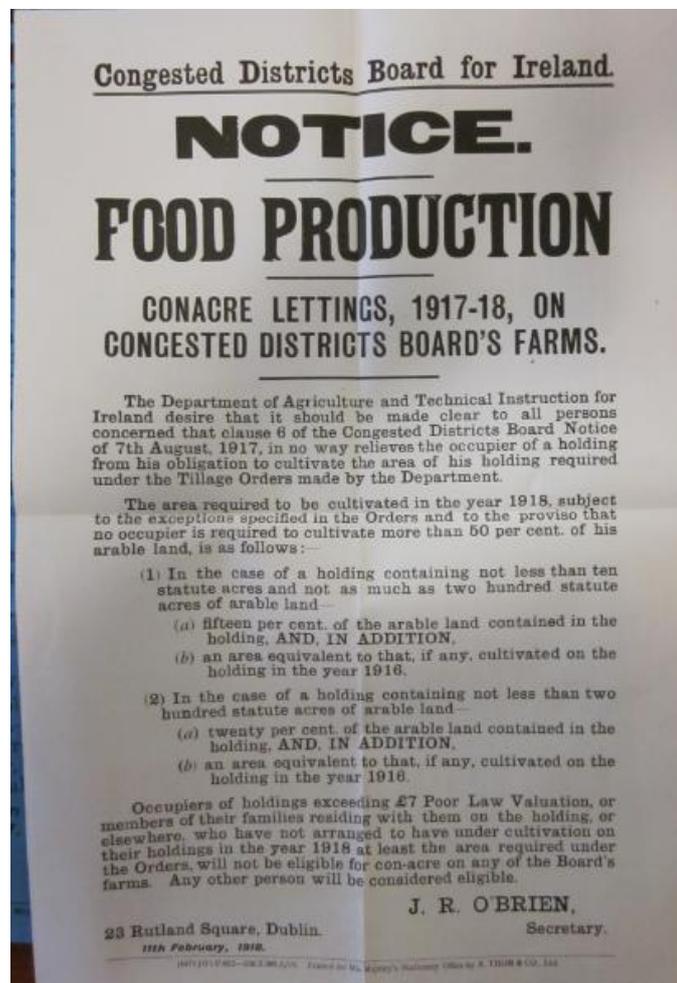
Advert for White's Oatmeal placed in the *Freeman's Journal*, 21 February 1917.

Shortages in food and manpower were becoming a serious concern for Britain by the start of 1917. The need for further additions to the armed forces had already forced the British government to bring the idea of conscription in Ireland to the war cabinet. This in turn led to a vigorous response from the reinvigorated Sinn Fein leaders and the growing number of their supporters in 1917-18.

The intensification of the German U-boat war and the blockade of the British and Irish coast was the major cause of the food shortages. Admiral von Holtzendorff, Chief of the German Naval Staff, reiterated in December 1916 that if the Germans could 'break England's back' the war would at once be decided in Germany's favour. If the German U-boat fleet operated in an unrestricted fashion once again, 600,000 tons

of British, Allied and neutral shipping could be sunk each month, forcing Britain's surrender and a peace before the harvest of 1917. The Kaiser agreed to initiate 'with the utmost severity' unrestricted submarine warfare from 1 February 1917. Any and every ship was to be attacked and sunk without warning. This decision by the Kaiser and his staff caused widespread shock and anger, particularly in the United States of America.¹

Pressure on food supplies in Britain led to the government initiating an increased tillage scheme for Ireland's agricultural producers. Ireland was the nearest provider of food and manpower and therefore one instant solution for Britain's survival in wartime.



2

However, the British government had to consider other alternatives to solve their manpower and food problems, especially with Ireland still reeling from the 1916 Rising

¹ Liam & John Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 162-3

² 'Tillage Order Notice given to Irish farmers and land owners', NAI, CSORP/1918/31710

and the arrests of thousands of suspects. The other alternative to Britain's manpower and food problems was the United States of America, especially as America was being hampered and threatened by Germany's U-boat war in Europe's seas.³

America eventually joined the war in April, supporting Britain and the Entente forces. The actual reasons for President Wilson's decision to declare war on Germany is still a hotly debated subject – it will be discussed further during this chapter – but America's entry in the war came just in time for Britain, which was only a few weeks away from being starved into submission by the German U-boat offensive.

For Ireland, America's entry into the war quickly meant the arrival of America's armed forces onto Irish shores. U.S. Naval Air bases were established at Ferrybank, Co. Wexford and Aghada, Co. Cork (established between May and September 1918), while another operated on Whiddy Island in Bantry Bay, Co. Cork from 12 March 1918.⁴ These seaplane stations were established to support the main naval base at Queenstown, under the command of British Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly.⁵ The first American destroyers to arrive at Queenstown came in May 1917, under the command of Commander J. K. Tausig and Rear Admiral W. S. Sims of the U.S. Naval Forces.

The intensification of the German U-boat war from the start of 1917 brought further government action against Britain and Ireland's alien population. The attempts of enemy aliens to secure exemption certificates from internment or repatriation proved increasingly difficult to obtain as the year progressed, while serious questions were asked concerning the assistance and financial contributions given to their families. However, the increasing strength of the Sinn Fein party and their supporters started to blur the issue of which nationalities the government labelled as 'enemy' and 'friendly'. On one side of the spectrum many Irish families had fathers and sons fighting and

³ Whelan, *United States Foreign Policy and Ireland*, pp. 68-9. From the start of the war, 'U.S. business interests, by replacing lost axis markets with allied ones, led to America becoming an "Allied warehouse", from which munitions, food, and other vital war supplies flowed'.

⁴ Karl E. Hayes, *A History of the Royal Air Force and the United States Naval Air Service in Ireland 1913-1923* (Killiney, 1988); Terry C Treadwell, *America's First Air War. The United States Army, Naval and Marine Air Services in the First World War* (Shrewsbury & Osceola (WI), 2000). Another American Naval Air base was set up on Lough Foyle, in Co. Londonderry to patrol the northern approaches of Ireland, while American airmen were also based at Gormanston (Co. Meath), Collinstown (Co. Dublin) and Baldonnel (Co. Dublin).

⁵ Lewis Bayly, *Pull together: The memoirs of Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly* (London, 1939); 'Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly' (Obituaries). *The Times*. 17 May 1938; Vice Admiral Walter S. Delany, *Bayly's Navy*, (Naval Historical Foundation, Washington, D.C., 1980), electronic edition, <http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/bayly's%20navy.htm> (31 July 2012)

dying on the European front or killed by German U-boat torpedoes and mines off the coast of Ireland. Rumours were still rife across Britain of German spying and weapons smuggling into Ireland to support a second rising or German invasion. It was becoming ever clearer to the British government that seditious sections of Ireland's radical nationalist movement were as much a threat to national security as the enemy alien threat. Therefore, the government felt justified to order the arrest of many of the Sinn Fein leaders and their followers throughout 1917.

By the start of 1917, Belgian refugees were being pressurised by both the British government and public to join the war effort and put their lives on the front line by joining 'the colours'. They were considered another drain on the ever decreasing food and material resources of Britain, as the British public began to suffer psychologically from war weariness as the country entered its thirtieth month of the war by February. According to John Horne, 'by 1917 ... the conflict had turned into a grim endurance test' for all the nations involved.⁶ Therefore, the existence of Belgian refugees and other friendly alien nationalities within Ireland was proving to be another burden and hindrance for those trying to cope with the exigencies of wartime.

This chapter will examine the confusion and changing attitudes towards the country's enemy and friendly alien nationalities during 1917. Once America's neutrality had been overturned in favour of supporting Britain and its allies, Ireland's radical nationalists were seen by many senior American officers as a threat and hindrance to the success of the Allied war effort. This change of attitude also coincided with the release and repatriation of American citizens who had fought in the Easter Rising against British forces the previous year. Questions were raised concerning interned enemy aliens, who had been categorised as 'enemy' due to their German or Austro-Hungarian nationality and birth place. By 1917 more cases were arising where enemy aliens were appealing against their incarceration in camps like Oldcastle, due to the fact that they recognised themselves as Polish, Serbian, Czech, Lithuanian, Alsations, Lorrainers, and other friendly nationalities which had been oppressed by the German and Austro-Hungarian empires. If the Irish had a case to be recognised as a nationality separate from the British Empire, then surely there was a case for these other oppressed nationalities to have the right to appeal against their incarceration.

⁶ Horne, John (ed.), *Our War. Ireland and the Great War. The 2008 Thomas Davis Lecture Series* (Dublin, 2008), p. 9

Individual cases will be examined further throughout the chapter to determine the reasons for appeal and the subsequent release or continued incarceration of individual aliens.

America enters the war

For the first thirty-two months of the war the United States of America had remained neutral. The conflict was a war fought amongst European countries and in the Middle East and Africa. However, by the end of 1916 and the start of the following year Germany had started to bring the war closer to North and South America, through the spying and sabotage networks of the Nachrichten-Abteilung ('N'), through the U-boat war and propaganda campaigns in North America and Canada.⁷

After the 1916 Rising, President Wilson feared that the melting pot of America might also explode because of the ethnic pressures caused by the war. Many Irish-Americans and German-Americans hated England and violently expressed their emotions after the 1916 Rising. American interests had also been affected by the British blockade of trade to Germany and Austria-Hungary. Any alliance of America and Britain might compromise American unity. By early 1917 there was little reason to suppose that President Wilson would take the Allied side, especially as the British government's policy of blacklisting American firms who were caught trading with Germany through neutral states was helping to alienate a large majority of American opinion from supporting Britain.⁸

However, despite the Anglophobia evident in America by the start of 1917, aggravated by the 'hyphenated' Irish-American and German-American communities, Wilson had become increasingly concerned with the threat posed by Germany's submarine warfare that had directly threatened the lives and interests of American citizens, especially since the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915. An increase in anti-German feeling and propaganda in America was the result of acts of German sabotage on American firms completing war contracts for military equipment and trading

⁷ Roy Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, p. 33; Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm...*, pp. 72-3

⁸ Marc Ferro, *The Great War. 1914-1918* (Boston, London and Henley, 1st Ed. 1969; latest ed. 1982), pp. 113-4. For more information on Woodrow Wilson and his attitude and policies towards the war read Kendrick A. Clements, *The Presidency of Woodrow Wilson* (Kansas, 1992), Chapter 7; Kendrick A. Clements, 'Woodrow Wilson and World War One', *Presidential Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 34 (1) (2004), pp. 62-82 and John Milton Cooper, *Woodrow Wilson: A Biography* (New York, 2009)

materials heading to Britain and the other Entente countries;⁹ rumours circulating throughout the press that Germany was also considering introducing biological warfare into the theatre of war; and there were fears of a plague that was supposed to strike at British ports in 1916. By using a virus produced in America by Dr Anton Dilger in April 1915, the virus was going to be transported in livestock (horses and cattle) from American ports to Europe (especially Britain). Anthrax and glanders viruses were a possible threat in Britain by 1917. Four outbreaks of anthrax on the Isle of Man in April 1917 were considered to be of German origin.¹⁰ Coupled with anti-British propaganda produced by the German Embassy in Washington and the various German journalists across America, meant that events like the discovery of the Zimmermann Telegram (which was originally dispatched by the Foreign Secretary of the German Empire, Arthur Zimmermann, on 16 January 1917 to the German ambassador in Mexico, Heinrich von Eckardt in January 1917) and German-Mexican invasion rumours on the Californian state, effected a change in American attitudes towards joining the war on the side of Britain and the Entente forces.

At the start of war the Allies' merchant shipping totalled some twenty-one million tons; a margin of roughly six million tons over and above what was absolutely essential to ferry into Britain the country's basic needs, as well as arms and munitions for the forces fighting the land war in Europe. Significantly, two-thirds of Britain's food was imported. However, the successful German U-boat campaign¹¹ was destroying the merchant fleet and the rate of shipbuilding to replace the lost vessels was seriously inadequate. Some idea of the desperation that was felt at the time was reportedly uttered by the British First Sea Lord, Admiral Jellicoe, to Admiral Sims USN, upon his arrival in London in April 1917: 'It is impossible for us to go on with the war if losses like this continue'.¹² Jellicoe told Sims that the U-boats had, in two

⁹ *Irish Independent*, 14 April 1917 – a report on President Wilson's decision to declare war on Germany was supported by claims of German spying and sabotage with the blowing up of a munitions factory in Philadelphia, which claimed the lives of many women workers, plus explosions at two other factories and the attempted destruction of a railway bridge. Bernadette Whelan, *Untied States Foreign Policy and Ireland*, p. 89, states that from 'mid-1915 onwards, the support of the US public ebbed away [from Germany] and turned towards the Allied side'.

¹⁰ Christopher Andrews, *The Defence of the Realm*, p. 73

¹¹ Bernadette Whelan, *Untied States Foreign Policy and Ireland*, p. 89, states that the 'unrestricted U-boat campaign' of Germany had been halted after the U.S. passenger liner, *Arabic*, was sunk on the 18 August 1915, and the U.S. government demand an apology and assurances from the German Admiralty that no neutral passenger vessels were to be attacked, or else America was certain to declare war on Germany. The intensive submarine campaign was halted until January 1917.

¹² Roy Stokes, *U-Boat Alley*, p. 25

months, destroyed one-third of the precious six million ton margin. The figures simply astounded Sims: 540,000 tons of shipping had been sunk in February 1917 – an increase of 170,000 tons since January. The March figures came to 603,000 tons sunk. The projected figure for April was as high as 900,000 tons. Britain had only a few weeks' supply of grain left. The statistics for the sinking of merchant shipping was nearly four times larger than what the public were aware in the British press. The Western Approaches, especially the sea area off the south west coast of Ireland, was becoming, in Churchill's words, 'a veritable cemetery of British shipping'.¹³

Two specific incidents played their parts in changing America's isolationist standpoint into full support for the allied cause: the sinking of the RMS *Laconia* and the 'Zimmermann Telegram'. The sinking of the *Laconia* off the Irish coast, torpedoed by a German U-boat on 25 February, led to the death of seventy-five passengers and 217 members of her crew. As the passenger liner was on its way from New York to Liverpool many Americans saw the sinking as an attack on America and its people and so helping to change American attitudes towards the war and their neutral status. Of great assistance in manipulating the support of President Wilson and the American people was Floyd Gibbons, the "headline hunter" of the *Chicago Tribune* and a surviving passenger on board the *Laconia*. His account of the horrific event published some eight days later throughout the whole of America played no small part in changing American isolationist sentiment and pushing Wilson into the declaration of war against Germany that followed in less than two months.¹⁴

The famous 'Zimmermann Telegram' was sent from Berlin via the State Department's cable to Count von Bernstorff on 16 January. It read:

WE INTEND TO BEGIN UNRESTRICTED SUBMARINE
WARFARE ON THE FIRST OF FEBRUARY. WE SHALL
ENDEAVOUR ... TO KEEP THE UNITED STATES NEUTRAL. IN
THE EVENT OF THIS NOT SUCCEEDING, WE MAKE MEXICO A
PROPOSAL OF ALLIANCE ON THE FOLLOWING BASIS: MAKE
WAR TOGETHER MAKE PEACE TOGETHER, GENEROUS
FINANCIAL SUPPORT, AND AN UNDERSTANDING ON OUR

¹³ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 175-6

¹⁴ The full version of Floyd Gibbons' account can be found on <http://www.skaneateles.org/laconia1.html> (30 July 2012). The journalist's biography was written by his brother, Edward Gibbons, *Floyd Gibbons – Your Headline Hunter* (New York, 1953). Gibbons stated that only six passengers on board the *Laconia* were in fact American citizens, with two of those six (mother and daughter, Mary and Elizabeth Hoy of Chicago) going down with the ship.

PART THAT MEXICO IS TO RECONQUER THE LOST TERRITORY IN TEXAS, NEW MEXICO, AND ARIZONA. THE STATEMENT IN DETAIL IS LEFT TO YOU.

... INVITE JAPAN TO IMMEDIATE ADHERENCE AND AT THE SAME TIME MEDIATE BETWEEN JAPAN AND OURSELVES.¹⁵

Even though the British Secret Service successfully decoded the Zimmermann Telegram, which was published in the British and American press on 1 March and surprisingly acknowledged by Zimmermann on 3 March, it did not help to convince President Wilson to immediately declare war on Germany.¹⁶ However, Wilson did believe that the British had not taken a vigorous enough offensive to prevent the destruction of shipping.¹⁷ A deciding factor for Wilson and the House of Representatives to declare war on Germany was the loss of American civilian lives in the sinking of three American merchant ships, the *Illinois*, the *Vigilancia*, and the *City of Memphis* on 18 March by German U-boats.¹⁸

Whatever circumstance finally separated President Wilson from his isolationist policy of neutrality, it developed during a period when he was unwell, between 9 March and 2 April.¹⁹ America declared war on Germany on 6 April. The prospect of the British fleet surrendering and being subsumed into a German one was unthinkable for America or any other nation depending on sea transport.²⁰ By 21 April a communication from Sims was received by Secretary of State Robert Lansing, in which he reported that 408,000 tons of shipping had been lost in that month alone. Three days later, the first six American destroyers were on their way across the Atlantic to Queenstown. By 28 April 1917 Sims had assumed command of all American destroyers operating from British bases and by 26 May he was promoted to Vice-Admiral. However, Admiral Sims remained answerable to and under the official command of Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly, Commander-in-Chief of the Western Approaches, who lived and operated out of Admiralty House at Queenstown (below).

¹⁵ Stokes, *U-Boat Alley*, p. 37; 'Room 40 German decrypts: diplomatic telegrams including Zimmerman message of 16 January 1917', HW 7/8, NA (Kew), with online copy found at <http://germanavalwarfare.info/02subm/07/hw78.html>

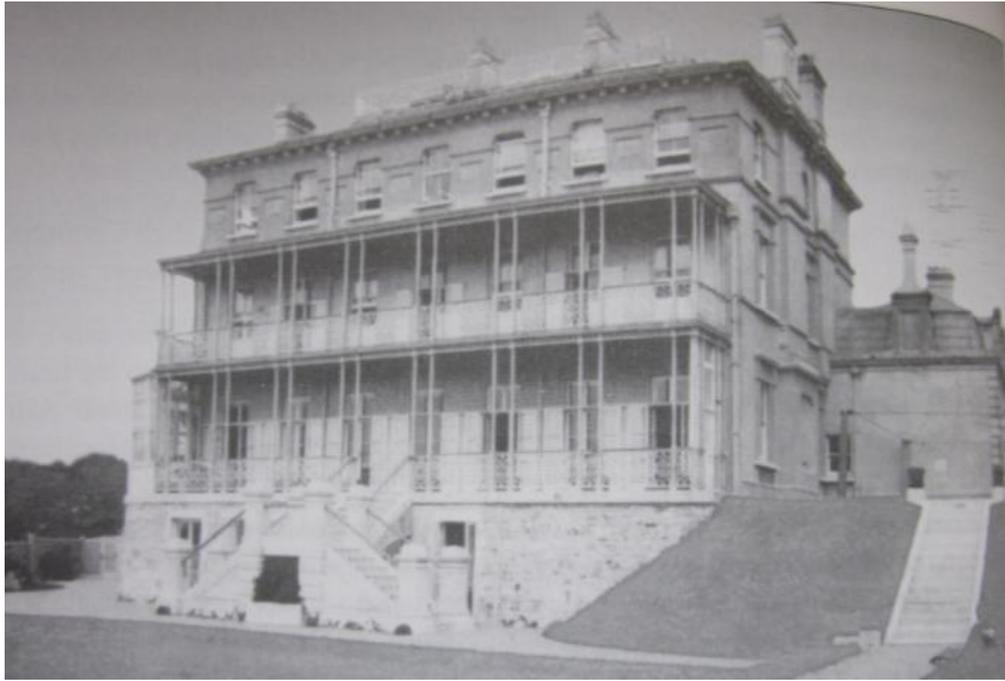
¹⁶ Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service. The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (London, 1985), pp. 112-3

¹⁷ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 166

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 189

¹⁹ Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, p. 42. It is not clear what the cause of Wilson's sickness was, but it kept him bed-ridden for a number of days.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 30



America sent a further twelve destroyers and the tender *Dixie* in May, ten more destroyers and another tender in June, and a further nine destroyers in July.²²

Ever since Admiral Bayly's arrival at Queenstown on 21 July 1915 he had been fighting an unseen enemy. According to Bayly the German U-boats were assisted by information given by Sinn Fein spies operating in and around Queenstown, Cork and across the southern coast of Ireland. However, these concerns seem to have derived from rumour instead of hard fact. He had to do his job with one arm tied behind his back, meaning there was a lack of naval vessels at his disposal.²³ Captain Dorling Taffrail in his book *Endless Story* (1931) summed up the enormity of the task that faced Admiral Bayly during the early years of the war: 'In the area of about 25,000 square miles ... there were sometimes as few as four British destroyers available for patrol work. Never were there more than fifteen'.²⁴ Therefore, the first six US destroyers arriving in Queenstown was a welcome, if overdue, relief for Bayly.

²¹ Ibid., p. 46

²² Ibid., pp. 175-9

²³ Ibid., pp. 159-60

²⁴ Ibid., p. 58; Captain Dorling Taffrail, *Endless Story* (London, 1931)



One of the most famous paintings depicting the arrival of the US destroyers in Queenstown was “The Return of the Mayflower” painting by Bernard Gribble, commissioned by Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1919 and later purchased by Roosevelt in 1933 and hung in the Oval Office of the White House during Roosevelt’s presidency.²⁵

The American destroyers and crew, led by Commander Joseph Knepler Tausig,²⁶ were enthusiastically welcomed by a crowd of dignitaries and local townspeople:

As the vessels manoeuvred towards their moorings, stars and stripes flags could be seen fluttering from the windows of houses, shops and offices all over the town ... the ships had been expected, the security and secrecy surrounding their departure from Boston notwithstanding ... Stepping ashore ... [the crews were] greeted by [Queenstown’s] American Consul Wesley Frost, who was formally dressed, complete with top hat, in recognition of the historic occasion ... [The] Lord Mayor of Cork, Councillor Butterfield [and] ... his officials, had driven down to Queenstown to greet the Americans ... plus ‘the leading citizens of Queenstown’ ... [including] resident magistrate, Walter Allan and the Chairman of Queenstown Urban Council, Timothy Campbell.²⁷

Cork’s RIC Police Report for May 1917 briefly covered the occasion by stating ‘During the month large numbers of sailors belonging to the United States Navy arrived. They

²⁵ The picture is taken from <http://www.worldwar1.com/tgws/usnwone.htm> (31 July 2012).

²⁶ Interestingly Tausig was born in Dresden, Germany in 1877, but had sworn his allegiance to the United States of America and had become an extremely accomplished and successful Commander of the US Navy.

²⁷ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 206-7

... are mingling freely with British soldiers and sailors and with the civil population ... a very good feeling exists between the new arrivals and Britishers'.²⁸

Admiral Bayly's plain direct speaking impressed the Americans from the first day of the fleet's arrival. Tausig believed Bayly's frankness in his opening remarks 'laid the foundation stone of the fine spirit which was ever present in the Queenstown Command throughout the war'.²⁹ Blunt and often impatient Bayly certainly was, and small talk was not his forte. He was more interested in actions than in words. 'As grim and strict as a Prussian', one of the American destroyer officers said of him later. 'But very just, and runs things in a way that secures all our imagination'.³⁰ W.M. James wrote of Bayly, 'although in his own service his reputation was that of a hard taskmaster with a brusque, intolerant manner, the American navy discovered a human side which led him to be known to most American sailors as Uncle Lewis'.³¹ Bayly's tactfulness, common sense, intelligence, and tactical knowledge meant that any friction between the British, Irish and Americans was smoothed.

However, one casualty of the Americans' arrival into Queenstown was the U.S. Consul, Wesley Frost. According to Liam and John Nolan, the 'courageous and humanitarian American consul in Queenstown, Wesley Frost [was] ... shabbily treated and humiliated'³² by the Royal Naval Command in London and Admiral Sims of the US Navy. Frost had been meticulous in his duties as the US Consul in Queenstown, while he proved hugely courageous and organised when dealing with the survivors of the *Lusitania* sinking in 1915. However, as soon as Admiral Sims arrived in Queenstown on 19 May and witnessed how the U.S. Navy's arrival into Queenstown had been pre-empted by the town's residents, he quickly started investigations as to how the locals had become aware of the secret voyage. The investigation quickly turned to the operating procedures of the U.S. Consul. Not knowing what was alleged against him, Frost had to resort to conjecture: 'Since the facts are withheld, I cannot allege' stated Frost. His guess was that copies of two of his despatches sent to the State

²⁸ 'RIC Cork East Riding's County Inspector's Report, May 1917', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/103

²⁹ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 212; William N. Still Jr., *The Queenstown Patrol. The Diary of Commander Joseph Knepfler Taussig, U.S. Navy* (Rhode Island, 1996), pp. 5-34 gives a firsthand account of the American destroyers arrival in Queenstown.

³⁰ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 212

³¹ W. M. James, 'Bayly, Sir Lewis (1857-1938)', rev. Andrew Lambert, *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004) - <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30653> (24 August 2012)

³² Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 10

Department in Washington (Numbers 371 and 375) were shown to Admiral Sims. Sims resented the publicity that had been given to the arrival of the Eighth Division destroyers at Queenstown. Frost continued to state that Sims ‘apparently urged upon the ambassador that my immediate removal was desired by the Admiralty [and] ... induced the ambassador to act drastically without any investigation’. Frost pointed out that naval news was almost universally accessible in Queenstown and Cork, and that ‘scores of men who detest England conscientiously’ (primarily local Sinn Féiners and their followers) were in regular possession of all such facts as those in his despatch (Number 375). The arrival of the Americans was known in Queenstown for at least a fortnight beforehand. This suggested a leak from America, not due any actions of the US Consul. Frost even divulged that an eighteen year old local girl had told him at a private afternoon tea party of the Americans’ arrival and all the other persons in the room already knew of the event. Liam and John Nolan state that ‘Wesley Frost was never reinstated at Queenstown ... What is undeniable was that his removal was shabby in the extreme ... dishonouring an honourable man. Wesley Frost was gone from Queenstown before the end of June 1917’.³³

The American sailors were quickly made aware of the political tension that existed within Ireland. As the American fleet began to protect Ireland’s waters from the threat of the German U-boats, the RIC’s Inspector General’s Monthly Report for June 1917 stated that Cork had experienced serious rioting with the return of the prisoners interned and sentenced after the Rising. Acts of destruction included the breaking of the recruiting office windows and the flags of several Allied countries being torn down across the region. Anti-British speeches were made to a 10,000 strong Cork crowd who had congregated to welcome the returning prisoners.³⁴ With the arrival of American sailors fighting on the side of Britain and the return of the interned Sinn Féiners to the same locality at the same time meant that clashes between the two groups were a distinct possibility.

John Borgonovo also states that along with the political, anti-war sentiment that came from Cork’s nationalist supporters, was the moral panic of Cork residents towards the health concerns of the Cork population, as sexual cavorting took place more openly

³³ Ibid., pp. 221-5

³⁴ ‘RIC Inspector General’s Monthly Police Report for June 1917 & Cork E.R. RIC Monthly Police Report for June 1917’, ‘The British in Ireland’ series, TNA, CO 904/103

between Cork's young women and the American sailors. The 'cash-rich and assertive ... American seamen ... spent their liberty pursuing the opposite sex and some of their efforts were commercial in nature'.³⁵ Prostitution was not a new problem in Cork city, as the area 'possessed a busy port, three nearby British military bases and a large population living in extreme poverty'.³⁶ However, before the arrival of the American sailors, the general attitude to this vice was "out of sight, out of mind". However, a moral panic ensued as local residents viewed the American sailors openly and vigorously pursuing local women, both for innocent female companionship, romantic courtship and sexual relations (sometimes prostitution). Fears of venereal disease and an increase in prostitution led to the city's Catholic clergy, the Cork Corporation and vigilance groups tackling the menace. The same demographic that was involved in the June republican demonstrations, resulting in rioting on the streets of Cork, also made up the Cork Vigilance Committee, which led to the riots of September 1917 and March 1918 against American sailors and local women.³⁷

When Admiral Sims wrote his prize-winning *Victory at Sea* in 1920, he wrote that during almost two years the American naval forces spent in Europe, the only element in the Irish population who showed them any hostility or even unfriendliness was Ireland's radical nationalists. He decided to inform Americans 'just what kind of treatment their brave sailors met with at the hands of the [sic] Sinn Féin in Ireland'. While he stated the people of Queenstown 'received our men with genuine Irish cordiality', hostility in certain quarters became evident. He accused the members of Sinn Féin as not only being 'disloyal', but also 'openly pro-German'. American sailors infuriated the young Sinn Féin men, especially when they saw their sweethearts deserting them for the American boys; 'their hitherto suppressed anger took the form of overt acts'. Occasionally an American sailor was brought from Cork to Queenstown in a condition that demanded pressing medical attention, having 'suddenly been set upon ... and beaten into a state of insensibility'. He told of American sailors severely injured, stoned, at the receiving end of hostile demonstrations in cinemas and theatres, with some bloody battles taking place around Cork city and surrounding areas. Sims downplayed an incident of a priest in St. Colman's cathedral in Queenstown

³⁵ John Borgonovo, "Exercising a close vigilance over their daughters": Cork Women, American Sailors and Catholic Vigilantes, 1917-18' *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 38 (149), (2012), pp. 89-107

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

denouncing the American sailors as vandals and betrayers of Irish womanhood and Bishop Browne was called upon by Admiral Bayly soon after the incident to apologise for the insult. Sims revealed that it had been discovered that blacksmiths on board the *Melville*, as an act of revenge, were surreptitiously making weapons for sailors who were intent on doing battle with Sinn Féiners. ‘So for the whole period of our stay in Queenstown our sailors were compelled to keep away from the dangerous city [of Cork]’.³⁸ Admiral Bayly was decisive in dealing with the Cork brawls by imposing a ban on any British or American officers or crewmen going within three miles of Cork city.³⁹

The ban was the result of the actions of the Cork Vigilance Committee over the weekend of 1-3 September 1917. ‘Over three successive nights, bands of civilians assaulted American sailors and local women walking together’ through the streets of Cork city.⁴⁰ The attacks ranged from verbal abuse and spitting to punching and stoning. On Saturday evening three couples were cornered in front of the Palace Theatre by a rowdy crowd of 300 people, with the couples only saved by a police baton charge on the crowd. Later that evening, the demonstrators smashed the window of the British army recruiting office in Patrick Street.⁴¹ Demonstrations and attacks continued throughout Sunday and Monday, with Sinn Fein flags occasionally on view and shouts of “Up Dublin” and “Up the Huns” being reported. It is of no surprise that these attacks coincided with the shift in power of the city’s political establishment, as public opinion flocked towards the republican movement and the constitutional Irish Party was replaced by Sinn Fein as the local party of choice. The attacks of American sailors were all part of the larger anti-government demonstrations that challenged the Crown’s command of Cork between June and November 1917.⁴² The British army recruiting office was damaged on four separate occasions in 1917, which shows the anti-war sentiment and

³⁸ Francis M. Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question, 1910-23* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 171-4, states that Sims was a leading anti-Irish figure in America after the end of the war, holding several speeches across the country denouncing Sinn Fein and Irish republicanism. The *Sinn Feiner* gave Sims the nickname ‘Jackass’ Sims due to the anti-Irish rhetoric of his speeches. The pro-Irish, Boston lawyer, Edward F. McSweeney retaliated by publishing, *The truth about Ireland in the Great War: an analysis of Admiral Sims’ unfair attack on the Irish people* (Washington, 1919).

³⁹ John Borgonovo, “‘Exercising a close vigilance over their daughters’: Cork Women, American Sailors and Catholic Vigilantes, 1917-18’ *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 38 (149), (2012), pp. 89-107; Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 230-1; Rear Admiral William Sowden Sims & Burton J. Hendrick, *The Victory at Sea* (New York, 1920), pp. 69-72. A copy of *The Victory at Sea* can be found in the NLI (reference number, 35997s1).

⁴⁰ Borgonovo, Op. Cit.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

strength of republican support that existed around Cork after 1916. Admiral Bayly therefore felt it necessary to impose the ban on American and British sailors from entering Cork city indefinitely.

This did not stop incidents between the American sailors and Irish men. With Cork's women prevented from meeting American sailors in the city due to Admiral Bayly's ban, scores of women began travelling by train to Queenstown. Although the Queenstown residents were not enamoured with their female visitors, Queenstown did not face as much turmoil and disruption as Cork. The first week of September 1917 saw unruly behaviour erupt between sailors from rival ships, which in turn damaged some local public houses and led to Queenstown residents getting involved in the fighting.⁴³ The RIC's Monthly report told of a fight that occurred in Queenstown 'between an American sailor and [a Cork] man named Plummer, about a girl. The sailor struck the latter, and in falling his head struck against the kerbstone, dying a few hours afterwards'.⁴⁴ The American sailor was acquitted over any offence by an Irish civilian court.⁴⁵

Admiral Sims's critical remarks about Cork and the Irish people were subsequently denounced and his scathing remarks have been treated with at least a pinch of salt for its inaccuracy of true events. However, the fact that Admiral Bayly felt it necessary to impose a ban on American and British sailors entering Cork city, that the sailors were found making homemade weapons in retaliation to local acts of violence towards naval staff, and RIC monthly reports occasionally mentioning skirmishes between the sailors and the natives over the next two years of the war⁴⁶ meant there had to have been some truth in what Admiral Sims wrote about his experiences in Queenstown and Cork. Walter S. Delany also reported the financial advantages of the American sailors' arrival into Queenstown and Cork:

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ 'RIC County Inspector's Cork E.R. Report, September 1917', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/95; Borgonovo, Op. Cit.

⁴⁵ Borgonovo, Op. Cit.; Sims & Hendrick, *The Victory at Sea*, pp. 71-2

⁴⁶ Borgonovo, Op. Cit. highlighted further disturbances American servicemen and local residents in Cork in March 1918, due to local anxiety over the spread of venereal disease (V.D.). In the same month the British government issued the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) Regulation 40D, requiring the arrest of women who infected members of the armed forces with venereal disease. The government announcement of the opening of a V.D. hospital in Buttevant camp in north Cork was quickly abandoned due to local protests. These protests led to a confrontation between local Cork residents and a trainload of bank holiday revellers embarking the 5pm train for Queenstown on 18 March 1918. The mob specifically targeted the female travellers, who had to be protected by police armed with rifles.

The U.S. sailors had no other place to spend their money which was of sizeable amounts compared to that earned by local males. Obviously, the American blue jackets became popular with girls in Cork. The reverse was true of their boyfriends. The result was free-for-all in Cork and an order prohibiting British and U.S. officers and men to go within three miles of Cork on any pretence. It was learned that Cork suffered a loss of about 4,000 pounds sterling per week as a result of that order.⁴⁷

Annoyance over the actions taken against the American sailors by Sinn Fein supporters and suspicions about their German connections were also abounding in the north of the country during the sitting of the Irish Convention in 1917-18 to discuss the government's Home Rule proposals. Ulster Unionist suspicions of the radical nationalists and their participation in the negotiations led to people like the Convention's Ulster Unionist Party delegate Hugh de Fellenberg Montgomery⁴⁸ stating in a letter to the Church of Ireland Archbishop of Armagh, Primate John Baptist Crozier⁴⁹ on 6 September 1917:

I think if the Convention continues to sit till America is more thoroughly into the war and a few more American Sailors have been mishandled by Irish Patriots the necessity for any compromise will have disappeared as America will have realised that any form of Home Rule set up in Ireland will either immediately or ultimately lead to the establishment in this country, of a German Naval Base for the purpose of an attack on the United States.⁵⁰

On the seas the American naval fleet got off to a quick start. As well as the six American destroyers (the USS *McDougal*, USS *Conyngham*, USS *Wadsworth*, USS *Davis*, USS *Porter* and USS *Wainwright*), there were eight British destroyers on a short stay at Queenstown (the M class ships HMS *Magic*, HMS *Narwhal*, HMS *Peyton*, HMS *Parthian*, HMS *Marne* and HMS *Mary Rose*, and two R class destroyers, HMS *Sapedon* and HMS *Rigorous*). Their orders were to destroy U-boats, to protect and escort merchantmen and to save the crews and passengers of torpedoed ships. However, if there was a chance of destroying a U-boat, they had to take it, even if they saw men and women in lifeboats, or struggling in the water. As Bayly had emphasised

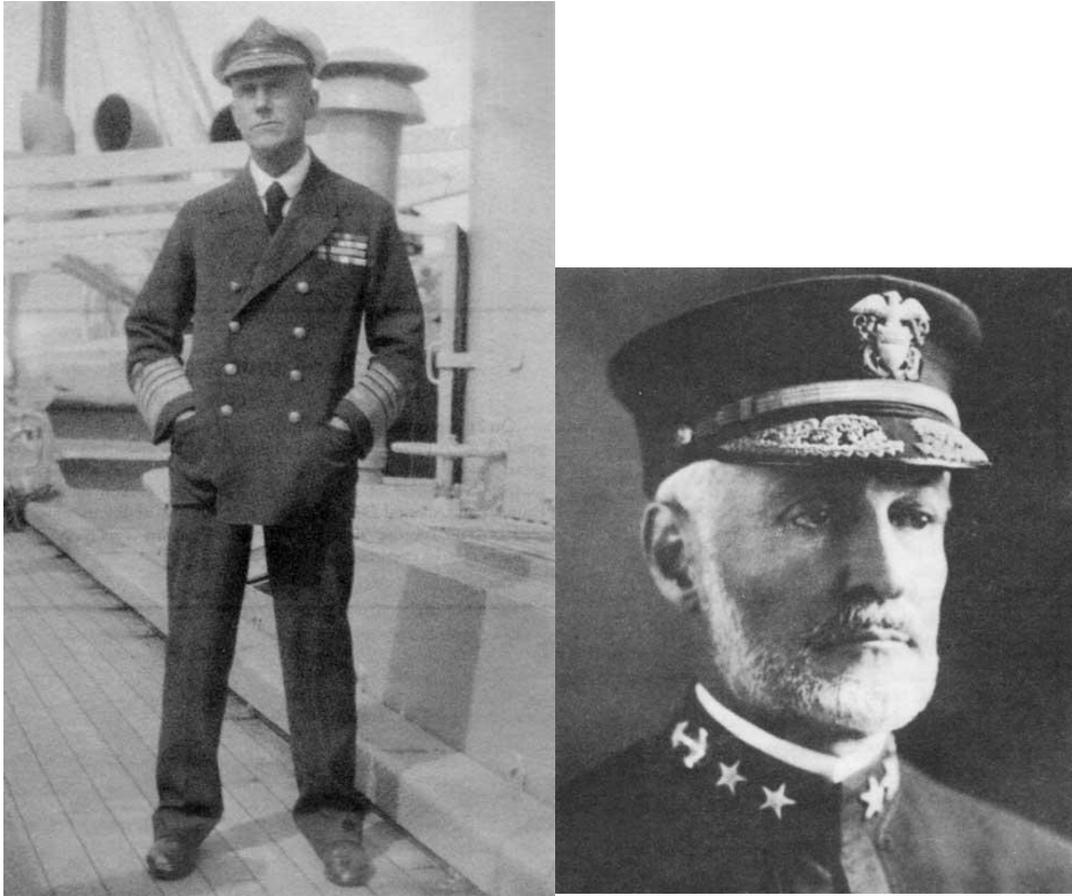
⁴⁷ Vice Admiral Walter S. Delany, *Bayly's Navy*, p. 15

⁴⁸ Bridget Hourican, 'Montgomery, Hugh de Fellenberg', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009), online edition: <http://dib.cambridge.org.libraryproxy.mic.ul.ie/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5901>

⁴⁹ Kenneth Milne, 'Crozier, John Baptist', in James McGuire and James Quinn (ed), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. (Cambridge, 2009), online edition: <http://dib.cambridge.org.libraryproxy.mic.ul.ie/quicksearch.do#>

⁵⁰ 'Copy of a letter to Primate John Baptist Crozier, from Hugh de Fellenberg Montgomery, Fivemiletown, Co. Tyrone, 6 September 1917', PRONI, D627/430/90

to Tausig and the American crew members on their arrival: ‘To let a submarine escape in order to save life only means the loss of more lives later’.⁵¹



Admiral Sir Lewis Bayly, Royal Navy Rear Admiral William S. Sims, US Navy

The American destroyers were modified for wartime work in the Western Approaches. Depth charge racks were installed on the ships, the tall mast heads were removed to lower their silhouettes in the water, most of the surplus stores were unloaded for increased speed and they were given the ‘dazzle painting’ treatment (the idea of distorting the periscope view of a ship by painting its hull with high contrast, unrelated shapes).⁵³

⁵¹ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 210-11

⁵² Vice Admiral Walter S. Delany, *Bayly's Navy*, (Washington, D.C., 1980), photos taken from online edition, <http://www.history.navy.mil/library/online/bayly's%20navy.htm>

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-3



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The initial system of roving patrols for the destroyers to hunt down German U-boats within the Western Approaches proved ineffective due to the fact the submarines were invisible and detection devices such as hydrophones were still very primitive, while sonar and radar had not yet been invented. It soon became apparent to Bayly and the US Naval fleet at Queenstown, that the destroyers could more successfully be deployed in a convoy escort system, assisting America's military men, materials and supplies safely to Irish and British ports. Calls from Queenstown and the British Naval Command for more destroyers to be sent from America was reluctantly met and by the end of June twenty-eight American destroyers were escorting convoys, rather than simply conducting patrols as had been the original plan. By the end of August the number at Queenstown had risen to thirty-five.⁵⁵ Once the convoy system was in place shipping losses to submarines began to decrease. They also assisted passenger and cargo vessels leaving British and Irish ports, through the Western Approaches and the Irish Sea (a stretch of water that became known as 'The Alley' or 'U-boat Alley') to rendezvous with their American convoy counterparts at the same location west of the Fastnet for safe passage back to America. Between the time of the adoption of the convoy system and the end of September 1917, 1,288 out of 1,306 ships arrived safely in Britain, coming in through the Western Approaches in eighty-three separate convoys. Only two ships were sunk during this period. The convoy system proved itself a great

⁵⁴ A photo of one of the US destroyers in 'dazzle paint' motif at Queenstown harbour, taken from <http://www.worldwar1.com/tgws/usnwwone.htm> (31 July 2012)

⁵⁵ Paul Halpern, 'The US Navy in the Great War', *Relevance. The Quarterly Journal of the Great War Society* (Spring 2004), Vol.13 (2). Online edition found at <http://www.worldwar1.com/tgws/usnwwone.htm>

tactic against the U-boat and Admiral Bayly in Queenstown supplied ninety-one percent of the escorts for 360 convoys.⁵⁶

One of the biggest scares that Bayly and the Queenstown destroyers encountered was a planned rendezvous with the passenger liner, *Leviathan*⁵⁷ which was carrying one of the first deployments of American soldiers to bolster the Allies' war effort. Eight thousand troops were being transported to Liverpool during the last week before Christmas and the Queenstown-based escorts were to meet the ship at a specific rendezvous. However, the *Leviathan* hadn't turned up at its allocated location, so the escort of eight U.S. destroyers proceeded to the next location. Another no-show was repeated, which led to Bayly considering the situation serious enough to go out in his flagship to investigate for himself. The escort at last picked up the *Leviathan* on 22 December, near Tuskar Rock and escorted her to the Mersey, to dock at Liverpool. Bayly was so furious with the *Leviathan's* behaviour that he requested Admiral Sims to investigate, which revealed that *Leviathan's* captain had deliberately avoided the rendezvous points, considering them too dangerous. The captain was relieved of his command.⁵⁸

German U-boat captains were also becoming more cunning with the laying of mines close to the various harbour entrances, proving a menace not only for passenger and cargo vessels, but smaller vessels, such as local fishing boats. However, Admiral Bayly's minesweeper team was able to discover many of the mines and Bayly proved just as cunning as his U-boat counterparts. On 15 June minesweepers from Admiral Bayly's Queenstown Command discovered a minefield between Hook Point and Swine Head, the 3.5 mile wide entrance to Waterford Harbour. Bayly pretended to remove the mines, knowing the Germans would attempt to replant replacements. The Germans fell for the trap. They intercepted Bayly's signal, not knowing it was a hoax. Just after midnight on 4 August, after waiting on the seabed, the U-boat *UC-44*, under the

⁵⁶ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 247, 256-7

⁵⁷ The *Leviathan* was a three-funnel liner and the largest ship in the world at 54,282-tons gross, 950 feet long with a top speed of twenty-six knots. Formerly the German S.S. *Vaterland* (of the Hamburg-America Line), she had been taken over by the U.S. Shipping Board in June 1917 and in September she was renamed *Leviathan* by President Wilson. She eventually carried up to 14,000 troops at a time on each crossing.

⁵⁸ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 247, 256-7. On reporting on the operations of *UC-75* in the Alley during the period of Christmas 1917, Commander Lohs stated that he had narrowly missed sinking the largest ship afloat, the *Leviathan*, during mine-laying operations in Liverpool Bay.

command of Captain Tebbenjohanns,⁵⁹ entered the harbour and began laying more mines in the approaches to Waterford harbour. The first four had been laid when a huge explosion rocked the U-boat. Tebbenjohanns struggled with the locking mechanism, but after a tense few minutes with the water rising to their shins, he managed to turn the wheel slowly. Tebbenjohanns and the two other sailors were shot out of the conning tower by the pressure, and upwards towards the surface into the pitch-black night. The three men were separated, but kept shouting to each other. However, the tide dragged the men further apart and Tebbenjohanns never saw his crewmen again. Two Irishmen in a rowing boat found Tebbenjohanns about ninety minutes later. He was made a prisoner-of-war, having become the victim of a deliberate ruse set up by Bayly. Bayly's men had also managed to lure the U-boat into an area where the water was shallow enough for the Royal Navy to recover and examine its papers and equipment for the code breakers in Room 40⁶⁰ to interpret and use. The Royal Navy raised *UC-44* in September and found a valuable set of secret documents and detailed charts laying out the precise courses that U-boats were taking to pass safely through the impregnable Dover straits. The bodies of the crew were buried, and the U-boat itself was destroyed.⁶¹ Of the members of the crew, it is reasonable to assume that Walter Richter was one of the crew of *UC-44* who had died in the sinking. Walter Richter, holding the German naval rank, 'mascinist'(sic), was buried at the Old Graveyard, Duncannon, near Dunmore. His body was reinterred in 1959 at the German Military Cemetery at Glencree, Co. Wicklow (photograph below).⁶²

⁵⁹ According to Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, p. 160, Tebbenjohanns was a gentleman of noble birth from a Schleswig-Holsteiner family.

⁶⁰ Room 40 (latterly NID25) was the section in the Admiralty most identified with the British crypto-analysis effort during the First World War, formed in October 1914.

⁶¹ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 233-5; William N. Still Jr. (Ed.), *The Queenstown Patrol, 1917...*, pp. 105 & 203

⁶² Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, pp. 168-9. An interesting, never-reported touch of irony in this episode occurred after Tebbenjohanns was taken from Dunmore and transported to Queenstown, where he must have stirred more than a passing interest. He was transported first class by train to Dublin and on to Kingstown, where he boarded the mail boat, *Leinster*, for Holyhead. During the passage, on Tebbenjohanns' honour as an officer, his guard allowed him to walk freely about the ship. The commander of the *Leinster*, Captain Birch, was none too happy with the lax escorting of the German prisoner and threatened to have both of them confined. Captain Birch and many of his passengers were later sent to their graves when another U-boat torpedoed his ship in October 1918.



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On 10 September another German U-boat, *UC-42*, was sunk by one of its own mines close to the Daunt Rock lightship, outside Roche's Point in Cork Harbour. Once again divers found additional valuable books and documents that were used against the Germans.⁶⁴

Rumours were also abounding that German U-boats were not only targeting sea-going vessels, but also important locations on land. In the early hours of 21 September 1917 a devastating explosion rocked the town of Arklow on the east coast of Ireland. A massive explosion occurred at Kynoch's huge munitions facility on Arklow's north shore. The explosion rocked the town and its surroundings for up to twelve miles and killed twenty-seven factory workers. The verdict on the cause of death was 'cause unknown', but the explosion was linked to an increasing spate of U-boat attacks in the Irish Sea. It did not take long for rumours to spread as to the possible reasons for the explosion, with many local people believing that a submarine had shelled the factory on the night in question. Kynoch's and Arklow harbour were no strangers to alleged attempts of sabotage, especially with regard to German submariners' continuous attempts to lay mines across its approaches.⁶⁵

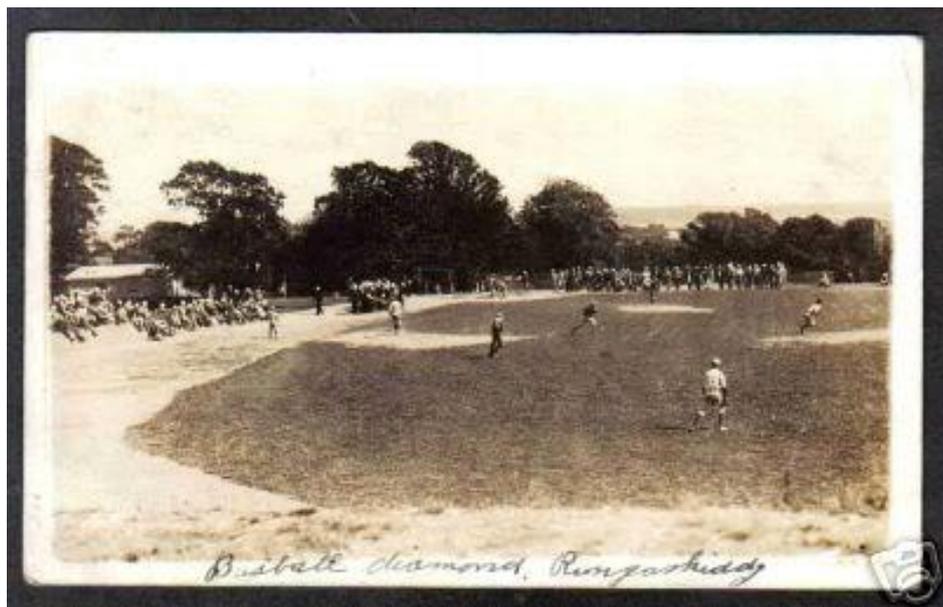
With all the daunting expeditions the American sailors had to face on a daily basis, recreational facilities were provided for their own sanity. A building was identified in Queenstown and a group of American businessmen from London contributed roughly £4,000 for the establishment of a centre for the sailors and work

⁶³ Ibid., p. 171

⁶⁴ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, pp. 233-5

⁶⁵ Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, pp. 176-7

began straight away. On 25 August the US Naval Men's Club was opened in Queenstown on Bath's Quay. A library, restaurant, a facility for showing films, a performance stage, dorms, showers, billiards and pool tables were all provided. The British sailors hadn't even a hut to relax in, so the YMCA came to their rescue and erected a recreation hut for the British sailors.⁶⁶ Even the commanding officers managed to enjoy some relaxation time. One afternoon Tausig took the train to Cork where he and a fellow officer went to the local cricket ground on the Mardyke (today's Cork County Cricket Club) where a crowd of about 3,000 people had turned out to watch a baseball game between teams from the USS *Melville* and USS *Trippe*. The gate receipt funds that day were handed over to the Red Cross. Tausig found it 'hard to realise that a war was going on anywhere. It seemed like a dream that only a few days ago I was out at sea with my ship shooting at a hostile submarine.' He and his colleague took in a variety show at the Palace Theatre later that evening and caught the last train back to Queenstown at 11.20pm.⁶⁷



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TCD Film and Television Archives also hold a newsreel of another baseball match that took place in Dublin between American and Canadian teams. The newsreel includes

⁶⁶ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 236; Vice Admiral Walter S. Delany, *Bayly's Navy*, p. 15

⁶⁷ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 249-50; William N. Still Jr. (ed.), *The Queenstown Patrol, 1917*, p. 83

⁶⁸ A photograph of a baseball game held at Ringaskiddy, Co. Cork (date unknown). Baseball became a regular occurrence around Ireland for the next few years after 1917. The photograph was obtained from <http://www.boards.ie/vbulletin/showthread.php?t=2055654477> (viewed on 1 August 2012)

members of teams shaking hands with Lord Wimborne, the Lord Lieutenant, and several shots of the game.⁶⁹

Suspicion of Americans in Ireland certainly existed on the part of the British and Irish authorities before April 1917. This was revealed in two newspaper articles early in the year. On 21 February the *Irish Independent* reported that two journalists from the *Deutsches Journal*, one of the Hearst newspapers in America, had ‘been arrested and charged with hiring a man named Moran and fifteen Americans to go to Great Britain and Ireland as newspaper correspondents to seek military information for transfer to Germany, via the U.S.’. American individuals as well as enemy aliens were treated with heightened suspicion as more stories of German-American intrigue were reported. The *Freeman’s Journal* reported one such incident where the Athlone police had arrested and detained an American, Thomas J. Mullins, for questioning. Mullins had registered himself in Arran, Co. Donegal, in 1915, but had been arrested after failing to give a satisfactory account of himself in Athlone and was held for almost an entire week.⁷⁰

So the generally positive welcome given to the American sailors provided a stark comparison to the suspicion that existed of Americans before President Wilson declared war on Germany in April, and especially compared to the attitudes shown towards the Americans arrested and interned after their involvement in the Easter Rising twelve months earlier. Many of these American supporters of the Rising were reluctantly released from British detention camps (like Frongoch) and repatriated back to the USA throughout 1917. There was very little else that the British government could do with these internees but force repatriation upon individuals who, after April 1917, were officially regarded as friendly aliens, even though an air of treachery to Britain hung over their heads. Examples of repatriated Americans, such as John Kilgallon, Michael Joseph Lynch, Peter Fox and William Pedlar have already been mentioned in Chapter 4.⁷¹

⁶⁹ ‘America vs. Canada. Baseball Match Played At Dublin’ (19 November 1917), reference found at <http://www.tcd.ie/irishfilm/showfilm.php?fid=43849>

⁷⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8 March 1917

⁷¹ ‘The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921’, TNA, CO 904/205/216-231; also NAI, CSORP/1918/16626-8

The effect of new legislation on Ireland's enemy alien population

Another aspect that swayed British and Irish attitudes towards a more positive outlook on their American allies was the strong stance taken by Wilson and the U.S. Congress towards their enemy alien population. In taking a similar approach to the monitoring, restrictions and internment of enemy aliens within America, Wilson brought America immediately in line with the actions against their alien populations taken by Britain, Ireland, Canada and Australia. It also emphasised Wilson's commitment to the Allied cause and the final defeat of the German menace. America's version of Britain's Aliens Restriction Act (1914) – and its subsequent Order and Amendments - was enforced immediately. It was provided by Statute (section 4067 of the Revised Statutes):

All natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within the United States, and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed, as alien enemies.⁷²

Wilson followed on from his declaration of war against Germany with a speech stating:

All alien enemies are enjoined to preserve the peace towards the United States and to refrain from crime against the public safety, and from violating the laws of the United States and of the States and Territories thereof, and to refrain from actual hostility or giving information, aid or comfort to the enemies of the United States, and to comply strictly with the regulations which are hereby or which may be from time to time promulgated by the President; and so long as they shall conduct themselves in accordance with law, they shall be undisturbed in the peaceful pursuit of their lives and occupations and be accorded the consideration due to all peaceful and law-abiding persons, except so far as restrictions may be necessary for their own protection and for the safety of the United States; and towards such alien enemies as conduct themselves in accordance with law, all citizens of the United States are enjoined to preserve the peace and to treat them with all such friendliness as may be compatible with loyalty and allegiance to the United States.⁷³

Stephen J. Gross's study of two rural German Catholic communities in central Minnesota clearly emphasised the heightened tensions experienced by America's ethnic

⁷² Amos S. Hershey, 'Treatment of Enemy Aliens', *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 12, (1) (Jan. 1918), p. 159

⁷³ Ibid. Hershey goes on to state in his article (pp. 160-2) twelve restrictions placed on enemy aliens within America, including residence, travel, business interests, communication, firearms and other restrictions. A national registry of enemy aliens was also established.

minorities. ‘The Land of the Free’ was certainly not the case in America after April 1917, with ‘the government’s campaign against the ‘hyphen’ (hyphenated Americans) and for 100% Americanism seriously threatening ethnic Americans and especially those of German descent’.⁷⁴ Restrictions on businesses, alcohol distribution (beer-making was a primary business for many German communities within America), residence and travel all added to creating problems and rifts between German-American families. Economic and political pressures created by the war exacerbated relations within the immigrant communities, as well as creating hysteria towards enemy alien communities.

The atmosphere for Ireland’s enemy aliens in 1917 was somewhat different to that which existed in America. Sinn Fein was becoming a considerable political force and a serious concern for the British government. For Britain, Ireland had become an unwelcome complication by 1917. ‘People who cheered the green flag in 1914 shunned the shamrock in 1917’.⁷⁵ The British government saw Ireland’s radical nationalists as not only seditious, but also profiteers and shirkers as well. In Britain, Irish workers experienced heightened prejudice after the 1916 Rising that had similarities to the reactions against the German and Austrian communities immediately after the outbreak of the war. February had already seen the first of four parliamentary seats to be taken by Sinn Fein in by-elections during 1917. George Noble Count Plunkett, the father of the executed rebel, Joseph Mary Plunkett, was successful in taking the North Roscommon seat.⁷⁶ In May, Joseph P. McGuinness, who was a prisoner, won a second Sinn Fein seat in the South Longford constituency. Of the four Sinn Fein electoral victories in 1917 South Longford was the most important. The division had always been regarded as one of the safest of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP) seats (unlike Roscommon, Kilkenny and Clare, which had all certain neo-Fenian traditions), and Sinn Fein itself hardly hoped for the success that it achieved.⁷⁷ By May

⁷⁴ Stephen J. Gross, “‘Perils of Prussianism’ - Main Street German America, Local Autonomy, and the Great War’, *Agricultural History*, Vol.78, (1) (Winter, 2004), p. 78

⁷⁵ Gregory and Pasetta, *Ireland and the Great War*, p. 4

⁷⁶ Michael Laffan, *The Resurrection of Sinn Fein: The Sinn Fein Party, 1916-1923* (Cambridge, 1999) and Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation: Irish Nationalist Life 1891-1918* (Dublin, 1999) provide an insight into the emergence and growth of Sinn Fein as a political power in Ireland. Warre B. Wells & N. Marlowe, *The Irish Convention and Sinn Fein, in continuation of ‘A history of the Irish rebellion of 1916’* (Dublin & London, 1918) – electronic version found at <http://archive.org/details/irishconvention00well> - also gives a contemporary viewpoint of the growth of Sinn Fein during 1916-1918.

⁷⁷ Warre B. Wells & N. Marlowe, *The Irish convention*, p. 50

it was fair to assert that ‘Sinn Fein was the fad or the craze of 1917’.⁷⁸ Both the radical and moderate nationalists were beginning to co-operate in the by-elections to ensure the right result. In June and July, the East Clare seat was contested after the death in war of Major William Redmond (brother of John, the leader of the IPP). As County Clare had provided strong support for the rising Sinn Féin Party, Éamon de Valera won the by-election relatively easily. Finally, W. T. Cosgrave was elected for Sinn Féin in the Kilkenny by-election in August.⁷⁹ By this time Britain’s Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, had set up an Irish Convention, ‘a fact-finding ... policy-formulating assembly of “responsible” notables’.⁸⁰ The composition of the Convention was far from representative and Sinn Fein denounced the Convention’s substantially handpicked membership. However, Lloyd George persisted and the Irish Convention sat from July 1917 to March 1918, to address the ‘Irish Question’ and the issues surrounding British rule, Home Rule and full independence of Ireland. Sinn Fein refused to take part in the Convention as full independence for Ireland was never going to be considered.⁸¹

With all the attention on the progress of Sinn Fein as a political force, the newspapers reported very few instances of anti-German hostility or enemy alien arrests in Ireland during 1917. The stories that did appear in the newspapers included a court case in February against George Reitz for failing to provide seats behind the counter of the shop for his female staff members.⁸² In September an attempt was made to get a court order to close a German-owned Belfast hotel⁸³ while the burning of the military’s hay stock at the North Wall in Dublin in November was believed to be the work of enemy alien sabotage.⁸⁴ The other anti-alien news stories during the year were linked to the actions, Acts and Orders of the British Parliament.

⁷⁸ Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2005), p. 180

⁷⁹ David W. Miller, *Church, State and Nation in Ireland 1898-1921* (Dublin, 1973), pp. 349-56

⁸⁰ Tom Cox, *Damned Englishman. A Case Study of Erskine Childers (1870-1922)* (New York, Hicksville, 1975), p. 94

⁸¹ Further reading on the Irish Convention of 1917-18 can be found in Alan O’Day, *Irish Home Rule 1862-1921, Attempts to implement Home Rule, 1914-18* (Manchester, 1998); Alvin Jackson, *Home Rule: An Irish History 1800—2000* (Oxford & New York, 2003); Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation, Irish Nationalist Life 1891-1918* (New York, 1999), pp. 182-83; Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland, World War I and Partition* (London, 1998). For contemporary accounts see Warre B. Wells & N. Marlowe, *The Irish convention and Sinn Fein, in continuation of ‘A history of the Irish rebellion of 1916,’* (1918) and Stephen Gwynn, *John Redmond’s Last Years* (London, 1919)

⁸² *Irish Independent & Freeman’s Journal*, 21 February 1917

⁸³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 28 September 1917

⁸⁴ *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 November 1917

In February the use of enemy aliens in agricultural work was being considered by the government. The new tillage scheme, introduced to raise productivity in food staples like grain and potatoes, placed huge strain on the farming community and especially on Ireland's labour market. The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction (DATI) enforced the policy in Ireland through the prosecution of landholders who did not abide by the compulsory tillage order. The rule was unpopular with cattle farmers as the government demanded agriculturalists who were involved in mixed farming to till over forty percent of their land.⁸⁵ The government's tillage scheme had relative success as between 1916 and 1918 there was a rise in the acreage under tillage of 1.7 million acres owing to an increase in the price for tillage products.⁸⁶ The scheme's success came at a price for the British government, helping to increase rural support for Sinn Fein, as Ireland's farming communities became disgruntled at the enforced tillage rules. Over the coming months more Sinn Fein clubs were established across the country with increasing popularity and membership.⁸⁷

War casualties had depleted the male population by the start of 1917, so alternative resources had to be found to achieve the increase in crop tillage. With the thousands of interned enemy aliens proving a considerable drain on the country's decreasing resources, the nation's press and official bodies like the LGB pointed to this underused male resource to be used. Templemore's German military POWs, now at the detention camp in Leigh, Lancashire, had been put to work in March, at the Partington Steel Works, in Irlam. Two-hundred travelled by tram each day, while thirty POWs went to work down the coal mines at Atherton's Chanter's Colliery. The employers paid an hourly wage for the work done, with a small percentage going directly to the prisoner (1d./hr) while the remainder of the wage went directly to the government. The *Leigh Chronicle* stated: 'The scheme is said to be working well and is rapidly developing. The prisoners ... welcome the change from camp life'.⁸⁸ However, the work undertaken was tough and demanding for many of the prisoners who were not used to working underground or in the heat of the steel works. This led to several

⁸⁵ Eunan O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union. British Government in Ireland 1892-1920* (Dublin, 1987), pp. 148-9

⁸⁶ Diarmaid Ferriter, *The Transformation of Ireland 1900-2000* (London, 2005), p. 173; Patrick Maume, *The Long Gestation. Irish Nationalist Life, 1891-1918* (New York & Dublin, 1999), p. 151; House of Commons Debate, 15 February 1917, Vol. 90, cc.772-80 (Hansard)

⁸⁷ The increasing popularity of the Sinn Fein clubs was emphasised by the concern shown in the RIC's confidential Police Reports during 1917 ('The British in Ireland' Series 1, Part 4 (Reels 64 & 65).

⁸⁸ *Leigh Chronicle*, 16 March 1917; Leslie Smith, *The German Prisoner of War Camp at Leigh*, pp. 65-7

escape attempts throughout the year from October onwards.⁸⁹ Hunger strikes had become a tactic that interned Sinn Féiners were beginning to use, unfortunately leading to Thomas Ashe's death on 25 September 1917. However, the tactic was never adopted (or at least reported as a tactic) for interned enemy aliens. They tended to prefer escape attempts or official avenues of release, such as exemption from internment applications.

Compulsory employment was only applied to combatant POWs and did not apply to the thousands of civilian prisoners interned throughout the British Isles. The question of using civilian enemy aliens in agriculture was raised at the County Dublin Food Production Advisory Committee on 13 February. The meeting included various agricultural committees, Boards of Guardians and a number of politicians. The use of enemy aliens as a labour resource was discussed but no clear outcome came from the debate.⁹⁰ Some interned enemy aliens tried to work the new agricultural scheme to their advantage. In March, Herman Saloshinsky (aka Greentree), started looking for release from internment to take up agricultural work in Britain. Saloshinsky was born in Lodz, and interned in 1914 for being a Hungarian enemy alien. His appeals to the American Consul in Dublin had him reinstated as a Russian, before being interned once again for changing his name to Greentree in 1915. Saloshinsky had decided to change his name to the advantage of his business, which was losing custom because of the foreign sounding name above the premises. The issue of a person's nationality and their recognition as enemy or friendly alien was an ongoing complication for the British and Irish authorities to try and interpret. Was Saloshinsky a member of the Russian Empire that occupied his city at the time of his birth and the nationality that he registered as at the start of the war? Was he now an enemy alien as his city was occupied by the German Empire at the outbreak of the conflict? As he had declared himself Hungarian at the time of Ireland's 1911 Census was this the nationality that the authorities should apply? The confusion meant that there was reluctance to categorise his wife and family as a Russian 'friend' or German (or Hungarian) 'enemy', which meant the family did not receive her dependence allowance from the American Consulate (who often dealt with dependents of Russian as well as enemy alien nationals) when her husband was interned in 1915. His British wife's appeals for his release during 1916 to help support the family also fell on deaf ears. Saloshinsky's file

⁸⁹ Leslie Smith, *The German Prisoner of War Camp at Leigh*, pp. 65-71

⁹⁰ *Irish Independent*, 14 February 1917

never reported his release and departure from Britain, but the final correspondence intimated that there was no reason (other than physical fitness and a heart condition that had been reported when he first arrived at Oldcastle camp) why the alien should not travel to work as an agricultural labourer in Britain.⁹¹

Another enemy alien who was allowed to work while still interned was Max Nietzel. Before the war he had worked as a typewriter mechanic for the Norman Typewriter Manufacturing Company in Dublin.



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Before the outbreak of the war Nietzel had been residing in Bray, Co. Wicklow, but was arrested and imprisoned in Kilkenny jail in October 1914.⁹³ The owner of the company stated that Nietzel had never joined the German Army due to a problem with his arm, making him unfit for military service. Nietzel was later moved on to Oldcastle detention camp. Attempts continued to be made by the typewriter company to have Nietzel released, to no avail. But, as the business had a contract to service the British

⁹¹ NAI, CSORP/1919/3681

⁹² The photograph of the Norman Typewriter Manufacturing Company, at 5 Upper Ormond Quay, Dublin city, was found at NAI, CSORP/1919/3681. The present-day photograph is provided by Google Maps, <http://maps.google.co.uk/maps?hl=en&tab=wl>

⁹³ Ibid. Nietzel's arrest was also reported in the *Irish Times*, 3 November 1914, stating that 'the Bray Constabulary, armed with warrants, yesterday arrested ... four German alien enemies named Arthur Pantow, barber; Max Nietzel, waiter; Fritz Felber, waiter; and Leopold Bollmost, mechanic. The four ... were engaged in working in Dublin until orders were issued that all alien enemies fit for military service should clear out of [Dublin] ... They then proceeded to Bray in search of employment.'

military's typewriter equipment and was failing to keep pace with the demand due to a lack of skilled men, Nietzel was allowed to work in Oldcastle for his previous employer from November 1917, due to the War Office labelling it an exceptional case. He was unable to be released to work in their Dublin offices as the city was a prohibited area. Little else is known of Max Nietzel after 1917.⁹⁴

The continuing story of William Winter (who has been mentioned in previous chapters) also incorporated the new tillage regulations of 1917. In May 1917, Winter's father-in-law, Hugh O'Dowd, applied for the release of Winter and an exemption from internment at Oldcastle for the remainder of the war. O'Dowd needed assistance on his farm due to a deterioration of his health and 'it is completely impossible for me to comply with the new tillage regulation without assistance'. The appeal came to nothing as his release was not granted in June. The official correspondence from the County Inspector stated the reason being O'Dowd was in good health and had the assistance of his wife, his twenty-eight year old son, Winter's wife and child to work the twenty-five acres. The unofficial reason may also have been that Roscommon had become a Sinn Fein stronghold by June 1917 and allowing an enemy alien to reside there was too great a risk for the authorities. Winter had been interned since 21 May 1915 at Oldcastle because he was physically fit and of military age. His internment was also due to the hysteria created after the *Lusitania* disaster, leading to many enemy aliens being interned under suspicion only. The fact that Winter had been released from Templemore in November 1914 and he was married to an Irish woman in July 1914 makes William Winter's story an ideal case study, covering many of the issues that affected enemy aliens residing in Ireland throughout the war years.⁹⁵

Another tactic employed by enemy aliens to achieve release from internment was the promise to join the British Army. This option was only open to enemy aliens who were subjects of the German or Austro-Hungarian Empires, but claimed their individual nationality. One example was Alphonso Palcic, officially Hungarian, but claiming Serbian nationality. Palcic had received an invitation from the Home Office

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ NAI, CSORP/1919/3681

to join the British Army and confirm his friendly status, in September 1917. In July, the Serbian Legation had written to support his Serbian nationality.⁹⁶

The British government enforced further restrictions on enemy aliens in 1917. Among the orders under the Aliens Restriction Act, an amendment order of 30 March 1917 gave power to Chief Constables to close down, either permanently or for a certain number of hours each day, premises frequented by enemy aliens or ‘undesirable aliens’ and premises ‘in the occupation or control of an alien ... conducted in a disorderly or improper manner, or in a manner prejudicial to the public safety’ which covered restaurants and other establishments for the consumption of refreshments, places of ‘public resort or entertainment’, and clubs.⁹⁷ This particularly affected Cork’s Armenian businessman, Haratun Batmazian. As Armenia was a part of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, Batmazian was registered as an enemy alien at the start of the war, even though he and his family were forced to leave his country of birth due to Turkish persecution at the turn of the century. He received his certificate of naturalisation from the Home Office on 30 December 1914, allowing Batmazian and his family to reside in the prohibited area of Cork city. His business Hadji Bey & Co., Confectioners had been established in the city since 1902 and was renowned for generations for its Turkish Delight.



By 1917, with the food shortages, high prices, U-boat fears and political tension within Ireland, it was not surprising to see a complaint received at the Home Office by an

⁹⁶ Ibid. Refer to Chapter 4 for more information on Palcic.

⁹⁷ Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 59

⁹⁸ NAI, CSORP/1917/12753

individual named F. R. Rohn, of 72 Grand Parade, Cork, that the Turkish Delight manufacturer had not been interned and was still at large in the city. It is not known whether this was carried out with malicious intent by Rohn, who was a fur and skin dresser in the city, or whether it was genuine fear of Batmazian being a ‘foreigner’ and enemy alien. After a brief investigation no action was taken by the authorities.⁹⁹

Another Order, passed in February 1917, stated that nobody could land or leave a British port ‘except after examination by an Aliens Officer’ and that no alien was allowed to land or leave unless he had obtained permission from an Aliens Officer.¹⁰⁰ By the start of April the Order was supported by the Admiralty’s ruling enforcing all members of the Mercantile Marine Association who were of alien descent to have their certificates of membership withdrawn by the Board of Trade. On 2 April Lord Buckmaster in the House of Lords announced that the measure was ‘operated very harshly, and it was likely to give rise to grave discontent’.¹⁰¹ The ruling was not applied to the Royal Navy as the Admiralty was responsible for the admission of its personnel and aware of every individual sailor’s history and their loyalty to the Crown. It was not responsible for the membership of the Mercantile Marine Association. By the end of May the Order was extended to prevent the Association’s alien captains and staff to be employed on British vessels.¹⁰² The U-boat war and the fear of subversion and spying by Sinn Fein were some of the reasons for restricting aliens involved with the merchant shipping interests. However, by restricting the movement of merchant shipping into Irish ports, the Order ultimately deprived Irish businesses of the products and income that the shipping interests and their crews brought to the areas.

Further anti-alien hysteria arose due to the extreme warfare techniques being adopted by the German Army and Navy in 1917, ultimately having serious consequences for enemy alien communities throughout all levels of British and Irish society. The effects of gas attacks on Allied soldiers, as well as rumours of biological warfare, such as the creation of manmade diseases by German scientists to be released on the people of the Allied countries, led to a spate of xenophobic reactions among the

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, p. 60

¹⁰¹ *Freeman’s Journal*, 3 April 1917. William Goodhart, ‘Buckmaster, Stanley Owen, first Viscount Buckmaster (1861–1934)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004); online version, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/libraryproxy.mic.ul.ie/view/article/32159?docPos=1>. Buckmaster was also closely involved with the decision not to grant a reprieve to Roger Casement’s death sentence in 1916.

¹⁰² *Sunday Independent*, 28 May 1917

Press and public. In June 1917, Lord Northcliffe (who was born in Dublin) attacked the British royal family for their German and Austrian connections. Northcliffe's newspapers had reignited the anti-German hysteria in his various publications by the start of June. Even though Northcliffe himself hired several journalists and workers of German or Austrian origin, his newspapers, such as the *Daily Mail* and *The Times*, waged a war of words on the British royal family's Schleswig-Holstein relations who 'are moving around so prominently in England'.¹⁰³ On 21 June the *Irish Independent* reported that most of the newspapers in Britain were 'in general approval ... of the action of the King in abolishing German titles in the royal family' through the passage into law of the Titles Deprivation Act. This piece of legislation affected individuals like the Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale, who was also the Earl of Armagh and great-grandson of George III; as well as the Duke of Albany and Prince Albert of Schleswig-Holstein, who were both grandchildren of Queen Victoria. The royal family also renounced the German surname Saxe-Coburg Gotha in favour of the more British-sounding Windsor in July.¹⁰⁴ As Ann Lyon states: 'The Titles Deprivation Act ... attempted to separate the Royal Family from its ties with Germany and to give it an appearance of unambiguous Englishness'.¹⁰⁵



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¹⁰³ *Anglo-Celt*, 9 June 1917

¹⁰⁴ *Irish Independent*, 20 & 21 June 1917; Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', pp. 173–203

¹⁰⁵ Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria...', p.173

¹⁰⁶ 'A Good Riddance: "The King has done a popular act in abolishing the German titles held by members of His Majesty's family."' Cartoon of King George V having to deal with the orders of the Titles

Incidents like the sinking of the *Lusitania* in 1915 and the execution of Roger Casement for treason in August 1916, which led to outbreaks of anti-German hostility in Britain, assisted in bringing attention to the royal family and their German connections. However, on the King's express instructions, the stall plates of the eight Knights of the Garter, which politicians, press and public demanded to be removed, were to remain hanging in St. George's Chapel until 1917, when Parliament passed the Titles Deprivation Act. The mechanism to deprive German princes of their British titles was passed into law, but it was only after an Order in Council was made after the Armistice that gave effect to the deprivations.¹⁰⁷

The discussions, research and drafting of the Bill were not decisions that were immediate or rushed. Pressure within Parliament for legislation to deal with this issue seems to have come almost exclusively from J.G. Swift MacNeill,¹⁰⁸ MP for South Donegal, who raised the question of German princes holding British titles in the House of Commons on seven occasions between November 1914 and the end of July 1916. Ann Lyon is unsure why Swift MacNeill took this issue on as a personal crusade?¹⁰⁹ It was only from June 1916, coinciding with Casement's trial, that the issue of Germans holding British titles became a more public affair. Swift MacNeill's lone voice was joined by other politicians asking the same question. Lyon believes that the two main reasons why it took so long for Government to act were, firstly, that no one expected the war to be a long affair and therefore, secondly, there was little need to cause unnecessary embarrassment to the King.¹¹⁰ With subversion, treachery and collusion with Germany becoming key issues with regard to the Irish Rising, increasing pressure from politicians, the press and the British public forced the Government to act on the issue of enemy aliens holding royal titles and military positions. The Bill was drafted throughout 1916 and up to February 1917. It was carefully researched and worded to

Deprivation Act, 1917, in *Punch and the London Charivari*, Vol. 152, p.422 (27 June, 1917); <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/16113> (viewed on 26 April 2011)

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.178-9

¹⁰⁸ S. L. Gwynn, 'MacNeill, John Gordon Swift (1849–1926)', rev. Alan O'Day, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34815>, (27 August 2012)

¹⁰⁹ Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', p.181. Swift MacNeill did have a history regarding his distrust of peerages, dating back to 1894 when 'he published *Titled Corruption*, listing Irish peerages created in the late eighteenth century and union period for corrupt purposes, and highlighted subsequent holders' connections to the divorce courts and patent medicines, and their power to frustrate the elected chamber during the debates on the 1893 home rule bill', a subject which he advocated during this period (quoted in Patrick Maume, 'MacNeill, John Gordon Swift', James McGuire & James Quinn (eds.), *DIB* (Cambridge, 2012), <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a5280>).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-3

only deprive the three Princes (originally under scrutiny) of their titles, without damaging future successions to the throne, while creating as little embarrassment to the King. The Bill was introduced to the House of Lords on 13 March 1917 and then debated in the House of Commons after 14 May. It was finally given Royal Assent on 8 November.

The delay in passing the Bill into law was to be expected considering that the Cabinet and Parliament had more immediate concerns on their minds in this period. The losses experienced from Germany's unrestricted U-boat war from February 1917; the military losses at both the Somme offensive and Verdun throughout 1916; the Irish Rising and its aftermath; the revolutionary atmosphere of Russia in March and the worry that socialist rumblings were also being heard on British soil,¹¹¹ and the indecision of America about joining the war effort, all played their part in delaying the Titles Deprivation Act being passed into law.¹¹² Action was finally taken under the Titles Deprivation Act against four people: the Duke of Cumberland; his son the Duke of Brunswick; the Duke of Albany and Coburg; and Heinrich Graf von Taaffe, 12th Viscount Taaffe of Corren.¹¹³ Action was proposed, but not pursued, against Prince Albert of Schleswig-Holstein, a grandson of Queen Victoria through his mother.¹¹⁴

The Titles Deprivation Act did not have any serious repercussions for enemy aliens in Ireland. In her PhD thesis Clare O'Neill highlights Desmond FitzGerald's accounts of his conversation with Patrick Pearse and Joseph Plunkett in Dublin's General Post Office during the week of the Rising, where 'Pearse and Plunkett were willing to countenance the possibility of a German prince being installed as king of an independent Ireland'.¹¹⁵ O'Neill goes on to state that, 'this attitude was not reflected in the attitudes of many other Irish people'.¹¹⁶ One reaction against Sinn Fein was Mary Carbery's satirical novella *The Germans in Cork being the Letters of the Baron Von*

¹¹¹ It was reported that an Australian socialist by the name of Campbell gave a speech to a largely attended crowd at the Independent Labour Party and Socialists meeting in St. Mary's Hall, Belfast ('Inspector General's confidential RIC report', Belfast, December 1917, TNA, CO 904/104).

¹¹² Ann Lyon, 'A Reaction to Popular Hysteria', pp. 191-2

¹¹³ He was a Count (*Graf*) in the Holy Roman Empire and a Viscount in the Peerage of Ireland.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80

¹¹⁵ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 88. O'Neill also mentions that Ernest Blythe remembered the same idea being put forward by Plunkett and Thomas MacDonagh in January 1915 (referenced in F. S. L. Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (London, 1973), pp. 370-1).

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Kartoffel (Military Governor of Cork in 1918) and others.¹¹⁷ Using the pseudonym of Baron Von Kartoffel¹¹⁸, Carbery portrays a fictitious (but possible) scenario where Germany is victorious in winning the war and taking over the governorship of Ireland. Carbery's hypothesising of an Ireland under German rule in this obscure novella is quite 'humorous ... quirky, [with a multitude of] derogatory comments about the Irish people [and] obviously propagandist [and pro-British]'.¹¹⁹ Roy Stokes describes the book's contents as alluding,

to a situation which Germany had won the war and occupied Ireland in 1918. Not being able to trust traitors, the Sinn Feiners, who had aided and welcomed the invasion with open arms, were deported to Germany and Russia for re-education by the new conquerors ... fictitious letters written by the new 'German Governor of Cork, Baron von Kartoffel', and addressed principally to the 'folks back home' ... the new German rulers might exterminate the inmates of Ireland's asylums, the aged and uncooperative, by 'gassing'.¹²⁰

The second chapter then considers the writing of a Sinn Feiner, aged nineteen, writing to his parents about his treatment by and views of the new Irish leader, the Kaiser. The novella is so anti-Sinn Fein that Carbery describes the nationalist leaders and followers more like a comedic 'Dad's Army'¹²¹ than Ireland's freedom fighters. Carbery portrays them marching through Cork with pikes, brooms and other makeshift weaponry, while the Baron mocks their 'bravery' and 'courage' for not fighting at the Front, before announcing the Sinn Feiners and their families will be sent to the far-flung reaches of the Baltic, where they could not get into mischief and become a problem for the 'Fatherland'.¹²²

¹¹⁷ Anon. (Mary Carbery), *The Germans in Cork being the Letters of the Baron Von Kartoffel (Military Governor of Cork in 1918) and others*, (Dublin, 1917) (viewed on 26 February 2010). The book is held in the National Library of Ireland's 'Rare Books Collection'. Lady Carbery was a resident of Cork herself, residing at Castlefreke Castle, near Rathbarry, Co. Cork, the family home of her first husband, Algernon, the ninth Baron Carbery, who died in 1898 of tuberculosis. For further information on Mary Carbery see Jeremy Sandford (ed.), *Mary Carbery's West Cork Journals, 1898-1901: Or "From the Back of Beyond"* (Dublin, 1998).

¹¹⁸ 'Kartoffel' is German for 'potato'.

¹¹⁹ Stokes, *U-boat Alley*, pp. 127-8

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8. Carbery's portrayal of the Baron's plans to 'gas' the inhabitants of Cork's lunatic asylum, to make way for the inhabitants of the city's slums and tenements, proves especially shocking to any post-1945 reader, after the reality of the Nazi regime's horrific policies towards Jews, gypsies and the mentally ill.

¹²¹ BBC Television comedy series about the Home Guard during the Second World War.

¹²² Anon. (Mary Carbery), *The Germans in Cork*, p. 2

Another pamphlet appeared a few months after Carbery's novella, entitled *The Germans at Bessbrook: A Dream* (1917). Many believe this was written in response to Carbery's work and the copy in the National Library of Ireland reveals the author as being the famous linen industrialist James Nicholson Richardson (from the family referred to in Chapter 1). He was of Quaker descent and an Ulster industrialist entrepreneur, just like his father John Grubb Nicholson, who designed and built the flax-spinning mill and model village at Bessbrook, Co. Armagh. James Nicholson Richardson's pamphlet was clearly anti-German in sentiment, has a strongly local flavour and was set at roughly the same time period as Carbery's novella – the first half of 1918. The purpose of both dystopian texts is that 'the local community should recognise themselves and learn the error of their ways'.¹²³ The story of *The Germans at Bessbrook: A Dream* follows a Catholic Sinn Feiner who is a member of the German-Irish government in Ireland, but he quickly discovers that the country he lives in is actually 'all German and no Irish'.¹²⁴ However much ridiculed by unionists, like Carbery and Richardson, Sinn Fein proved to be a real threat to British rule in Ireland and many of the confidential County Police Reports of 1917 seemed more concerned with the growing strength and tensions of the Sinn Fein clubs, than they were of enemy alien threats and enemy subversion. This was a considerable change of attitude from the police reports of 1914 and 1915.

The Titles Deprivation Act may not have had much effect on titular enemy aliens in Ireland, but other government legislation threatened enemy alien business interests and property. Due to public pressure, created after the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915, the Trading with the Enemy Amendment Act had been passed into law on 27 January 1916. This measure was truly draconian as it deprived enemy aliens of the right to trade in Great Britain. Inspectors were used and property was confiscated through winding up orders. By the end of 1916, enemy aliens had to divulge their business interests and wealth through the Registration of Business Names Act (22 December 1916), which stated the businesses had to reveal whether partners of

¹²³ Joachim Fischer, 'A Future Ireland under German Rule. Dystopias as Propaganda during World War I', *Utopian Studies*, Vol.18 (3) (2007), pp. 345-63

¹²⁴ Anon. [Richardson, James Nicholson], *The Germans at Bessbrook: A Dream*. (Magowan, Newry, 1917) (NLI, LR9411 P3); , Fischer, 'A Future Ireland under German Rule.', p. 349

companies were of enemy alien nationality. The Companies (Particulars to Directors) Act of 1917 had a similar aim.¹²⁵

An example of an enemy alien who had to battle to keep his business and property interests in Ireland was Count Friederich Leopold Stolberg, who was born in Saxony, Germany.¹²⁶ Stolberg resided at his estate Readlands, Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath and was heavily involved in training and riding racehorses throughout Ireland up to the start of the war. Before being interned in August 1915, the police and military authorities attempted to build incriminating information on Stolberg to link him with pro-German operations and spying. A secret report from the head quarters of the Irish Command in December 1914 had reported that Stolberg was a cousin of the Kaiser, but was exempt from serving in the German Army. Stolberg had arrived in Ireland twenty-six years before and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, before getting involved in the horse racing industry and making his home at his Dunshaughlin estate. The report tentatively tried to link friends, neighbours and business colleagues, like Mr. T. F. MacDonogh, a saddler in Dunshaughlin, with Irish pro-German spying operations.¹²⁷ An advert was even placed in the *Police Gazette* on 23 March 1915 asking if anything was known about Count Stolberg.¹²⁸ Stolberg was eventually ordered to be interned in Oldcastle on 16 August 1915, at which point he gave power of attorney to MacDonogh to look after his estate and property. MacDonogh kept in regular contact with the authorities, such as Sir James Doherty, the Under-Secretary for Ireland, at Dublin Castle, and secured a pass from Major Price¹²⁹ giving MacDonogh one hour a week visiting rights to see Stolberg at Oldcastle. Attempts to release Stolberg from internment were unsuccessful and he was eventually transferred to the Stratford camp in England, as part of the repatriation process. A letter from MacDonogh to Stolberg in December 1917 stated the Count was now living in Switzerland, at the Hotel du Paon, in Einsiedeln:

¹²⁵ Panayi, *Germans in Britain since 1500*, p. 118

¹²⁶ http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Meath/Navan_Rural/Balreask_Old/726150/ (18 April 2012)

¹²⁷ Confidential file on 'Stolberg, F.L. (Count)', 'The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921', CO 904/215/408-424

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Major Ivon Henry Price was the head of military intelligence in Ireland. See Brian P. Murphy, 'The Easter Rising in the context of censorship and propaganda with special reference to Major Ivon Price', in Gabriel Doherty & Dermot Keogh (eds.), *1916: The Long Revolution* (Cork, 2007), pp. 141-168



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The letter also stated that MacDonogh was doing his best to keep the courts and authorities from confiscating Stolberg's estate, property and the £1,520 that he left behind after his repatriation.¹³¹ It is unknown whether Stolberg returned to Ireland after the war, or whether he surrendered his estate and business interests for a new life in Switzerland.

By the end of 1917, most of Ireland's enemy alien population was either interned or had been repatriated back to their homelands. Even though public attention had moved from how to deal with enemy aliens to the rapidly expanding Sinn Fein movement, the unrestricted U-boat war carried out by the German Navy and bombing raids on the British coastline throughout 1917, meant the British government continued to pass extensive anti-alien legislation.

¹³⁰ Postcard of Hotel du Paon, in Einsiedeln, Switzerland (1907) – viewed at <http://postcards.delcampe.net/page/item/id,68580201,var,GRUSS-AUS-EINSIEDELN-HOTEL-DU-PAON,language,E.html> (15 August 2012)

¹³¹ Confidential file on 'Stolberg, F.L. (Count)', CO 904/215/408-424

SOME OF THE BIG RAIDS

The biggest air raids on England so far
are:—

	Killed.	Injd.	Tl.
1915			
Oct. 13—L'don & S. Coast	11	127	138
1916.			
Jan. 23—Norfolk, etc.	67	117	184
Mar. 21—E. & N.E. Coast	43	68	111
1917.			
Jan. 25—S.E. Coast	79	174	253
June 13—E. London	158	431	589
July 7—L'don & E. Coast	59	193	252 ¹³²

With manpower shortages being experienced on the battlefields as well as in the agricultural fields and in Britain's industries, enemy aliens were given opportunities to escape the monotony of internment, by signing up for the British Army or offering their services in agriculture and industry that required the manpower to keep pace with the demands of war. Highly skilled enemy aliens could find employment opportunities inside and outside the confines of the internment camps, even though wartime restrictions stated that military POWs could only be conscripted to work in agriculture and industry. Questions over an enemy alien's nationality became ever more confusing to the authorities. Nationalities within the empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey were beginning to get a voice. Interned aliens could use loopholes in the law to argue their friendly alien status.¹³³ Very few were successful in their appeals for exemption from internment.

The effects of war weariness on Ireland's Belgian refugees and other friendly aliens

By 1917, war weariness was taking its toll not only on the native populations of Britain and Ireland, but also on their alien residents. Friendly aliens were being called up to the armies of their native countries. Russia was an exception after March 1917 as the country was going through a revolution, with the overthrow of the ruling establishment. It was decided between the Entente Powers that Russian men of military age who lived in Britain and Ireland, including the Jewish contingent, had to join the British Army or

¹³² *Irish Independent*, 23 August 1917, reported the carnage and death toll that German air raids were bringing to the cities and towns in Britain.

¹³³ On 8 January 1918, President Woodrow Wilson proposed a fourteen point program for world peace to the American Congress. As part of the proposal Wilson issued a promise of 'self-determination' for oppressed minorities, and a world organization that would provide a system of collective security for all nations. These points were later taken as the basis for peace negotiations at the end of the war.

be repatriated to Russia, or face the consequences.¹³⁴ Belgian refugees also faced the same demands with the Belgian Army calling all able-bodied men to the 'Colours'. Chapter Four has already mentioned several examples of Belgian refugees who left Ireland to join the Belgian Army. One of the first articles of the year to appear in Irish newspapers reported the departure of another Belgian, M. Depreter, for active service. He appealed to Cavan's Belgian Refugee Committee to offer assistance to his wife and children during his absence.¹³⁵

According to the various *Annual Reports of the LGB for Ireland* from March 1915 to March 1917 the numbers of Belgian refugees in Ireland had declined considerably.¹³⁶ Most counties and urban centres had formed Belgian relief and refugee committees in the first year of the war, which were run by the localities' most influential individuals, Lords and ladies, county councillors, politicians, Justices of the Peace, Poor Law Union members and Boards of Guardians; all of which were answerable to the LGB (Ireland). By 31 March 1915 the nation's refugee committees were catering for 1,426 Belgians. On the same date the following year the total had dropped to 938 refugees (829 left Ireland while a further 341 arrived during the period). By March 1917 the number of refugees residing in Ireland had declined to 600, while the LGB committee was taking care of 527 refugees by March 1918.¹³⁷ The reasons for

¹³⁴ Martin Gilbert, *First World War*, pp. 373-4, stated that the British tried to mobilise the Russian Jews in a Zionist Army during October and November 1917, to fight the Germans on the Eastern Front. Conscription of immigrants of the Russian Empire was the result of the Convention Act, 1917, brought about by public pressure in Britain, created by press reports of Russian (especially Jewish) residents 'shirking' their duties and growing fat off the country and the war (see Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island. Immigration & British Society, 1871-1971* (London, 1992), pp. 93-114). The *Freeman's Journal*, 2 August 1917, also reported that Russians were attempting to flee to Ireland to evade military service. The authorities were trying to prevent them from 'shirking' their duties. The *Anglo Celt*, 8 December 1917, reported that 'A London newspaper says ... English Jews who are shirking in Dublin, where they sell "gold" and "silver" goods, are "violently anti-English" and responsible for a great deal of pro-German literature in circulation'. This is an example that clearly illustrates the xenophobic attitudes of elements of the British press during 1917.

¹³⁵ *Anglo-Celt*, 20 January 1917. An article in the *Irish Independent*, 30 July 1917, reported on a War Office announcement that stated they were close to forming a Jewish regiment made up of Jewish soldiers already signed up to various regiments in the British Army.

¹³⁶ Timothy J. Moloney, 'The Impact of World War I on Limerick' (MA, Mary Immaculate College, Limerick, 2003), pp. 87-8; *Annual Report of the LGB for Ireland year ended 31 March 1915*. Cd. 8016 (London, 1915), p.402; *Annual Report of the LGB for Ireland year ended 31 March 1916*. Cd. 8365 (Dublin, 1916), pp. XVI-XVII; *Annual Report of the LGB for Ireland year ended 31 March 1917*. Cd. 8765 (Dublin, 1917), p.XXVII. Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 63, gives slightly different figures of Ireland's Belgian refugees for the period ending 31 March 1915 (1,646 refugees accommodated in Ireland (336 in Dublin, 156 in Co. Meath, 93 in Co. Derry, 90 in Antrim). O'Neill later admits that the constant arrival and departure of Belgians during the war years makes it difficult to accurately monitor the population figures of this group (pp. 70-1).

¹³⁷ *Annual Report of the LGB for Ireland year ended 31 March 1918*. Cd. 65 (Dublin, 1919), p.XXVII; *Westmeath Examiner*, 26 January 1918

the decline of the numbers of Belgian refugees are left to some degree of debate. Certainly, the decline was due to males returning home to join the Belgian Army. Other refugees left Ireland during this period to re-establish and rebuild their homes in Belgium, while others left to enter wartime employment in Britain. The LGB's figures may also have declined due to Belgians in Ireland not requiring the assistance of the committee, as they had found employment with private Irish businesses or industries that required additional manpower to fulfil military contracts.

Donations made to the Belgian Refugee Fund were also declining. On 12 February, the *Limerick Leader* advertised the latest figures collected for the Belgian Refugee Fund for the period November 1915 to November 1916, which totalled £60 18s. of subscriptions received for the period, adding to the balance of £281 15s. 7 ½ d. that had already been collected in the sixteen months before November 1915.¹³⁸ Many other Belgian charitable organisations and fund-raising committees experienced the same decline in subscriptions due to the pressures of a prolonged war, which was taking its toll on the country's generosity to the Belgian refugees.¹³⁹ Arthur Marwick's *The Deluge. British Society & the First World War* illustrated how views towards Belgian refugees had changed in British and Irish society: 'as months wore on many an unfortunate Belgian found himself in the position of the much-adored kitten, which has grown into an unwanted cat.'¹⁴⁰

Germany's war propaganda machine also sensed the tension being created in Britain by the 250,000 Belgian refugees and the pressures which the large number of temporary visitors was having on the country's resources. German propaganda manipulated the situation by using Britain's Belgian refugees as tools, stating in the German newspapers that the Belgians in England were being used as 'coolies' and being forced to work in munitions factories at lower wages than British workers.¹⁴¹ The Belgian Department of Records refuted all claims from German and Swiss

¹³⁸ It is unclear from the report whether these figures were representative of the subscriptions collected in Limerick City, County, or nationwide. They seem rather low for nationwide figures.

¹³⁹ One interesting article appeared in the *Irish Independent* (21 June 1917), stating that by May 1917, when the U.S. government assumed financial responsibility for the cost of relief of the Belgian people, the National Committee for Relief in Belgium had collected over £2.4 million in subscriptions since the start of the war. Interestingly, seventy-three percent of the total amounts raised were subscribed by the British Overseas Dominions, with Australia the most generous subscriber with 'nearly a million sterling collected, while New Zealand contributed nearly as much as the United Kingdom.'

¹⁴⁰ Arthur Marwick, *The Deluge. British Society & the First World War* (1st edition, 1965; 2nd edition, Basingstoke, 1991), pp. 39-45

¹⁴¹ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 85

newspapers after carrying out an investigation into the condition of Belgian workers in Britain.¹⁴² With America's entry into the war, the British and American Belgian Relief Fund was able to counteract Germany's propaganda by commissioning Edward Branch Lyman (manager of the Belgian Relief Fund in New York) to write the book *Me'ow Jones: Belgian Refugee Cat* (New York, 1917), a children's book that helped raise funds for the Belgian Relief Fund in Britain and America. The book tells the story of a Belgian refugee cat escaping with his owners, from the destruction of their home in Belgium, to the safety and refuge in New York. As well as helping to raise funds for a good cause, the book was also used as a source of propaganda against Germany.¹⁴³



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The humanitarian response towards Belgian refugees and Germany's annexation of Belgium continued until the end of the war in Britain, Ireland and many other allied countries. However, the combination of Ireland's political struggle after April 1916 and a war weariness that enveloped the country had a detrimental effect on the level of financial generosity offered by Irish people.

The only other news about Belgian refugees to make the Irish newspapers in 1917 was, firstly, the death of a Belgian refugee lady in Limerick during July. Madame Zulma Vlamynck was fifty years of age and had been living with her husband at Mountkenneth House in Limerick. She also left a number of children, three of whom were living in Belgium. Vlamynck had only been ill for a short time before her death.

¹⁴² Ibid.; *Kölnische Zeitung*, 2 December 1916, No. 1224, cited in *The Condition of the Belgian Workmen now refugees in England* (London, 1917), p. 3

¹⁴³ Ibid.; Susan Fisher, *Boys and Girls in No Man's Land: English-Canadian Children and the First World War* (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 2011), pp. 142-5; Emer O'Sullivan, *Friend and Foe: The Image of Germany and the Germans in British children's fiction from 1870 to the present* (Tübingen, Germany, 1990) offers further examples of books written and used as anti-German propaganda during the First World War. It also includes a comprehensive bibliography.

¹⁴⁴ Edward Branch Lyman, *Me'ow Jones: Belgian Refugee Cat* (New York, 1917)

Her funeral took place at St. Michael's Church before she was buried at Mount St. Lawrence cemetery.¹⁴⁵ The other story concerning Belgian refugees in Ireland to get newspaper space was during August. One report in the *Freeman's Journal* on 2 August printed a letter from Emile Vandervelde, Belgian Minister of State, where he emphasised that since America had taken over the responsibilities and fund-raising for the National Committee for Relief of Belgium, there had been a sharp decline in subscriptions to other smaller charities for Belgian relief and its refugees. Vandervelde urged the British and Irish public to continue their subscriptions to the smaller charities.¹⁴⁶ In connection with this letter, it was reported on 23 August that a gift shop and lingerie depot was to be opened at 9 Nassau Street, Dublin. The premises were kindly offered by Mrs. Kingsley-Tarpey. The business was to be run by Lady Maloney (in charge of the Irish Needlework Industry) and Mrs H. Fowle (in charge of several Belgian refugee trainers). Belgian refugees were employed to teach Irish girls in the art of embroidery and lace making, for the benefit of the lingerie depot. Originally, a gift shop in aid of Belgian refugees had been set up by Mrs. Fowle at 87 Grafton Street, in July 1916, with the premises donated by Messrs. Switzers & Co.¹⁴⁷

During 1917 reports in the press and police reports appeared concerning other friendly nationalities residing in Ireland and how they were affected by the increased government restrictions and the country's political atmosphere. In Canada on the outbreak of war, an Irish regiment, The Irish Canadian Rangers (Duchess of Connaught's Own) Battalion was raised. In 1916 it was decided to raise an overseas battalion, but recruiting was slow. Shortly after its arrival in England in December 1916, the battalion was sent to Ireland for a two week tour to spur flagging Irish enlistment.¹⁴⁸ The Irish Canadian Rangers arrived in Ireland in January 1917 on their way from Canada to the front and toured the country in the interests of voluntary recruiting. It received varying degrees of welcome, sometimes 'without great enthusiasm in some places, at least nowhere with overt hostility'.¹⁴⁹ The unenthusiastic welcome was primarily due to 'the introduction of the (voluntary) National Service

¹⁴⁵ *Limerick Leader*, 16 July 1917

¹⁴⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 2 August 1917

¹⁴⁷ *Irish Independent*, 23 August 1917; 25 July & 19 August 1916. Unfortunately, no documents have been found to date to reveal the success of these charitable businesses.

¹⁴⁸ Deirde McMahon, 'Ireland, the Empire and the Commonwealth', in Kenny, Kevin (ed.), *Ireland and the British Empire* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 199-205

¹⁴⁹ Warre B. Wells & M. Marlowe, *The Irish Convention and Sinn Fein: in continuation of 'A History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916'* (London & Dublin, 1918), p. 27

Bill, which [was] applied to Ireland despite the protests of the Nationalist Party, was widely regarded as the ‘thin end of the wedge’, and increased the tension in Ireland over the conscription question.¹⁵⁰ They were welcomed by the Lord Mayor and the Reception Committee at the Mansion House, Dublin, on 27 January.¹⁵¹ The RIC’s Police report for Armagh and Belfast in January 1917 detailed the Canadian Rangers visit on 28 – 30 December 1916. The County Inspector for Armagh stated that the Battalion ‘visited Armagh on 28th Jan’y and were cordially received by all parties and was entertained. They were much pleased with their reception.’¹⁵² The Battalion received a similarly enthusiastic reception in Belfast and their visit to Cork was reported as ‘an unqualified success’.¹⁵³ However, the Inspector General for the RIC in Cork East Riding district reported the disruption created by Sinn Feiners in the area culminated in ‘seditious notices [being] ... posted on the houses of persons who had displayed flags on the occasion of the visit of the Irish Canadians’.¹⁵⁴ As has been mentioned at the beginning of the chapter, the American sailors were treated with similar animosity and direct hostility by Cork’s Sinn Feiners on their visits to Cork city after May 1917, so it cannot be considered surprising that the Canadians received the same response a few months earlier. Whatever hostile reception was shown to the Canadians by Cork’s Sinn Feiners, it did not prevent Private J. A. Holland, a member of the Canadian Infantry, to write glowingly of the Battalion’s ‘triumphal progress through Ireland in January and February, 1917, when they were feted and acclaimed in all the principal cities, and treated to a display of lavish hospitality that has become a regimental tradition. Suffice it to say, that Ireland was proud of her khaki-clad, emigrant sons.’¹⁵⁵ The tour by the Irish Canadian Rangers did not help in trying to raise the flagging recruitment figures in Ireland.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ *Sunday Independent*, 28 January 1917

¹⁵² ‘Inspector General’s confidential RIC report’, Armagh, January 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/102

¹⁵³ ‘Belfast RIC report and Cork East Riding RIC reports’, January 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/102

¹⁵⁴ ‘Cork East Riding RIC report’, February 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/102

¹⁵⁵ Originally displayed on a now defunct website, ‘Chapters of Dublin History’, Pte. J. A. Holland’s excerpt can be found on the Great War Forum (<http://1914-1918.invisionzone.com/forums/index.php?showtopic=5812>) (17 August 2012). Unfortunately, it is unknown where this extract originates from.

¹⁵⁶ Ireland’s recruitment record between 1914 and 1918, compared with the other Dominions reveals stark differences. The percentage of the white male population which joined up in the war years, New Zealand reached 19%, Canada, Australia and South Africa reached 13% each, while Irish recruitment flagged at 6%. See Keith Jeffery, ‘The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire’, pp. 97-8 and

Although the authorities welcomed the arrival of the Irish-Canadian Battalion, other friendly nationalities were further ostracised by the wartime restrictions of the country. A *Sunday Independent* report on 28 January made mention of the arrest and detention of Eric Hines (alias Plouth) for entering the prohibited area of Belfast without the relevant permit or identity book. He carried with him a certificate of Swedish nationality obtained from the Swedish Vice-Consul at Belfast. However, during Hines's court hearing it was determined that he had in fact deceived the Vice-Consul, by giving a false name and also as he had remained outside Sweden for more than ten years Hines had automatically lost his Swedish citizenship (according to a statement given by J. Russell Stritch, the Royal Swedish Consul in Ireland). Hines was sentenced to one month's imprisonment.

By July, Belfast's Italians were being treated with suspicion. The immigrant group that had become famous for their ice cream parlours and fish and chip shops were now being arrested by the authorities for carrying guns. Alfonso Forte, an ice cream merchant in Belfast (according to the 1911 census report¹⁵⁷) was charged during the month with possession of a revolver.¹⁵⁸ In October, the County Inspector reported the arrest of another of Belfast's Italians, Angelo Mezza.¹⁵⁹ Due to further government restrictions on alien seamen during 1917 (already mentioned in this chapter), aliens entering Irish ports were severely scrutinised and punished for any and all offences. In July, three Japanese sailors were arrested for causing a fracas on board their ship, SS *Earl of Elgin*, which led to the stabbing and death of an American shipmate. All three individuals were tried and one of the sailors was sentenced to death for murder.¹⁶⁰ Finally, in December, Peter Laakso, a Russian-Finnish seaman was arrested and received a two month prison sentence for altering his registration card to read 'American subject' when entering Belfast's port.¹⁶¹

Patrick Callan, 'Recruiting for the British Army in Ireland during the First World War', *Irish Sword*, Vol. 17, 1987-8, pp. 42-56

¹⁵⁷ http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Down/Ormeau/Albertbridge_Road/209980/ (20 August 2012)

¹⁵⁸ 'Belfast's RIC report', July 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/103

¹⁵⁹ 'Belfast's RIC report', October 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/104

¹⁶⁰ *Irish Independent*, 11 July 1917; 'Belfast's RIC report', July 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/103

¹⁶¹ 'Belfast's RIC report', December 1917, The British in Ireland series, TNA, CO 904/104

One nationality that was finding its feet in Ireland was the Indian community.¹⁶² The Honorary Secretary of the National Indian Association, Mrs E. J. Beck, was entertained by Dublin's Indian students on 13 February at the Cafe Cairo in Dublin and received a cordial welcome from Dublin's Indian students. Mrs Beck called on all Indian female students to be given the same educational rights and privileges of study as their male counterparts.¹⁶³ The Indian community's young generation was making headway within Ireland's educational sphere, shown by a newspaper article in the *Freeman's Journal* on 21 February. Mr M. R. Ry. T. Admarayana Chettiar Avergal was called to the Bar at the Court of Chancery. He had been awarded his Certificate of Honour the previous October at King's Inns, Dublin, to become a barrister-at-law in Ireland.

Conclusion

With America's entry into the war helping to bolster the Allied manpower, military strength and protection of Britain and Ireland's waters, a relaxation of restrictions on their soldiers and sailors entering British and Irish waters was the least that the British government could do for their new allies. This ultimately caused more confusion for Ireland's local authorities and police forces, which had been busy repatriating American internees involved in the 1916 Rising before April 1917. The arrival of the American military presence in Queenstown and throughout Ireland was seen by the radical nationalists as a threat to their own fight for independence from Britain. America was in effect bolstering Britain's strength in the war against Germany and could ultimately do the same for their war against dissident Irish nationalism. However, America's entry into the war did not prevent the growth of Sinn Fein as a

¹⁶² Kate O'Malley, *Ireland, India and Empire. Indo-Irish Radical Connections, 1919-64* (Manchester & New York, 2008) examines the Indo-Irish relations. Her book mainly concentrates on the post-1918 period but also gives some insight into the Indian Political Intelligence (IPI) department set up before the war, in wake of the 1905 partition of Bengal, which led to the rapid growth of the Indian revolutionary movement. By 1907 Indian revolutionary groups were active in London and Paris and by the eve of the First World War Indian activists were also active in the USA and Canada. British authorities were clearly alarmed with their presence in the United Kingdom, especially as individuals like the revolutionary leader Charat Chandra Bose was in contact with Irish radical nationalists like Maude Gonne MacBride. (pp. 1-6). Richard Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence. British Intelligence and the Defence of the British Empire* (London, 1995), also states that the revolutionary Ghadr movement made contact with Germany to try and achieve liberation of India in 1914 - 'the period 1907-1917, the Raj faced a serious threat from Indian revolutionaries; this threat was a major stimulus to the growth of British intelligence operations on a global scale' (p. 1)

¹⁶³ *Irish Independent*, 14 February 1917

political power within Ireland and the growth of membership to the Sinn Fein Clubs across the island. American sailors and Sinn Feiners ultimately clashed in various confrontations in Cork city, leading to Admiral Bayly of the Queenstown Command banning American sailors from entering the city while on temporary leave from their duties. It is also necessary to highlight that the Cork riots of 1917 and 1918 were the only anti-alien rioting to take place in Ireland, other than the August 1914 anti-German riot. It is also interesting to note that the Cork riots were not actions taken by the Irish people against German or Austrian enemy aliens. The rioters were Cork civilians, sometimes republican supporters, who focused their attacks on American sailors and the Cork women who had been attracted to the servicemen's arrival in 1917. The American sailors' arrival coincided with rising political instability and a power shift in Cork from the moderate Irish Party to the radical Sinn Fein Party. The Americans were supporting the British cause and therefore seen by republican supporters as against the Irish nationalist cause. The result certainly produced an explosive reaction towards the arrival of American servicemen in Cork, but the political reasons behind the attacks was also coupled with the health concerns (the rise in prostitution and fears of an increase in venereal disease in Cork and Queenstown) and moral panic (aided by preaching from the pulpit and public denunciations of the Cork priests of the open cavorting and sexual relations between Cork women and the American sailors) that led to the riots.

With most of the enemy aliens of Ireland interned or repatriated, very few incidents of arrest occurred with regard to males of German, Austrian, Hungarian or Turkish descent. Their wives and families continued to suffer due to the effects of the war on the cost of living and restrictions on their residence and movement. However, with war also having a detrimental effect on manpower, both for the military and various industries that could not keep pace with the wartime demands, opportunities appeared for interned enemy aliens. In appealing to the Chief Secretary in Dublin and the Home Office in London, claims from interned aliens for release due to them being of a nationality oppressed by the Triple Alliance powers and therefore an alien 'friend' increased throughout 1917. Many appeals were unsuccessful, but some aliens were released from their internment to join the British Army to fight for their nation's future freedom from their oppressor. Others were allowed to work in British agriculture, to reinvigorate the manpower shortage that was becoming a serious concern. On occasion

a highly skilled enemy alien was allowed to be employed in their pre-war occupation while still being interned, as long as it was of benefit to the war effort.

An increasing hysteria about enemy and friendly aliens during 1917 was due to the re-introduction of Germany's second phase of 'unrestricted U-boat warfare', the use of biological warfare on the battlefields, as well as the increasing air raids on British coastal towns and cities. This in turn created an increasing jingoism from the right-wing press and their propaganda resulted in more alien restrictions being passed by government throughout 1917 due to public pressure for action on certain alien individuals and groups within British society. Legislation was passed to attack specific sections of aliens, such as the Titles Deprivation Act, which removed privileges and titles from members of Britain's royal family and other high-ranking enemy aliens. Other legislation restricted the movement and entry into British ports and restricted areas of alien seamen, while other orders gave police and military more powers to arrest on suspicion and close down the businesses of suspicious aliens. Although Britain suffered outbreaks of anti-alien xenophobia during 1917, Ireland did not experience the same form of hysteria, as Irish political tension took precedence. In Ireland, the British government and authorities were more concerned with the growing strength and support of Sinn Fein as the year progressed. Martial law was one measure brought in to restrict the rise of radical nationalism in Ireland, while at the same time Lloyd George attempted negotiations and talks of settlement with the moderate nationalist elements through the Irish Convention, with little success.

The numbers of Belgian refugees in Ireland were steadily declining as more able-bodied men joined the Belgian Army, while families either returned to the native homes, or were no longer reliant on aid and assistance from the Belgian Refugee Committee and LGB. More Belgians found employment in Irish and British industries that were suffering with manpower issues due to the effects of the war. War weariness was certainly affecting the country's ability to give to the various charities and relief funds, but very few incidents of tension was created between the host nation and its Belgian refugees. The fact that Ireland remained a food producing country, even though food prices exacerbated the situation, assisted in allowing relations between the Irish and Belgians to remain amicable. As Ireland moved into 1918 the tension created would not be between the nation and its alien population, but instead between its age-old oppressor, Britain.

CHAPTER 6

1918: The Effects of Conscription, the Growth of Sinn Fein, the ‘German Plot’ and the end of war on Ireland’s Alien Population

By 1918 Ireland was in political turmoil. Sinn Fein’s growing strength was accompanied by the constitutional nationalists’ last stand as a political force in Ireland, as support for Redmond’s Irish Parliamentary Party waned. The IPP’s decline was due in no small part to the British government’s hard-line policies, with martial law steadily alienating moderate public opinion and increasing support for Sinn Fein. Coupled with the ineffectiveness of the Irish Convention, the announcement of compulsory military service for Ireland in March 1918 and the arrest of the Sinn Fein leadership on the basis of a dubious ‘German Plot’ was all ‘deadly for the Union’.¹

Economically during 1918 Ireland’s agricultural community was prospering with the high prices of food, due to the continued demand for produce from across the Irish Sea. The poorer people (often from the more urbanised areas of the country) struggled to put food on the table, whilst continual strikes for higher wages in a number of industries and factories had to reduce workers hours due to shortages of raw materials (such as flax for the linen and weaving industries). Socially, the country was exhausted and weary from the ravages of war, as well as the political and revolutionary upheaval across the land. Most of the population of Ireland also had to face the ravages of illness, in the form of the influenza epidemic that swept the country (and indeed the rest of the world), killing many thousands of people as a result of the disease.

So, how did this environment affect the daily lives of Ireland’s alien nationalities and minority groups during the last year of the war? The Census of Aliens was taken throughout the United Kingdom on 1 July 1917 and collated by the Department of Aliens. This gave comprehensive figures for all nationalities still residing in Ireland. Of the enemy alien population only 171 males and 131 females remained un-interned in Ireland in July 1917. A further 179 British-born females

¹ Charles Townshend, *Ireland. The Twentieth Century*, p. 84

married to enemy aliens were residing in the country.² Over the next eighteen months these figures decreased further as the British government increased their policy of repatriation. A total of 450 enemy alien civilians interned at Oldcastle were deported from Dublin to the detention camps on the Isle of Man in June 1918, allowing the Oldcastle detention camp to be closed. There were heated debates in Parliament over enemy aliens throughout June and July as certain M.P.s, such as Pemberton Billing and Lord Charles Beresford criticised the government for their leniency over the internment and repatriation of aliens, especially enemy aliens holding high office and titles in the United Kingdom. There is evidence to suggest that Panikos Panayi is correct in using the term 'ethnic cleansing' to describe the effects of government policies towards enemy aliens (especially Britain's German communities) throughout the First World War.³ The government policies affected Ireland's enemy alien groups to the same extent, numerically, as their counterparts in England, Scotland and Wales. Enemy alien numbers were small in Ireland at the start of the war, but the effects of government intervention on the movement and deportation of these enemy alien communities were as drastic and calculating to the extent that these nationalities had almost disappeared from Irish society by the start of 1920. I shall look at these figures more extensively throughout the chapter.

Of the friendly alien groups that resided in Ireland throughout the last year of the war, the number of American citizens increased considerably due to the ever-increasing U.S. military presence in Europe. Local jobs were also created as contracts were given to build American naval airbases in counties Dublin, Cork and Wexford. The airbases were designed to support the naval convoy system adopted by Admiral Bayly's British and American fleets operating from Queenstown, to combat the German U-boat menace that stalked the waters of Ireland's coast.

² 'The Census of Aliens, 1 July 1917', NAI, CSORP/1917/446. The 1917 Census of Aliens was the only completed report found in the NAI. A census was collated every year of the war from July 1915 to 1919 to report on the numbers and locations of various nationalities throughout the UK. See Appendix 6 for two tables from 'The Census of Aliens, 1 July 1917', NAI CSORP/1917/446 for a complete breakdown of enemy and friendly aliens in Ireland compared to the rest of the United Kingdom (Table 1.) and a table of numbers of aliens residing in each major city in the United Kingdom, including Belfast and Dublin (Table 2).

³ Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 223-258; Panayi, Panikos. *An Immigration History of Britain*, pp. 110, 177, 205-221 & 240-2; Panikos Panayi, "Preface" and Chapter 1, 'Anti-immigrant Riots in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Britain' in Panikos Panayi (ed.), *Racial Violence in Britain, 1840-1950* (Leicester, 1993), pp. ix & 11; Nicoletta F. Gullace, 'Friends, Aliens, and Enemies: Fictive Communities and the Lusitania Riots of 1915', *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 2, (Winter 2005), pp. 345-67

The numbers of Belgian refugees residing in Ireland continued to decline throughout 1918, as many men signed up for the Belgian Army and families decided to return to Belgium due either to homesickness or confidence that the war would soon be over. The Census of Aliens register for 1 July 1917 showed 181 Belgian adult males and 263 adult females residing in Ireland (the figures do not take into account children under fifteen years of age).⁴ There was very little reported on Ireland's Belgian refugees during 1918, showing that they were of little concern to the general population, with regard to the costs and drain on the nation's food supply (a concern that remained very real throughout the rest of Britain due to the vast numbers of Belgian refugees residing in England, Scotland and Wales).⁵

Other friendly alien civilians were not able to escape the rigours and demands of war, as both the Military Service Bill and hard-line policy initiatives of the British and American governments began rounding up civilians from July 1918 who attempted to evade conscription by coming to Ireland. Anyone who had failed to register with the local recruiting office by 17 July was arrested if they were found to be evading the conscription regulations. A number of arrests were carried out throughout the following months as individuals sought refuge in Ireland, where conscription had not been enforced by the British government (to the consternation and annoyance of many people in the rest of the United Kingdom).

Enemy aliens in Ireland

The British government extended their actions against aliens during the final year of the war. In January, the British public was informed that America's government took a firm stance against the enemy alien threat, ordering police to take the fingerprints of over 500,000 of the 4.6 million enemy aliens residing throughout the country.⁶ The next month in Belfast saw the local British Empire Union⁷ pass a resolution calling for

⁴ 'The Census of Aliens, 1 July 1917', NAI, CSORP/1917/446

⁵ Ibid. The numbers roughly totalled 95,000 Belgian refugees residing in the whole of the United Kingdom on 1 July 1917.

⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, 1 January 1918; *Irish Independent*, 10 January 1918

⁷ The British Empire Union (BEU) was created in the United Kingdom during World War I, in 1916, after changing its name from the Anti-German Union, which had been founded in 1915. Sir George Makgill (nephew of Lord Haldane, who had to resign from his position of Lord Chancellor in 1915 because of his supposed and unproven German sympathies) was the BEU's Honorary Secretary. The BEU held anti-German demonstrations and advocated 'wholesale internment of all enemy aliens throughout Britain and Ireland. Panikos Panayi states in *The Enemy in Our Midst*, pp. 202-3, that 'The

the government to prohibit enemy aliens from entering and residing within ten miles of coastal areas.⁸ Reports of enemy aliens living in coastal towns and cities on Ireland's northern coastline were becoming more commonplace and this upset unionist organisations and highlighted the fact that police authorities were not following the required alien restrictions.



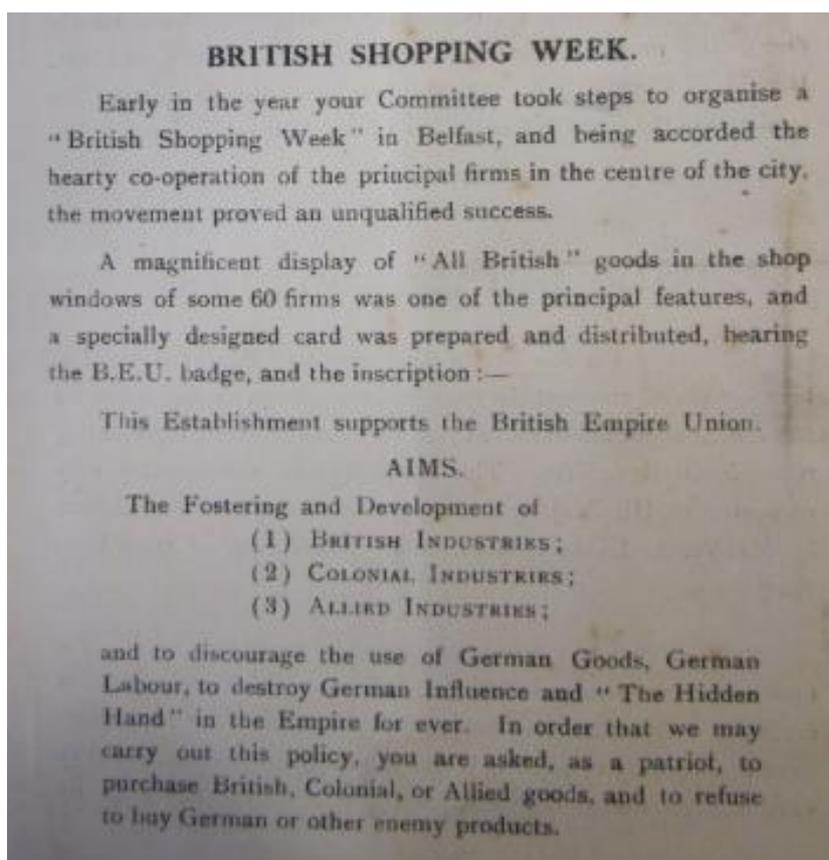
A 1918 anti-German propaganda poster commissioned and published by the British Empire Union. 'British Empire Union. "Once a German, always a German." Remember! Every German employed means a British worker idle. Every German article sold means a British article unsold / David Wilson & W.F.B. Printed by the Globe Printing Co., Ltd., Scrutton Street, Finsbury, London'.⁹

British Empire Union [was the] ... most important ... anti-German organisation ... and ... the one which survived the longest – until the mid 1970s'.

⁸ *Irish Independent*, 18 February 1918. It took until July for the government to issue an order to have all enemy aliens removed ten miles inland from Belfast and other prohibited areas in the north of Ireland. A file found at the NAI, CSORP/1918/15097 details the correspondence that passed between British and Irish authorities regarding the prohibiting of enemy aliens from approaching and residing within ten miles of the sea coast (February-May 1918).

⁹ Marilyn Shevin-Coetzee & Frans Coetzee, *World War One and European Society. A Source Book* (Lexington, MASS., 1995), p. 341. The poster can be found in the Library of Congress (<http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003675256/>) The digital image is taken from <http://www.w1propaganda.com/ww1-poster/british-empire-union-once-german-always-german-remember-every-german-employed-means-briti>

The above poster shows the distrust of Germans and other enemy alien nationalities emanating from the fact that the enemy could as easily be disguised as a businessman or travelling salesman in Belfast or Dublin, while their activities could bring untold damage to the coastal areas and waters of the British Isles. A 'British Shopping Week' was even organised in Belfast by the British Empire Union 'early in the year' and 'the movement proved an unqualified success':



The heightened frustration shown by the British Empire Union was mainly a response to the sinking of numerous ships off the northern coastal waters by German U-boats. In January the Antrim County Inspector's report mentioned the torpedoing of a collier transport two miles north-west of the Giant's Causeway, while on 27 January the Cunard liner *PP Andania* was sunk off the coast of Rathlin Island, with all but four crew members killed by the explosion of the torpedo.¹¹ The Armagh County Inspector's police report for February described the torpedoing of several more vessels

¹⁰ Ibid. This extract was taken from the Report of the British Empire Union, 1917-18 (Belfast Branch), in which the organisation set out its views as to the aims of the "British Shopping Week", the Internment of Enemy Aliens petition (with 5,300 signatures), and other headings including the 'Crimes of Germany' and 'Prevention of Premature Peace'.

¹¹ 'County Inspector's RIC Report, Antrim, January 1918', TNA, CO 904/105

off the Irish coast. The U.S. troop ship *Tuscania*¹² was torpedoed seven miles north of Rathlin Island lighthouse, with the loss of 166 (out of 2000) of its crew and passengers. On 19 February the S.S. *Wheatflower* was torpedoed 10 miles from Tuskar, off the Wexford coast, and the *Santa Maria* and an oil boat was also struck by torpedoes from a German U-boat on 25 February, one mile from land, near Lough Swilly. The following night, as part of an escorted convoy of ships, the *Tiberia* of the Anchor Line Company was hit and sunk 1.5 miles east of Black Head, Belfast Lough. All of the surviving members of the various crews appeared to be safely landed.¹³

However, in examining the various monthly police and newspaper reports from March to May 1918, there was very little mention of enemy aliens resident in Ireland. This once again emphasises the fact that due to the relatively small pre-war numbers of enemy and friendly aliens resident in Ireland and the internment and repatriation policies imposed on these groups after August 1914, there was relatively few alien individuals for the authorities and press to report on by 1918. The police reports concentrated on the effects of the German U-boat menace and the losses at sea, but most of the attention was concentrated on the nationalist movement in Ireland, with the unification of constitutional and radical nationalist groups against the Military Service Bill introduced to Parliament by the Lloyd George government. The Bill to extend conscription to Ireland was introduced to Parliament on 9 March. The Military Service Bill was introduced partly as a response to the devastation created on the Western Front by Germany's spring offensive in March 1918, which put severe strain on the Allied forces. After the first twenty-four hours of 'Operation Michael' (21-22 March 1918) the British Army suffered a stunning setback, with the enemy overrunning ninety-eight square miles of territory, and penetrating, at the furthest point, to a depth of four and a half miles.¹⁴ In trying to find more manpower in Ireland by introducing the Bill (as well as a new Home Rule Bill) the British government alienated both the nationalists

¹²The following website gives a description of the SS *Tuscania* and its sinking <http://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?10317>. The Armagh County Inspector's report gave the total dead as 200.

¹³ Information of all the vessels sunk during the First World War can be found at <http://www.wrecksite.eu/Wrecksite.aspx>

¹⁴ Thomas Hennessey, *Dividing Ireland*, p. 220. In comparison, during the entire Somme offensive the British frontline only advanced four miles. Further reading on Germany's Spring Offensive can be found in Ian Brown, *British Logistics on the Western Front: 1914-1919* (Westport, Connecticut & London, 1998); Peter Hart, *1918: A Very British Victory* (London, 2008); John Keegan, *The First World War* (London, 1999); David T. Zabecki, *The German 1918 Offensives. A Case Study in the Operational Level of War* (London, 2006); Stuart Robson, *The First World War* (2nd Ed. Harlow, 2007; 1st Ed., 1998)

and unionists in Ireland and despite the entire IPP rejecting the Bill, conscription was voted through in Westminster.¹⁵

The British government also recognised that Ireland had become a refuge for people ‘shirking’ the compulsory military service. The British government believed that the extension of the Bill to Ireland would prevent desertion and ‘shirking’ while showing its resolve regarding Ireland in the face of an ever-critical British public who were losing confidence in their government’s war policies.¹⁶ The Military Service Bill clearly strengthened the resolve and support of the nationalist groups in Ireland, backed by a great deal of Ireland’s Roman Catholic clergy in condemning the British government’s actions. Enemy aliens were no longer a concern in most Irish localities (even though the question of enemy alien residence in prohibited areas remained just below the surface, especially for northern unionists) with the fear of conscription becoming ever more possible for most Irish people.

Even the arrest of Corporal Joseph Dowling (a POW in Germany who had joined Casement’s Irish Brigade) off the coast of County Clare on 12 April¹⁷ and the arrest four days after of two men while sailing in Dublin Bay, on suspicion of trying to make contact with an enemy submarine,¹⁸ did not distract the nationalists and their followers from the conscription issue. Walter Long, the former leader of the Irish Unionists and now Colonial Secretary, complained that the government had not ‘properly realised the dangerous state of things in Ireland, especially the prevalence of

¹⁵ Keith Jeffery, ‘The Irish Military Tradition and the British Empire’, pp. 99 & 113; David Fitzpatrick, ‘Militarism in Ireland, 1900-1922’ in Thomas Bartlett and Keith Jeffery (eds), *A Military History of Ireland* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 396-7

¹⁶ It is evident from an article in the *Freeman’s Journal*, 16 March 1918, that several individuals were arrested the previous week for ‘shirking’ or desertion from their duties. Hyman Woolff, residing at Carlisle Street, Dublin, was charged on remand for entering a prohibited area (Dublin) and for being a deserter. Although Woolff’s solicitor argued that Woolff was born in London nineteen years ago to Russian parents and there was no proof that he had ever been called up to the Army, the judge remanded the defendant without bail, saying he would give no facilities to ‘these young gentlemen who ought to be in the Army’. Joseph and Louis Stolberg were also charged with a similar offence and fined 40s. while Bentham Young was also remanded. Lou Manning, or Berdonsky, born in Liverpool to Russian Jewish parents, was also released on bail of £50 for entering a prohibited area (Dublin) even though the defendant claimed he had been in Dublin since July 1917. It is interesting that the press report only focuses upon individuals with foreign sounding names and of Jewish origin. Anti-Jewish propaganda was commonplace in reports concerning ‘shirking’ and profiteering from the war.

¹⁷ Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service*, pp. 249-50; *Nenagh Guardian*, 20 April 1918. Newspaper reports of the Dowling trial can be found in the *Irish Independent*, 9, 12 & 19 July 1918 and *Freeman’s Journal*, 10 July 1918.

¹⁸ Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service*, pp. 249-50; *Nenagh Guardian*, 20 April 1918; *Irish Independent*, 20 May 1918. The two men arrested were brothers James and Richard Cotter. Both were detained and James later admitted both brothers had taken part in the 1916 Rising.

German intrigue'.¹⁹ The war cabinet responded in early May 1918 by appointing Field-Marshal Viscount French as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland with the mission of 'restoring order and combating German intrigues', and by making Long responsible for liaison between London and Dublin.²⁰ Dowling's links to an alleged German Plot and rumours of a German invasion and possibly a second insurrection in June 1918, did not stir the Irish public imagination against German civilians in Ireland.²¹ Even though the suspicions of the authorities in Ireland were heightened, as the County Inspector in Dublin stated that the police were 'keeping watch' over any boat that was frequenting the Dublin coast and any attempts to land arms from German submarines,²² the County Inspector reports for May indicated that local people regarded the German Plot as a conspiracy, fabricated by the British government to influence America against Sinn Fein and the other nationalist groups, while providing a reason to arrest most of the Sinn Fein leaders in April and May. The May report of the Waterford County Inspector commented, 'there is little belief in the German Plot in Ireland and everywhere there is a demand for further proofs.' In reality German intrigue and espionage in Ireland was a fallacy and very much right up to the end of the war much of the British Intelligence efforts in Ireland was aimed at the wrong target. It concentrated overwhelmingly on tracking down minor German intrigues rather than on following the much more important development of Irish nationalism. Though the potential challenge from Sinn Fein was underestimated, the German menace in Ireland was greatly exaggerated.²³ By October, Dublin Castle's Chief Secretary's Office announced that no German Plot trials were going to take place.²⁴

June proved to be a busy month with regard to the alien (enemy) question. Right-wing MPs and Britain's right-wing press pushed for further restrictions on alleged enemy aliens from June onwards, as they targeted action to be taken against Germans and Austrians in positions of power in Britain. The hysteria over the enemy alien question led to Pemberton Billing being ejected from the House of Commons on 1

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid.

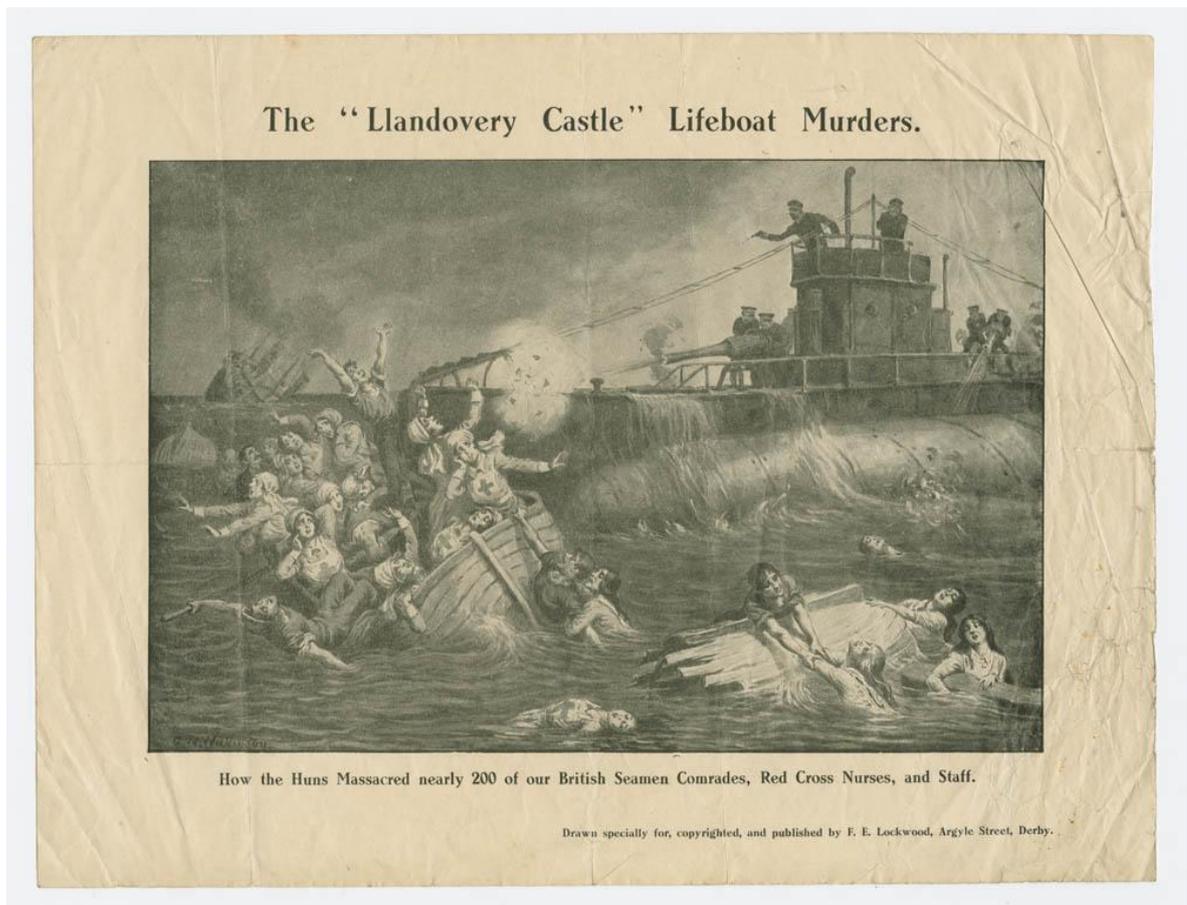
²¹ Eunan O'Halpin, *The Decline of the Union*, pp. 159-60

²² 'County Inspector's RIC Report, Dublin, April 1918', TNA, CO 904/105

²³ Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service*, p. 248

²⁴ *Irish Independent*, 18 October 1918. The newspaper had already reported on 4 September that Richard Cotter (one of the brothers arrested in May for being on a boat in Dublin Bay with prohibited items) had been released from his detention, after his July appeal was granted on 17 October.

July for disorderly conduct.²⁵ The Speaker of the House refused to let Pemberton Billing ask a question about the internment of enemy aliens, at which time Billing responded by stating he was not going to sit down while ‘all the time Germans are running about this country’.²⁶ As Britain experienced the second bout of the influenza epidemic and heard news of the sinking of a British hospital ship, *Llandoverly Castle*, just over a hundred miles off the south-west coast of Ireland by a German submarine,²⁷ calls for the immediate passing of the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill²⁸ were being heard all over the United Kingdom.



Depicting the sinking of the *Llandoverly Castle*, 27 June 1918, by G.W. Wilkinson.²⁹

²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 2 July 1918

²⁶ *Ibid.*; ‘Suspension of Mr. Billing’, *House of Commons Debate*, 1 July 1918, Vol. 107 cc. 1410-2

²⁷ *Freeman's Journal*, 2 & 6 July 1918; *Irish Independent*, 3 July 1918. ‘The Hospital Ship *Llandoverly Castle*’, *Canadian Medical Association Journal* (Aug 1918); 8(8), pp. 734–736 (digital copy at <http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1585302/>). The hospital ship was on its way from Canada with Canadian medical officers and nurses on board. A total of 234 lives were lost, with only twenty-four survivors from a single lifeboat that escaped. This was the fourth German U-boat attack on an Allied hospital ship since January.

²⁸ British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act, 1918 (8 & 9 Geo. 5, c.38)

²⁹ <http://pw20c.mcmaster.ca/case-study/angels-mercy-canada-s-nursing-sisters-world-war-i-and-ii>. The shocking thing about this incident, which this propagandist interpretation depicts, is that Captain Panzig of the German U-boat *U-86* attempted to eradicate any evidence that the hospital ship (which was clearly

The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill went through Parliament the following week, leading to considerable debate over the key issues of un-interned enemy aliens, the revision of aliens' certificates of naturalisation, the discharging of naturalised aliens in government offices and the question of enemy parentage of British subjects. Lord Charles Beresford claimed in a speech to the House of Lords on 8 July that he had in his possession 3,026 letters of complaint from 1914 that had been ignored by the Home Office to accompany the many meetings to be held around the country protesting against the government's inaction over un-interned enemy aliens still at large in the United Kingdom.³⁰ There was an attempt by Sir George Cave (recently back from the Hague Conference³¹) and other Cabinet ministers to quieten the Northcliffe Press and scaremongers, like Lord Beresford, reassuring the public that all efforts were being done to ensure the enemy alien question was being dealt with speedily. Although Lloyd George's government quickly made a decision over the mechanics of the Bill to get it passed through Parliament, he clearly emphasised the government's actions were in response to Germany's inhumane actions on land, sea and air. This led the British government taking a firmer hard-line stance over the aliens' question. The suggestions of the Dalziel Report³² were adhered to and the Bill went to the House of Lords the next day. However, this did not stop public agitation spilling out onto the streets, as a large

marked) had been struck by a torpedo. He ordered his crew to attempt to sink all lifeboats and their occupants. Attacking a hospital ship was a clear violation of the Hague Convention.

³⁰ *Irish Independent*, 9 July 1918. A full account of Lord Beresford's speech on un-interned enemy aliens can be found in *House of Lords Debate, 8 July 1918, Vol. 30, cc. 649-94*. Beresford continued in his speech to the House: 'The official report of these aliens, as far as I understand, is this. There are 12,600 un-interned aliens, and 6,600 of these are Germans. It is of the Germans that I desire particularly to speak. I wish to be moderate and not to exaggerate. If I do exaggerate I shall be forgiven by the House for the simple reason that I am a British sailor, and I can never forget the inhuman atrocities that have been perpetrated upon my brothers of the sea, the men of the Mercantile Marine. The remainder of the 12,600 are Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians. For the life of me I cannot understand why these people are loose now. We have no respect for the Turks. They murdered a whole nation. The Bulgarians are as brutal as the Germans, and the Austrians are very nearly as bad. The Return says that they have 3,000 British wives. I want to know how many Englishmen have German wives. That has not been stated in any Return. I see no return of women aliens, yet they are far more dangerous than men. In this sort of work they are far cleverer, much more energetic, and much more likely than men are to get and to give news. I remember my noble friend Lord Crawford telling me that he did not think I should get much out of this debate'.

³¹ The 1918 Hague Conference was held primarily to discuss the exchange of prisoners of war between the various combatants.

³² Sir Henry Dalziel chaired the committee set up by Lloyd George's government to discuss all issues regarding aliens in the UK and provide suggestions for the government's policy initiatives going forward. Dalziel was also an outspoken advocate for Home Rule in Ireland, Scotland and Wales and the owner of *Reynolds News*, the *Pall Mall Gazette* from 1917 and assisted Lloyd George in the purchase of the *Daily Chronicle* in 1918. Lloyd George used Dalziel's knowledge to influence the British Press throughout the war. Reference to Sir (James) Henry Dalziel can be found at Marc Brodie, 'Dalziel, (James) Henry, Baron Dalziel of Kirkcaldy (1868–1935)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004); online edition, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32702> (25 Sept 2012)

protesting crowd gathered on 13 July at Trafalgar Square and Hyde Park in London demanding ‘a clean sweep of all enemy aliens by interning them at once, and to remove from all public office any person of enemy taint’.³³

Prominent individuals who came under the public’s xenophobic microscope included Lord Milner, the Secretary of War, born in Germany;³⁴ Sir Alfred Mond, First Commissioner of Works and son of a German Jewish industrialist;³⁵ and the German-born Felix Cassel,³⁶ the Judge Advocate General, ex-British Army officer (1914-15) and Unionist MP who was bitterly opposed to the Home Rule Bill.³⁷ The American-born financier and philanthropist, Sir Edgar Speyer³⁸, also came under attack in Parliament. He had also been the focus of attack in 1915 after the *Lusitania* sinking, but even though Speyer was a naturalised British subject since 1892, his German-Jewish ancestry was the main focus for attack. Germanophobia had reached a peak in Britain by July 1918. Pemberton Billing’s Vigilantes³⁹ had even had some success in the London by-elections of that summer, as anti-alien issues played a major role in the Clapham and East Finsbury by-elections.

³³ *Freeman’s Journal*, 15 July 1918

³⁴ Colin Newbury, ‘Milner, Alfred, Viscount Milner (1854–1925)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004); online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/35037> (25 Sept 2012)

³⁵ Frank Greenaway, ‘Mond family (*per.* 1867–1973)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51124> (25 September 2012). Mond was accused of violating the Trading with the Enemy Order and it took until October 1918 to disprove these allegations (admitted in the *Irish Independent*, 18 October 1918 & *Freeman’s Journal*, 23 October 1918).

³⁶ Cassel was ‘criticized by name in parliament in July 1918 by the Irish nationalist MP for Donegal, John Gordon Swift MacNeill, it was in respect of his alien origins (he had long since stopped using his middle names [of Maximilian Schoenbrunn])’, reported in the *Freeman’s Journal*, 27 July 1918, and quoted from G. R. Rubin, ‘Cassel, Sir Felix Maximilian Schoenbrunn, first baronet (1869–1953)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75606> (25 September 2012)

³⁷ *Irish Independent*, 11 July 1918

³⁸ Theo Barker, ‘Speyer, Sir Edgar, baronet (1862–1932)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36215> (26 September 2012)

³⁹ In spring 1918 Pemberton Billing’s increasingly outrageous language led to him being sued for criminal libel by the dancer Maud Allan, due to his article “The Cult of the Clitoris” in his *Vigilante* journal (previously named *The Imperialist*). ‘With his usual flair for publicity, Billing conducted his own defence, amusing and scandalizing the nation with his claim that the German government was in a position to blackmail 47,000 prominent British ‘perverts’, among them former premier H. H. Asquith and his wife, whose names, he alleged, figured in a ‘black book’. On being acquitted, Billing further annoyed the main parties by running his own ‘purity’ candidates at by-elections, under cover of an organization called the Vigilantes, of which he was president.’ Quote from G. R. Searle, ‘Billing, Noel Pemberton (1881–1948)’, *ODNB*, (Oxford, 2004), online edition, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37192> (26 Sept 2012). Other references to Pemberton Billing can be found in N. Pemberton Billing, *P.-B.: the story of his life* (Hertford, 1917); Philip Hoare, *Wilde’s last stand: decadence, conspiracy and the First World War* (London, 1997); Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, (N.Y. & Oxford, 1991).

Did the same anti-German public hysteria grip Ireland? The simple answer is “No”. With the arrest of most of the Sinn Fein leaders in May 1918 because of their supposed involvement in a German plot (of which there is little proof) and fear of conscription in Ireland being introduced through the Military Service Act, it is fair to conclude that anti-British feeling was more prevalent than anti-German or anti-alien feeling during this period. There were, however, incidents reported that the country’s alien communities were feeling minor ripples of discontent in Ireland. It was aided by the damage created by the continued German U-boat war around the Irish coast. The Submarine Victims Fund had already received significant contributions from subscribers since it was established in Waterford after a tragedy in January 1918.⁴⁰ Further subscriptions flooded in after the death of seven Connemara fishermen when their boat hit a German U-boat mine at the start of June. Father McHugh of Cana, Co. Galway spoke of the easing of the families’ deprivation, if not their loss and grief, by the generous contributions made to the fund.⁴¹ A few months earlier, a similar tragedy occurred off the coast of Howth, Co. Dublin in March,⁴² followed by the destruction of much of the Kilkeel fishing fleet off the north-east coastline in May.⁴³ Taking into consideration these tragedies and the dangers Irish fishermen and merchant seamen faced on a daily basis from the threat of German U-boats, the fact the British and Irish authorities were still suspicious of Irish fishermen colluding with German submarine captains makes the level of their concerns of espionage and gun-running even more absurd by the summer of 1918.

The RIC monthly police reports continued to concentrate their attention on the actions and seditious meetings of Sinn Fein, such as the Galway West Riding police report from August which stated the Sinn Fein meeting at Clifden ended in seditious cheers of ‘three cheers for the Germans’, ‘Up the Kaiser’ and ‘Up Germany every time’.⁴⁴ However, there was no evidence to suggest that Sinn Fein made any real effort to ask the German military or navy for assistance, despite the alleged German plot in May 1918.

⁴⁰ *Freeman’s Journal*, 8, 12 & 14 January 1918

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 14 June 1918

⁴² ‘County Inspector’s RIC Police Report, Co. Dublin, March 1918’, TNA, CO 904/105

⁴³ Aidan O’Sullivan & Colin Breen, *Maritime Ireland. An Archaeology of Coastal Communities* (Stroud, 2007), p. 232

⁴⁴ ‘County Inspector’s RIC Police Report, Galway West Riding, August 1918’, TNA, CO 904/106

The police and military authorities were still keen to uphold the hard line approach of the British government in respect to enemy aliens. Most of Ireland's enemy alien males had been interned by the start of 1918, with Sir George Cave claiming in a House of Commons debate on the 9 July that there were only 169 male enemy aliens not interned in Ireland.⁴⁵ The start of the hard line approach was witnessed in Ireland as early as 25 May, when Tipperary police arrested Mademoiselle Burns, secretary to Major Edwards, the well-known racehorse owner, of Rathduff stud farm, Banaha. Burns was an Austrian subject and had been working for Major Edwards for the past four to five years. According to the *Leitrim Observer* report the reason for her arrest was unknown, but several documents were taken as part of an extensive police search of her quarters. It is not clear whether Mlle. Burns was deported thereafter.⁴⁶ On 9 July the *Irish Independent* reported that the official liquidator finally wound up the assets of the Royal Avenue Hotel, Belfast; its two owners being German ladies who had now returned to Germany.⁴⁷ In May 1918 a decision was made by the War Office and the Irish Command to move as many as seventy persons of enemy alien nationality from the northern coastal areas of Ireland and relocate them at least ten miles inland.⁴⁸ This was exactly the action that the British Empire Union (BEU) was calling for at the start of the year. Thirty-one of these enemy alien individuals were located in Belfast. One example was the forced relocation of Joseph Berringer, a sixty-six year old jeweller and watchmaker, who had lived and worked in Belfast for fifty years, since he was sixteen years old. The family and their business were well respected and established in the city. However, the Berringer family were still caught up in the anti-alien hysteria of 1918. Joseph's son, Paul was recuperating in Switzerland, following his internment as a civilian British POW in the Ruhleben camp, just outside Berlin, Germany. Once in Switzerland, Paul was looking to get a British passport to return to his birthplace of Belfast. Unfortunately, his paperwork highlighted the German nationality of his father, who was subsequently added to the War Office's list of thirty-one enemy aliens being forced out of Belfast in May 1918. By the start of July, it had been confirmed that Joseph Berringer would have to move away from his Belfast home and business, leading to

⁴⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, 10 July 1918. The figures included 125 Germans, forty Austrians, three Turks and a Bulgarian.

⁴⁶ *Leitrim Observer*, 1 June 1918. Up to the writing of the newspaper article Mlle. Burns was being detained in Dublin.

⁴⁷ This story was also mentioned in Chapter 5, p.229 (and footnote 83).

⁴⁸ 'Joseph Berringer, ordered to leave Belfast, May-August 1918', NAI, CSORP/1918/31850

Berringer writing a petition and letter of appeal to the Lord Lieutenant, Lord French on 15 July. Among his supporters included several members of the Belfast Corporation; the Lord Mayor of Belfast had particular sympathy for Joseph and his family. However, the military authorities were not swayed by these influential supporters, as they demanded Berringer's immediate removal by the start of August. A personal letter of appeal written by the Most Rev. Dr. MacRory, Bishop of Down and Connor on 12 August could not prevent Berringer from having to move to Lurgan, over twenty-four miles from Belfast. The fate of the Berringer family and business is only one example of how enemy aliens were still being restricted by the British and Irish authorities as late as August 1918.⁴⁹

As the Sinn Fein Clubs continued to grow in number, from seventy clubs in June 1917 to 1337 clubs with 109,700 members nationwide by 31 July 1918,⁵⁰ the new Viceroy, Field-Marshal Lord French upheld martial law in Ireland. The whole of Co. Clare had already been placed under martial law and made a military area in March, due to the agrarian disturbances (cattle drives, ploughing up of land, etc.), raids for arms, attacks on RIC officers and barracks, drilling and marching, all of which was encouraged by local Sinn Fein leaders.⁵¹ Un-interned enemy aliens in disturbed areas came under increasing scrutiny by the police and military authorities.

One such example was the German, Peter Dold, from Kilrush, Co. Clare. Dold left Germany at eighteen years of age and lived in Kilrush almost forty years, arriving in the town in November 1881. He owned a jewellery shop in Moore Street, Kilrush and also had a summertime business premises in Kilkee. He was married and had three sons and a daughter when war was declared in 1914. He successfully obtained certificates of exemption from internment and deportation, but in June 1918 he was ordered by the authorities to be removed from Kilrush and the county entirely, and told to move to Portadown, Co. Armagh (this included his two sons, both of whom were British subjects but who were suspected of Sinn Fein and pro-German sympathies). The orders for removal of all three men were issued on 14 June, prohibiting them from residing in the provinces of Munster, Leinster or Connaught and to leave Co. Clare within forty-eight hours after service of the order. It was agreed that they should reside

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ 'Inspector General's Monthly Police Report for July 1918', TNA, CO 904/106

⁵¹ An increased military presence was also felt in the counties of Cork, Kerry and Galway over the final months of the war.

within five miles of the town of Portadown. Dold's Irish wife, Catherine, immediately sent a letter of appeal to Edward Shortt, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, stating that her husband is 'in a delicate state of health ... and quite unfit to be removed from the comforts of his home life'.⁵² Catherine was herself in a delicate state of health and being cared for by her only daughter Della. It was argued that without a male presence the businesses were in danger of being closed. However, a report from the County Inspector's office stated that a third son, Francis Dold, was also employed in the business and along with a brother-in-law living in Mallow, Co. Cork, both were quite capable of carrying on the family business. The family continued to have the orders overturned up to the end of the war, until a letter was sent by Dold himself on 19 December 1918 applying for permission to return to Co. Clare, due to worsening health reasons. His eldest son Joseph had died in Portadown, from pneumonia on 13 November, while his other son was presently suffering from 'influenza and is now convalescent'. Dold stated in his letter that his business in Kilrush was 'completely ruined from the want of proper attendance' and his wife was in a poor state of health. He was granted permission to return to Kilrush at the beginning of January 1919.⁵³

A British subject who attracted the attention of both the British Parliament and Dublin Castle was 'Marquis (or Count) MacSweeney'.⁵⁴ He managed to obtain a high post in the Vatican during the First World War and had been married to a Brazilian heiress named Cavaleranti de Albuquerque. Suspicions were aroused when he remarried Her Highness Countess Anna von Schlitz, a relative of the German Kaiser. Both MacSweeney and the Countess lived between their Dublin and Co. Cork residences during the war years. During a House of Commons debate on 18 July, Ronald MacNeill, the Ulster-born, Unionist/Conservative MP for St. Augustine's, Kent, asked Arthur Warren Samuels,⁵⁵ the Solicitor-General of Ireland, whether any information was known about this suspicious individual and his German wife.

⁵² 'Suspect file of Peter Dold', British in Ireland Series, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921 (CO 904/200/106-133) Reel 123

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ For further information on Patrick Sarsfield MacSwiney, alias Valentino Emmanuel MacSwiney, alias 'Marquis' MacSwiney read Eoin O'Mahony, 'The Marquis MacSwiney of Mashanaglass', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 75, No. 3 (September 1945), p. 184; Ben Novick, 'Postal Censorship in Ireland, 1914-16', *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 123 (May 1999), pp. 343-356; Dermot Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican: The Politics and Diplomacy of Church-State Relations, 1922-1960* (Cork, 1995)

⁵⁵ Tom Feeney, 'Samuels, Arthur Warren', *DIB* (Cambridge, 2009); online edition, <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7909>

Suspicious that the Marquis was working for the German Secret Service could not be confirmed or denied by Samuels and no suspicious characters or Sinn Fein representatives were seen visiting their residence in Dublin, as was previously alleged. Samuels believed that MacSweeney was a son of a British subject, born in France. In response, the Marquis stated in a Dublin newspaper interview that the questions and accusations from MacNeill were the ‘rancour of a bigot’ and ‘member of the Orange Order’.⁵⁶ This case highlights the fear of the British and Irish authorities to the imagined threat of Irish-German collusion.

Fears of Irish-German relations were found further afield, in countries like France. The *Irish Independent* printed a letter from ‘Francophil’ in their newspaper on 3 July, which stated that ‘English propaganda’ was being printed in newspapers like *Le Gaulois*, painting a picture that Germany had been colluding with Sinn Fein in an attempt to turn France against Ireland and Sinn Fein’s shout for independence at the Peace Conference at the culmination of the war.⁵⁷ Three days later it was reported in the *Freeman’s Journal* that Monsieur Ricard, the French Minister of Agriculture, accompanied by Rev. Abbé Flynn, parish priest of Suresnes in the diocese of Paris, was visiting Ireland in the hope of obtaining Irish migratory labour for the French harvest.⁵⁸ With conscription in Ireland becoming less of a possibility by July, this was one way that Irish manpower could be obtained by the Allies in the war effort. By May the British government had decided to quietly drop the idea of enforced conscription in Ireland. However, by gaining the support of the Irish Catholic clergy the British and French governments noticed a possibility of recruiting Irishmen to the war effort. By the end of July ‘a recruitment mission directly involving Cardinal Logue saw the light: and this mission came from England’ – the ‘Hay Plan’. In reality there were several reasons and motivations behind the initiation of the ‘Hay Plan’, which Jérôme Aan De Wiel details in his 1999 article in *The Irish Sword*⁵⁹ and it was these reasons that ultimately consigned the initiative to failure.

⁵⁶ *Anglo-Celt*, 27 July 1918; Dermot Keogh, *The Vatican, the Bishops and Irish Politics, 1919-39* (Cambridge, 2004, 1st ed. 1986), pp.260-1; House of Commons Debate, 18 July 1918, Vol. 108, cc. 1215-8 (<http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1918/jul/18/marquess-msweeney>). The lack of information on the Marquis might explain why the British and Irish authorities remained suspicious of him and his German wife.

⁵⁷ *Irish Independent*, 3 July 1918

⁵⁸ *Freeman’s Journal*, 6 July 1918

⁵⁹ Jérôme Aan De Wiel, ‘The “Hay Plan”’: an account of Anglo-French recruitment efforts in Ireland, August 1918’, *The Irish Sword*, Vol. 21 (86), (Winter 1999), p.439. Stuart Hay was a British captain

By August, Lloyd George and his cabinet had realised that the Allied forces were beginning to gain the military initiative over Germany, whose spring offensive had broken down, with her forces on the retreat. Plans were already in operation as to what was to be done with the status of enemy aliens, both interned and free, in the United Kingdom, as well as their families and dependents. The British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act (1918) curbed any immediate reintroduction of Germans, Austrians and the like into British society after the war was over. With a timeline of five years being placed on naturalisation certificates being issued, banking, trading and business relations with enemy countries to continue to be prohibited and many other restrictions on enemy alien nationals to remain after the Armistice was signed, the British government gave a green light to the final ‘cleansing’ of German and Austrian communities in the United Kingdom. Ireland’s German and Austrian communities had all but been eradicated from its pre-war levels, due to the xenophobic legislation of Britain, with the country losing some important figures (like Belfast’s Otto Jaffe and his family) and valuable tradesmen and professionals. So, even though the Irish people did not react the same way to the anti-German xenophobia and hysteria that gripped Britain during the war years, the actions and legislation of the British government had

working under the leadership of Lord Northcliffe in the ‘Enemy Propaganda’ section of the Ministry of Information, where he received an order by William Sutherland (one of Lloyd George’s secretaries) to set up a plan to persuade Irish nationalists to join the French army, initially as labourers in specialised agricultural battalions. Cardinal Logue and the Irish Catholic clergy were to be kept in the dark over British links to the plan, leading them to believe it was solely the idea of the French government. Irish assistance to France in the war effort meant Ireland could be in a stronger position to achieve independence from Britain in the Peace Conference at the end of the war. The ‘Hay Plan’ failed to get off the ground as soon as it came to the attention of Unionist politicians who feared that Irish efforts could secure Home Rule or full independence for the Irish nationalists. Jérôme Aan De Wiel, *The Catholic Church in Ireland 1914-1918* (Dublin & Portland, Oregon, 2003), pp.304-24, also points out that other reasons behind the halting of the ‘Hay Plan’ was, firstly, it achieved its means by answering the question whether the Irish Catholic Church (as influential in Ireland as Sinn Fein and the constitutional nationalists) was a supporter of the war effort, or not. Also, on 17 July 1918 the German offensive had stopped and von Lüdendorff’s armies began to retreat. By 8 August the Allied armies began the last great offensive, attacking the Hindenburg line. Lloyd George was already thinking about a speedy allied victory. The ‘Hay Plan’ also made clear that France and America were in favour of supporting Irish claims for independence at the end of the war. So, in not sanctioning the ‘Hay Plan’, Lloyd George was not supporting an independent and united Ireland, while preventing the alienation of the unionist politicians, who were seen to be highly important for his post-war plans. Other works dealing with the ‘Hay Plan’ and the Irish conscription crisis are, Alan J. Ward, ‘Lloyd George and the 1918 Irish Conscription Crisis’, *Historical Journal*, Vol. XVII (1), (1974); David Lloyd George, *War Memoirs, Vol.2* (London, 1938); Tomas Ó Fiaich, ‘The Irish Bishops and The Conscription Issue 1918’, *The Capuchin Annual* (1968); David G. Boyce, ‘British Opinion, Ireland, and the War 1916-1918’, *Historical Journal*, Vol. XVII (1) (1974); Eunan O’Halpin, *The Decline of the Union*, pp. 150-70; Adrian Gregory, ‘“You Might as well recruit Germans”: British Public Opinion and the decision to conscript the Irish in 1918’, in Adrian Gregory & Senia Pasetta (eds.), *Ireland and the Great War. ‘A War to Unite us all’?* (Manchester, 2002); Dave Hennessy, ‘The Hay Plan & Conscription in Ireland during World War I’ (2004), at <http://www.waterfordcountymuseum.org/exhibit/web/Display/article/192/>.

pretty much the same effect on Ireland's alien population as occurred across the Irish Sea.

The closure of Oldcastle camp and the removal of its inmates

On 1 June 1918 the *Meath Chronicle* announced that 'It is stated that the workhouse, Oldcastle ... will be given back to the guardians at an early date', however, there was no indication as to why the prisoners were moved from the Oldcastle camp, but an abrupt decision seems to have been made by the authorities. However, the military did not formally hand back the workhouse to the Board of Guardians until August 1919.⁶⁰ John Smith believes it was 'most likely that the changing political climate in Ireland by the summer of 1918 had some bearing on the military's decision to remove the German and Austrian internees from Oldcastle'.⁶¹ Smith goes on to highlight that:

The early tolerance of the war did not last very long ... Support for Irish independence gathered momentum in Oldcastle at the time of the 'conscription crises' ... The board [of Guardians] also decided to attend ... an anti-conscription meeting ... in the square, Oldcastle on 13 April 1918 ... clearly reflecting [their] broader anti-British sentiments.⁶²

The strong local sentiment was even reflected in the regional by-election result for East Cavan (Oldcastle being a part of the constituency), when the Sinn Fein candidate, Arthur Griffith was victorious in June 1918.⁶³

In July the *Freeman's Journal* reported the arrest of the German organist for Longford Cathedral, Rudolph Nieman. It was seen to be undesirable to have an enemy alien of military age residing in the locality where Sinn Fein had garnered so much support and a by-election success the previous year.⁶⁴ He was interned in the Isle of Man detention camp, where all the other enemy alien internees of Oldcastle camp had been transferred to at the end of May.⁶⁵ The *Irish Times*, *Leitrim Observer* and *Anglo-*

⁶⁰ 'Closure of Oldcastle Camp, 1918-1919', NAI, CSORP/1918/11769. The file consists of a group of correspondence between the War Office, the Army Council, the Chief Secretary's Office and the Chief Constable of the DMP, all giving their verdict on whether there was any objection of the removal of the enemy alien internees from Oldcastle to another camp in the British Isles. A note from the Under-Secretary of Ireland, dated 24 April, states: 'I think those alien enemies constitute a danger & to be moved out of Ireland'.

⁶¹ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp 1914-1918', pp. 240-1

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 241-4; Poor Law Minute Books (Oldcastle), 13 April 1918; *Meath Chronicle*, 20 April 1918

⁶³ 'Inspector General's Monthly Police Report, June 1918' and the 'County Inspector's Monthly Police Report, Cavan, June 1918', TNA, CO 904/106

⁶⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 & 26 July 1918

⁶⁵ *Irish Times*, 27 May 1918; *Leitrim Observer*, 1 June 1918; *Anglo Celt*, 1 June 1918

Celt all detailed the deportation of Oldcastle's enemy alien civilian internees. The reports stated that:

extraordinary scenes were witnessed at the [North Wall] port of Dublin ... in connection with the deportation of 450 alien civilians of German and Austrian nationality who have been interned at Oldcastle ... From an early hour wives, daughters and children of these aliens assembled outside the gates of the ... railway station at the North Wall, but were not allowed inside the premises. A very strong military force was present ... the train ... was vociferously cheered by the crowds ... Handkerchiefs were frantically waved by women ... Sinn Fein colours and green scarves were worn by many of the female relatives ... on the South Wall – across the river – crowds numbering hundreds ... congregated. They sang the Sinn Fein 'Soldier's Song' and cheered themselves hoarse ... Suddenly the strains of a brass band floated out on to the water. It was the aliens.⁶⁶

At the end of the war in November, many internees (and their families back in Ireland) expected a swift return. However, this was not the case. Many of Britain's enemy alien internment camps remained in operation, as the government used the manpower after the war to rebuild the country until the country's soldiers returned. Some internees were used in agricultural labour forces or deported to mainland Europe to assist in the rebuilding process of France and Belgium.⁶⁷ Meanwhile, the wives and families left in Ireland remained without a husband, father and most importantly a wage-earner. The people of Oldcastle and the surrounding area also lost a major source of income when the prisoners left for Dublin port. But it wasn't just the monetary losses experienced by the locality. John Smith writes:

The people of Oldcastle came out to wave them [the German and Austrian internees] off. Older people living in Oldcastle say there was a very good relationship between the locals and the prisoners. People had been allowed to visit the camp inmates in the prison and to buy items from them, jewellery, toys, paintings, etc.⁶⁸

This reiterates the same statement made by John Reynolds in regard to Templemore's POWs in 1914-15 that a good and kind relationship existed between the German and

⁶⁶ Quoted from the *Leitrim Observer*, 1 June 1918

⁶⁷ Reinhard Nachtigal, 'The Repatriation & Reception of Returning POWs, 1918-22', *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 26 (1 & 2) (March/July 2008), pp. 157-184, examines the issues and problems encountered by each of the belligerent countries regarding the repatriation of POWs

⁶⁸ John Smith, 'The Oldcastle Prisoner of War Camp', pp. 244-5

Austrian prisoners and their local Irish neighbours, even though they were separated physically by high walls and barbed wire.⁶⁹

Even though the Irish authorities were far more concerned with the threat posed by Sinn Fein and their strengthening alliance with the constitutional nationalists and Ireland's Catholic clergy at the time of the conscription crisis, this did not mean that enemy aliens in Ireland were watched and viewed with any less suspicion up to the end of the war. With the benefit of hindsight, Irish-German collusion was not a reality, but the fear of a second insurrection and landing of German arms remained a possibility (however remote). Coupled with the hysteria created by the right-wing press, politicians and scaremongers in Britain, it all led to a heightened Germanophobia in Britain, with public opinion persuading the British government that further sanctions on enemy aliens were needed quickly to prevent a reoccurrence of the 1915 riots after the *Lusitania* disaster. Although this anti-alien hysteria was not prevalent in the southern and western provinces of Ireland, it was more prevalent in Belfast and Ulster which experienced elements of the hysteria felt in England, Scotland and Wales. The strength of Ulster Unionism and anti-alien organisations like the BEU in Belfast, as well as the continued U-boat activities off the northern coast of Ireland, was a significant factor in keeping anti-alien sentiment alive in Ulster. Therefore, more stringent amendments to the Aliens Restriction Act (1914) and the passing of the amended British Nationality and Status of Aliens Bill into law in the second half of 1918 meant that enemy aliens in Ireland felt the repercussions that these government actions brought. The closure of the Oldcastle camp and the removal of its enemy alien inhabitants to the Isle of Man detention camps was only one example of how the heightened xenophobia in Britain, coupled with the political tensions in Ireland led the British and Irish authorities to take drastic actions in regard to the restriction and removal of the enemy alien threat from Ireland.

The fate of Ireland's Belgian refugee community

By the end of 1917 the Belgian refugees in Ireland were already beginning to get restless and seeking a return to their homeland to fight for their country, restart their lives and rebuild Belgium. The year 1918 was no exception. Persuaded by Belgian legislation and British government demands, Belgian refugee males continued to enlist

⁶⁹ John Reynolds, "It's a Long Way to Tipperary", Op.Cit.

in the Belgian Army to fight the German invader. With the entry of the United States of America into the war in April 1917, a new-found hope materialised in 1918 that the Allied forces could chase the German forces out of France and Belgium and bring an end to the war.

In 1917 Belgian refugees had arrived in Ireland from Britain and Europe seeking refuge at the same time Belgian males left to 'join the Colours', therefore leading to only a slow decrease of the number of refugees residing in Ireland between 1915 and 1917. Due to the increase of political tensions in Ireland during 1918 it was considered ill-advised to send over any more Belgian refugees from Britain or mainland Europe. Therefore, the number of Belgian refugees residing in Ireland naturally began to decrease at a quicker rate throughout 1918.⁷⁰ At the end of May the Dunshaughlin Board of Guardians in Co. Meath, in charge of the workhouse and its Belgian inhabitants, received a letter from the LGB (Ireland) stating that no more Belgian refugees were to be sent to the workhouse. A contingent of refugees was supposed to arrive from Glasgow but this was rescinded; the reason not given in the letter from the LGB.⁷¹

Ireland's Belgian refugees did not seem to experience the same kind of hostility in the final two years of the war as their compatriots did in Britain. War weariness and a clear shortage of food stuffs and provisions in Britain led to animosity being shown towards Belgian refugees, who were seen as a drain on the country's resources. Colin Holmes puts the British public reactions down to a sense of apathy experienced towards Belgian refugees in Britain, rather than open hostility to their presence.⁷² However, by 1918 there were incidents of suspicion and open hostility in some localities. Suspicions of Belgian collusion with the enemy were evident with accusations materialising during the year alleging that Belgians were running cafes which 'are nothing better than spy houses'.⁷³ Tony Kushner makes the valid point that at times of heightened xenophobia 'all foreigners were linked to the evil "Hun", [with] ... Flemish-speaking Belgian refugees [often] ... mistaken for Germans'.⁷⁴ As early as 1916, British politicians, press

⁷⁰ Figures for Ireland's Belgian refugee contingent are mentioned in Chapter 5.

⁷¹ *Meath Chronicle*, 1 June 1918

⁷² Colin Holmes, *John Bull's Island*, pp. 93-114

⁷³ Colin Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939* (London, 1979), pp.130-6

⁷⁴ Tony Kushner, 'Local Heroes: Belgian Refugees in Britain during the First World War', *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol. 18 (1) (March 1999), p. 22

and public began to press for the quick removal of the Belgian refugees after the conflict and although in most cases the refugees were happy to return home, it had been made quite clear by 1918 that Britain was not allowed to be their permanent home. In November's parliamentary questions, M.P.s demanded to know when the refugees would be repatriated and at whose cost.⁷⁵

This was not the case with Belgian refugees in Ireland. The blame for Ireland's involvement and losses in the war was clearly pointed at their age-old oppressor Britain, (especially by Sinn Fein and the constitutional nationalists) while the issue of food shortages remained slight. Only the high price of food and provisions was causing concern, with the blame once again put on Britain's demand for Irish produce in creating the increased prices and not due to the extra Belgian mouths to feed driving up the demand and prices. An article in the *Westmeath Examiner* analysing the number of Belgian refugees in Ireland up to 31 March 1917 (the total being 600) estimated that 50% of the Belgian refugees in Ireland were actually 'maintained without assistance from public funds'.⁷⁶

Very little was written in the press concerning Belgian refugees during the final year of the war. The War Refugees Committee was finally ordered to close after 31 December 1918, with the LGB given the responsibility to look after the departure of the remaining Belgian refugees from January 1919. By 15 February 1919 the remainder of the refugees left Ireland, leaving only a small number of Belgians who had decided to stay for personal reasons, mainly concerning love interests with Irish men and women. Clare O'Neill states that ninety Belgians remained in Ireland.⁷⁷

The *Freeman's Journal* reported that of the Belgian refugees who had sought refuge in Ireland throughout the war some were returning home with regional Irish accents, others were taking Irish brides back to Belgium, while a few decided to stay in Ireland for personal reasons.⁷⁸ It may be argued that the fact that about ninety Belgians decided to make Ireland their home, emphasises the familiarity that many experienced in Ireland to the predominantly Catholic, agricultural environment they had left behind in 1914, making assimilation into the Irish way of life more seamless than what was

⁷⁵ Ibid.; *Parliamentary Debates* (Commons), Vol. 110, col. 3176 (18 November 1918), questions by Denman and Butcher.

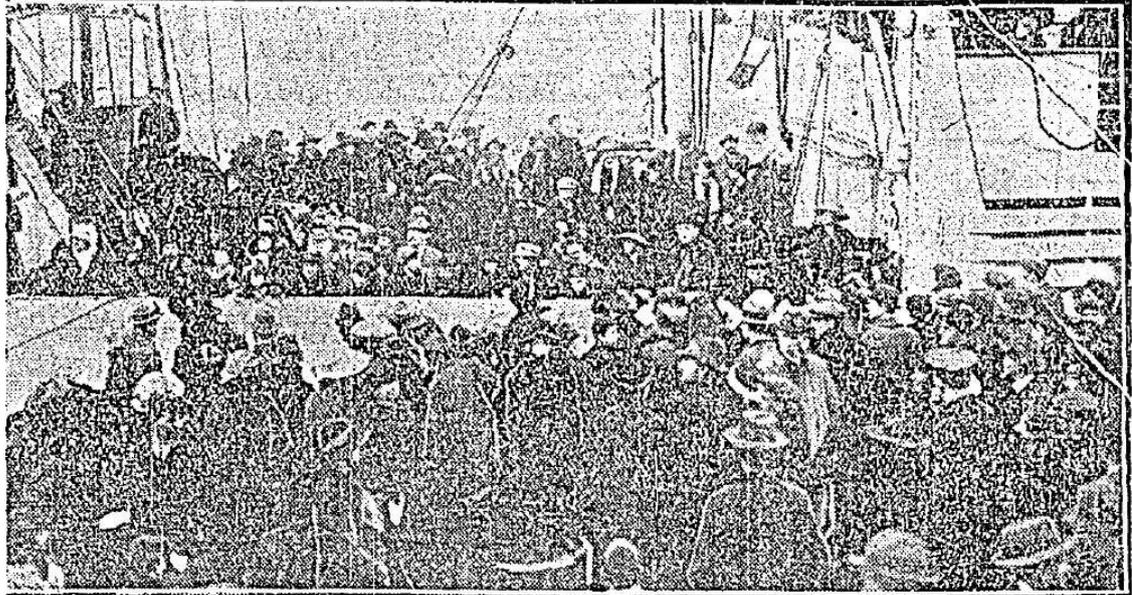
⁷⁶ *Westmeath Examiner*, 26 January 1918

⁷⁷ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 71

⁷⁸ *Freeman's Journal*, 17 February 1919

experienced in Britain. After the war the Belgians who decided to stay were treated as friendly aliens in the eyes of the law.⁷⁹ However, when one considers the numbers of Belgian refugees who remained in Ireland compared to Britain, only one in thirty Belgians decided to stay in Ireland after 1919 (90 of the 3,000 Belgians that entered Ireland stayed), whereas in Britain by 1921 10,000 Belgian refugees remained out of the 240,000 refugees that used Britain as their temporary home (roughly one in twenty-four stayed).⁸⁰

Belgian Refugees Leave For Their Own Country



Belgian refugees, who have been in Ireland since 1914, sailed from Dublin for Antwerp on Sat., and were given a send-off by a large number of sympathisers. The photo shows the scene as the vessel was about to depart.



Amongst those repatriated were members of the Benedictine Order and a number of nuns. "Irish Independent" Photos¹

⁷⁹ 'Closure of the Belgian Refugees' Central Register (May 1919)', NAI, CSORP/1919/15518

⁸⁰ More information on these figures can be found in Clare O'Neill, 'The Home Front', pp. 70-1; Dalal Stevens, *UK asylum law and policy: historical and contemporary perspectives* (Michigan & London, 2004); Panikos Panayi, 'Refugees in twentieth-century Britain: a brief history', in Vaughan Robinson (ed.) *The international refugee crisis: British and Canadian responses* (London, 1993); Tony Kushner, *Refugees in an age of genocide: global, national and local perspectives during the twentieth century* (London, 1999)

⁸¹ *Irish Independent*, 17 February 1919

Ireland's other friendly aliens in 1918

With the revision of the alien restriction legislation and a renewal of anti-alien hysteria in the United Kingdom in 1918, Ireland's friendly aliens continued to experience difficulties in their residence and movement capabilities. As part of the more hard-line government stance towards foreign nationals the authorities in Ireland were not prepared to be any more lenient towards aliens of a 'friendly' than aliens of an 'enemy' status. In May the Luxembourger, Mark Englebäch, was interned for not registering, his country being occupied by German forces since the start of the war. He had been living in Rathfarnham since arriving in Dublin four years previously.⁸²

With the conscription crisis also came the arrest of many friendly aliens for shirking their military duties and for general absenteeism. Although there was a meeting of British, French and Italian officials at Versailles on 3 June to discuss post-war plans for the break-up of the various Entente empires, with declarations promising independence for Poland and sympathy to the nationalistic aspirations of Czechs, Slovaks and Yugoslavs,⁸³ the same month saw the arrest and detention of more aliens attempting to 'dodge the draft'. In June the *Freeman's Journal* reported the arrest of a Russian, Abraham Renson, for not registering as an alien, and Hyman Hennys, who had been arrested for desertion from the British Army. The one positive aspect of the newspaper report was that both individuals were brought before a criminal court on conditional order of habeas corpus in an attempt to overturn their imprisonment and criminal charges.⁸⁴ Arrests of aliens continued throughout the summer months. Another Russian Jew, Woolf Greenberg, was arrested for absenteeism and remanded in court on 15 August. Greenberg had arrived in Ireland over four years previously and in his defence evidence showed he was not liable for military service. A fellow Russian

⁸² *Irish Independent*, 20 May 1918

⁸³ *Freeman's Journal*, 6 June 1918. Tim Wilson's article, 'Ghost Provinces, Mislaid Minorities: The Experience of Southern Ireland and Prussian Poland', *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, Vol. 13 (2002), pp. 61-86, gives an interesting perspective on the contrasts and similarities to the treatment of 'southern Ireland' and 'Prussian Poland' by the Entente and Alliance powers after the end of the First World War. Wilson states 'Prussian Poland' suffered to a greater degree due to their proximity to Germany's border and also that they were isolated and left to fend for themselves as they were on the losing side in the war. Just as Ireland's Ulster province was more favourably treated by the British authorities, than Ireland's southern provinces after the war, Prussian Poland's territories (including Polish Silesia) experienced significant losses to the new Polish State after 1919. Ireland and Poland were only two examples of post-war nationalist movements that materialised around Europe.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 June 1918

named Muscovitz was also in court for a similar offence.⁸⁵ Roy Stuart, an American dentist, was also arrested at the start of August for being a suspected enemy alien. Paranoid police were using the extended powers allowed to them by the British government's recent extension of the alien restriction laws.⁸⁶

The issue of absenteeism and arresting deserters seeking refuge in Ireland was not just a British government policy. President Wilson's government also issued a declaration that all American citizens residing in the United Kingdom (and other Allied countries) and of the age of twenty-one years were required to present themselves at the nearest U.S. Consulate to register for military service.⁸⁷ Alternatively, Irish-American nationalists who attempted to reaffirm their 'Irishness' (and renounce their British nationality in the process) were arrested in America as a growing consensus among Americans suggested that if Irish nationalists did not do their bit and join up to the war effort to fight for world freedom, could they be entrusted with their own self-government after the war?⁸⁸ The Director of the 'Draft', Martin Conboy told the *New York World* on 27 September that 'they may set themselves down as citizens of the Irish Republic or *citizens of the moon* but they will not be so recorded by the United States Government, nor [will it] ... affect their status in the draft'.⁸⁹

Friendly aliens were still allowed to enter and travel around Ireland, as the following examples show. The Kilkenny County Inspector's police report for March 1918 detailed the visit of Reverend Father Tobin from Australia, when he travelled to address a Sinn Fein demonstration on 24 March, which was also attended by de Valera and Griffith. A variety of colonial journalists were welcomed and entertained in Dublin and Belfast during September; probably the same party of journalists who visited London in July.⁹⁰ Foreign dignitaries and religious figures from outside Ireland were also allowed to visit the country and travel quite freely, while American soldiers, sailors and airmen were quite numerous around certain regions of the country. By the start of

⁸⁵ *Irish Independent*, 16 August 1918

⁸⁶ *Meath Chronicle*, 10 August 1918. Roy Stuart's entry in the 1911 Irish Census report can be found at http://www.census.nationalarchives.ie/pages/1911/Cork/Charleville/Main_Street/421784/ (Residence of 69 Main Street, Charleville, Co. Cork).

⁸⁷ *Irish Independent*, 13 July 1918; Francis M. Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question 1910-23. A study in Opinion and Policy* (Dublin, 1978), pp. 114-5

⁸⁸ Francis M. Carroll, *American Opinion and the Irish Question*, pp. 117-8

⁸⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, 25 October 1918

⁹⁰ 'Belfast's County Inspector's Monthly Police Report, September 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/107; *Freeman's Journal*, 11 July 1918

September the U.S. Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, recognised Czecho-Slovak nationals as friendly aliens as they fought against Germany and Austria-Hungary as a belligerent state.⁹¹ By mid-October, the Austro-Hungarian Empire resigned itself to defeat and surrendered, paving the way for nationalist minorities and separatist groups declaring their allegiance to the Allied cause, while propositions began to be considered for the Empire's territories to be carved up into four separate states, namely 'a German-Austrian State, a Czech State, an Illyrian State that will comprise the Slav parts of Styria, Istria and Dalmatia, and a Ukrainian Federal State on the territory of East Galicia'.⁹² Questions remained over other nationalist minorities, such as the Hungarians, Bosnians, Croatians, Slovenians, Rumanians and Poles. All these individual nationalities expected to be treated as friendly aliens and released from internment in Britain and Ireland, although this was very slow in materialising.

Ireland's American civilians and military forces of America in 1918

By the start of 1918 employment opportunities were becoming plentiful in various areas of Ireland with the construction of several aerodromes in the counties of Wexford, Dublin, Meath, Cork and on the shores of Ulster's Lough Foyle. The main purpose of these aerodromes and naval air stations was to assist the British and American navies and their convoy systems in transporting troops and produce across the Atlantic Ocean. It took until the summer of 1918 for the aerodromes and naval air stations (NAS) to be completed and ready to receive American naval and air forces. By the end of June, there were almost 7,500 officers and men of the US Navy in European waters. There were five air stations in Ireland by that stage at Queenstown, Castletownbere, Whiddy Island in Bantry Bay, Wexford and Lough Foyle. The pilots were mostly trained at Queenstown where an assembly and repair station serving all naval air stations in Ireland was commissioned with Lieutenant Commander P. J. Peyton in command from 22 February.⁹³ On 29 April the RAF kite balloon station at Castletownbere, Co. Cork, was turned over to the United States and commissioned as a naval air station, while on 2 May the NAS at Wexford was also placed in commission.⁹⁴ On 1 July Lough Foyle's

⁹¹ *Irish Independent*, 4 September 1918

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 279; Adrian O. Van Wyen, *Naval Aviation in World War I*, (Washington, 1969), p. 60 (online edition found on <http://www.history.navy.mil/branches/ww1av.htm>)

⁹⁴ Van Wyen, *Naval Aviation in World War I*, p. 64; Terry Treadwell, *America's First Air War: The United States Army, Naval and Marine Air Services in the First World War* (Wisconsin, 2000), p. 95

naval air station was commissioned to provide seaplane patrols over the North Channel entrance to the Irish Sea, while the naval air station at Whiddy Island, located in Bantry Bay, was placed in commission three days later. Westernmost of the seaplane stations, Whiddy Island's planes met Atlantic convoys as they approached the British Isles.⁹⁵

The numerous aerodromes and U.S. naval airbases were not constructed without their own problems. Strikes for higher wages by the construction workers and tradesmen were commonplace and were frequently reported in the County Inspectors' Monthly RIC Police reports throughout the year. Questions were also asked about the workforce and whether there should be stricter security over the workers, some of which clearly had Sinn Fein sympathies and were being entrusted with confidential materials and explosives.⁹⁶

In his *History of County Wexford*, Nicholas Furlong briefly described the introduction of Wexford's U.S. naval air base (NAS) in the summer of 1918. The 'airbase was colourful and friendly. Wexford girls became secretaries to the senior officers following ... security checks [and] socially, the American officers and men were welcomed'.⁹⁷ Although nationalist agitation was evident throughout the rest of Ireland, 'there was no way the airbase was in any danger while in American hands'.⁹⁸ A village was constructed for up to six hundred men, with road names like Fifth Avenue and Times Square. Today, very little evidence remains of the airbase, apart from the slipway.

There is still evidence of Bantry Bay's U.S. Whiddy Island NAS and Queenstown's U.S. Aghada NAS airbases, with photos courtesy of the 'Abandoned and Little-Known Airfields in Europe' website, which give historians more of an idea of the size and structure of these bases. Whiddy Island's airbase operated for only seven weeks of the war from September 1918, but the photographs below give an idea of the construction work required to make it an operational military airbase:

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 80

⁹⁶ 'Inspector General's Monthly Police Report' and 'Dublin and Wexford's County Inspector's Reports for January 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/105; 'Inspector General's Monthly Police Report for February', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/105; 'Donegal's County Inspector's Monthly Police Report for June 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/106 and 'Inspector General's Monthly Police Report for November and December 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/107

⁹⁷ Nicholas Furlong, *A History of County Wexford* (Dublin, 2003), p.135

⁹⁸ Ibid.



Hangars and an overview of NAS Whiddy in 1918 (Ralph I. Gifford collection via Oregon State University Archives)⁹⁹

The former airbase at Aghada, near Queenstown, Co. Cork, also has remnants of the entrance pillars, which clearly emphasise what the area was once used for during the First World War:

⁹⁹ <http://www.ronaldv.nl/abandoned/airfields/EI/southwest.html>



The two pillars spelling “U.S. NAVAL AIR BASE” at Aghada (photos by Dermot Sheehan at Panoramio)¹⁰⁰

By the end of December 1917, over 180,000 American troops had landed in Europe. By November 1918, nearly two million American servicemen were brought safely across the Atlantic Ocean. Not one transport was sunk; not one life lost. American ships carried 44% of the two million troops, while American warships escorted 62% of these men.¹⁰¹ The American naval air stations certainly assisted in achieving these figures. The success of the convoy system and the assistance of the U.S. Navy and NAS forces was illustrated by an article in the *Freeman's Journal* on 22 August reporting the June and July figures of shipping losses had finally dropped to below the 200,000 ton mark (July figures totalled only 170,000 tons lost). These figures were a considerable decrease on the 600,000 tons lost per month up to April 1917.¹⁰²

Of the many thousands of troops arriving from America, the *Irish Independent* was quick to reiterate on 18 February that a significant proportion of these men were Irish-Americans. One example used to emphasise the percentage of Irish-Americans in the U.S. Forces was when the *Jacob Jones* was torpedoed on 31 December 1917, thirty-one of the sixty-nine officers and men lost were of Irish blood. By the start of July it

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 258

¹⁰² *Freeman's Journal*, 22 August 1918

was reported in the *Freeman's Journal* that 'more than half a million Irish Catholics have enlisted in the USA'.¹⁰³

Ireland was also host to many political and journalist visitors during the final year of the war. American journalists concluded their tour of Ulster in February, with the Lord Mayor of Belfast presenting them with the British and American silken flags which had decorated the luncheon table of the previous week's dining event.¹⁰⁴ During May seven members of the American Mission visited Belfast and Dublin as part of their British tour to observe the industrial and war conditions experienced in the United Kingdom.¹⁰⁵ However, one of the most important visitors from across the Atlantic Ocean was America's Assistant Secretary of the Navy (and future U.S. President) Franklin D. Roosevelt at the end of July. He was accompanied by Sir Eric Geddes, First Lord of the Admiralty, on a visit to the American and British navies at Queenstown for a call for inspection. Roosevelt was to comment at the conclusion of his visit, 'I shall always think of my visit to Queenstown in July 1918 as the high-spot of my round of inspections of American naval activities in European waters during the World War'.¹⁰⁶

In Ulster, the Rotary Club of Belfast was considering following the example set by the Rotary Club of Liverpool in offering entertainment and accommodation to American and Canadian soldiers and sailors that arrived in their locality. The club's monthly meeting held on 7 January 1918 at the Shaftesbury Restaurant in Belfast brought to the attention of its members the question of entertaining American and Canadian soldiers. The minutes of the meeting suggested that the question should be 'considered at length' and it was generally agreed to that 'our homes be open to Rotarians and Rotarians' sons from America and Canada'. The meeting was concluded by suggesting 'that the members should talk the matter over at home'.¹⁰⁷ By the June committee meeting of the club 'the Honorary Secretary read a letter from Dr. Wright, in which he stated, the Liverpool Rotary Club were providing a hut for soldiers and sailors ... the Committee will ask the Club to supply a similar hut for Belfast'.¹⁰⁸ There

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1918

¹⁰⁴ *Irish Independent*, 18 February 1918

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 May 1918

¹⁰⁶ Nolan & Nolan, *Secret Victory*, p. 278; *Freeman's Journal*, 27 July 1918

¹⁰⁷ 'The Rotary Club of Belfast Minute Book No. 4, September 1917 – May 1918', PRONI, D/4264/A/5

¹⁰⁸ 'The Rotary Club of Belfast Minute Book No. 5, June 1918 – May 1919', PRONI, D/4264/A/5

seemed to be a competitive rivalry between the various Rotary Clubs with the Belfast club not wanting to be outdone by their Liverpoolian compatriots. The Club's 5 August meeting stated that their request for a site in Belfast's City Hall grounds was granted by the City Council and 'Sir Thomas and Lady Dixon have kindly consented to pay for the hut which would cost about £200'.¹⁰⁹ On 2 September, the progress of the arrangements was described in a letter from Colonel McCalmont (Irish Unionist MP for Antrim East), on the subject of the 'American Hospitality Scheme'. McCalmont 'very kindly offered to take on the entertainment of American sailors and soldiers, introduce them to the Home Life, etc., in the meantime, the men [are] to be slept at the Service Club'.¹¹⁰ By 14 October a resolution was passed by the Belfast Rotary Club members agreeing that members will open their 'homes to our American and Colonial Servicemen'.¹¹¹

Elsewhere, the Cork nationalists did not share Roosevelt's views of the U.S. naval servicemen, as trouble continued to erupt sporadically.¹¹² The Cork County Inspector's report for March told of local Cork girls visiting Queenstown's American sailors being attacked by a group of locals at the railway station, after which, the girls were denounced from the lectern by local Roman Catholic clergymen.¹¹³ Nationalist resentment towards America's involvement in the war effort continued to appear in sporadic bursts of damage to property. In October, Union and American flags were forcefully removed from the Parochial Hall in Youghal,¹¹⁴ while at Castletownbere's U.S. naval air station an American sentry had to chase off two suspicious men entering

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. Sir Thomas Dixon was the 2nd Baronet and a local Belfast ship-owner. His wife, Edith Stewart Clark, was a British philanthropist largely based in the north of Ireland and the couple donated over £100,000 to various good causes throughout their lives together, Charles Kidd & David Williamson (eds), *Debrett's Peerage and Baronetage* (New York, 1990); Obituaries, *The Times*, 21 January 1964.

¹¹⁰ 'The Rotary Club of Belfast Minute Book No. 5, June 1918 – May 1919', PRONI, D/4264/A/5

¹¹¹ Ibid. As an interesting aside to the acceptance and hospitality of American and Canadian servicemen, the Rotary Club of Belfast Minutes detailed on 5 August a discussion entitled "'Aliens": A long discussion took place on the position of Mr. Hoffmann in the Club and the alleged dissatisfaction of certain members regarding the Nationality of his birth, it was pointed out that unless something definite could be suggested against him, there was no constitutional means of dealing with the matter and as every member of the Committee expressed personal confidence in Mr. Hoffmann's loyalty, it was unanimously agreed to let the matter drop. Mr Walker's action in drawing the attention of the Committee to the alleged dissatisfaction was much appreciated.'

¹¹² John Borgonovo, "'Exercising a close vigilance over their daughters": Cork Women, American Sailors and Catholic Vigilantes, 1917-18' *Irish Historical Studies*, Vol. 38 (149), (2012), pp. 89-107

¹¹³ 'County Inspector's Monthly Police Report, Cork East Riding, March 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/105

¹¹⁴ 'County Inspector's Monthly Police Report, Cork East Riding, October 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/107

the compound's gas plant.¹¹⁵ Sinn Fein leaders even linked the sinking of the City of Dublin Steampacket Company's RMS *Leinster* on 10 October outside Dublin Bay,¹¹⁶ as a British Government act of self-harm to encourage recruiting figures. These allegations were refuted by October's County Inspector's Reports.¹¹⁷ Irish newspapers generally concentrated more on the lack of convoy support by the British Admiralty and U.S. Navy as the cause of the ship's sinking, mentioned in the reports on the Dublin inquests into the death of an Irish passenger.¹¹⁸ However, the public opinion in Ireland on the sinking of the RMS *Leinster* can be most accurately portrayed by the selfless generosity shown by the amount of subscriptions received for the RMS *Leinster* Dependents' Fund, with growing lists of subscriptions appearing in several Irish newspapers during the month.

Although the Sinn Fein supporters in Ireland's southern counties proved problematic for American sailors and airmen, support could be guaranteed from Irish unionist supporters. After the death of a large number of American soldiers and sailors as a result of the collision of the armed troopship, the HMS *Otranto* and another convoy vessel, HMS *Kashmir* on 6 October, the majority of the 351 bodies of the American troops were buried with full military honours in Belfast's city cemetery.¹¹⁹ The vast majority of Irish people seemed to deal with the appearance of all the American sailors and airmen with a sense of pragmatism. Friendships were formed, dances were held and marriages naturally came. The phenomenon of the 'War Bride' did not just appear in World War Two.¹²⁰

American citizens residing in Ireland also found the country's alien legislation difficult to comprehend. America had entered the war effort in 1917 to aid Britain who

¹¹⁵ 'County Inspector's Monthly Police Report, Cork West Riding, October 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/107

¹¹⁶ Further reading on the sinking of the RMS *Leinster* can be found in Roy Stokes, *Death in the Irish Sea: The Sinking of RMS Leinster* (Cork 1998); Edward J. Bourke, *Shipwrecks of the Irish Coast: 1105–1993*, (Dublin 1994); John de Courcy Ireland, *Ireland and the Irish in Maritime History* (Dublin 1986); Philip Lecane, *Torpedoed!: The R.M.S. Leinster Disaster* (Cornwall, 2005); John L. Liffiton, 'The Last Passenger Liner Sunk in the Great War', *Medals Society of Ireland Journal*, No. 49 (September 1999); John (or Jack) Higgins, 'The Sinking of the R.M.S. Leinster Recalled', *Postal Worker*, Vol. 14 (11), (November 1936), the official publication of the Post Office Workers Union, written by the only survivor from the ship's mailroom.

¹¹⁷ 'County Inspector's Monthly Police Reports, Cork East Riding, Dublin, and Tipperary North and South Ridings, October 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/107

¹¹⁸ *Irish Independent*, 18 October 1918; *Freeman's Journal*, 18, 23 & 30 October 1918

¹¹⁹ The bodies of the American servicemen were exhumed and repatriated to the United States in 1920.

¹²⁰ 'Shipwrecks of Cork Harbour. The United States Navy in Cork 1917-1919', <http://www.iol.ie/~mkeniry/UnitedStatesNavyShips.htm>

was within weeks of capitulation to Germany's forces, sea blockade and U-boat menace. However, by the autumn of 1918 American citizens still had to contend with the British government's alien restriction orders. This possibly led to an American refusing to fill out the alien registration form of a lodging house in Co. Kildare in November 1918. This led to the local courts fining him £1.¹²¹

So, relationships between friendly aliens and their Irish hosts were just as complicated at the end of the war as they had been in 1914. This was mainly due to confusion surrounding the tagging of nationalities as 'friendly' or 'enemy' aliens, as well as pro- and anti-British views in Ireland between Unionists, constitutional nationalists and radical nationalists, as to who was (and was not) 'friendly' and 'enemy'. Considerable frustration was also experienced by Sinn Fein, emanating from the leaders' desire to achieve international recognition of Ireland's case at the Peace Conference (that was to involve all the major warring powers). However, there was very little mention of Irish independence in the corridors of European power. Irish nationalists were clearly being overlooked in favour of talks of independence and sympathies towards other nationalist movements from the oppressed national minorities of the Triple Alliance countries. If Britain, America, France and other 'allied' nations were ignoring Sinn Fein's calls for independence, could these nations truly be considered as 'friends' to the Irish cause?

The blurring of lines as to which aliens were seen as 'enemy' and which were 'friendly' to the Allied (or Irish) cause, makes deciphering responses to friendly aliens during the First World War very difficult to analyse. Aliens with enemy alien status at the start of the war (with German, Austrian or Turkish passports) were claiming friendly status by the end of the conflict, by way of their Polish, Czech, Slovak, Armenian or other nationalist minority status. The extension of much of the anti-alien legislation affecting enemy alien nationalities in the United Kingdom, as well as the extension of the Military Service Bill to Ireland, clearly had negative repercussions for friendly alien nationals. All aliens were treated with great suspicion by the police and military authorities as the anti-alien hysteria gripped much of the British public, with Ireland's friendly aliens experiencing some of the ripples of anti-alien xenophobia from across the Irish Sea. The Military Service Bill also led to the labelling of friendly

¹²¹ 'County Inspector's Monthly Police Report, Co. Kildare, November 1918', 'The British in Ireland' series, TNA, CO 904/107

aliens, especially Russian Jews in Ireland, as ‘shirkers’, ‘absenters’ and ‘profiteers’ in the war, placing them in the same bracket as many Irish nationalists. This led to many arrests of innocent civilians by police and the military who were encouraged to adopt the government’s hard-line approach.

Conclusion

The final year of war in Ireland was also the imminence of the war of independence and civil war that was to follow. The strengthening of Sinn Fein and the imagined fear of Irish-German collusion was escalated by right-wing politicians and British press propaganda, leading to the near disappearance of most of Ireland’s enemy alien population by the British public. Oldcastle’s interned enemy alien civilians were deported to the detention camps on the Isle of Man, while official alien restrictions were extended as the conscription crisis promised further public unrest in Ireland.

From May onwards, the question of conscription led to many arrests of innocent men and friendly alien individuals, including Irishmen, Americans and Russian Jews, who, it was alleged, sought refuge in Ireland to ‘dodge the draft’ or profiteer from the wartime demands on produce and their resultant high prices. American citizens in Britain and Ireland did not escape their own country’s demand for manpower, as President Wilson’s government called for all American citizens of military age to report to their nearest U.S. Consulate in Britain, Ireland and other Allied countries across Europe, or face retribution from the authorities.

The number of Belgian refugees continued to decline in Ireland throughout the year, as more sought repatriation back to their home country to start rebuilding and fighting for the return of their freedom from Germany. War weariness was never a real concern in Ireland, as the numbers of Belgian refugees were far smaller than in the rest of Britain and food remained plentiful up to the end of the war in November. Apart from a few refugees who decided to stay for personal reasons and Belgian-Irish relationships, the final contingent of Belgian refugees left the country at the start of 1919 to return home to rebuild their homes and their lives.

Armistice celebrations were short-lived in Ireland due to the tense political situation across the country. The waving of British, American and other Allied flags soon were replaced by republican and tri-colour flags. As the country moved from the

end of a world war to the beginning of a fight for national independence, culminating in an outright civil war, the alien nationalities and ethnic minorities that still remained in the country (or returned after 1919 from a prolonged absence from the country) were faced with rebuilding their families, communities and businesses that had been ripped apart and destroyed by wartime restrictions, government legislation and spates of public xenophobia.

CONCLUSION

Before the beginning of the First World War in August 1914, the number of aliens in Great Britain was only 0.69% of the total population. Aliens in Ireland came to only 0.37% of the country's population. However, this thesis has shown that although small in numbers, foreign nationalities and ethnic minorities were considered a very significant proportion of the population, especially during wartime. The alien question took up hours of parliamentary debates and the passing of anti-alien legislation to safeguard the country against the often imaginary threat that these groups were alleged to represent. As Christopher Andrew has stated:

Until the end of the First World War British Intelligence in Ireland was aimed at the wrong target. It concentrated overwhelmingly on tracking down minor German intrigues rather than on following the much more important development of Irish nationalism. Though the potential challenge from Sinn Fein was underestimated, the German menace in Ireland was greatly – and sometimes wildly – exaggerated.¹

Thousands of hours were taken up registering, arresting, interning and deporting suspicious Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians and Turks. The hysteria that gripped the British (and at times Irish) population, created by right-wing press propaganda and scaremongering politicians, manifested itself in riots on Britain's streets in August and October 1914, May 1915, June 1916, July 1917 and June-July 1918. However, the only rioting that occurred in Ireland was immediately after the outbreak of the war in August 1914, when the shops of German pork butchers were attacked by a Dublin mob. After this initial outbreak of violence against enemy aliens, the public hysteria that continued to grip Britain was never repeated to any great extent in Ireland. There were many reasons for this.

The initial excitement of the war quickly subsided in Ireland as many Irish men and women, though supporting the war in the first few months, never really felt it was their war to fight. The conflict was a conflict of Empires. Nevertheless, thousands of Irish soldiers signed up to fight for the British Army, either because of John Redmond's encouragement, from sympathy for Belgium, for the King's shilling, for adventure, or for pride and for their communities. After this initial support for the war, people

¹ Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service*, p. 248

became concerned with the political restrictions of DORA, the Aliens Restriction Act, the press propaganda and the public anti-German feeling that went with it. Germany was an oppressor and invader of small nations (such as Catholic Belgium) and the Irish easily related to that concern.

By October 1914 anti-German hysteria had reached another peak in Britain, with the Northcliffe newspapers (including *The Times*, the *Daily Mail*, the *Daily Mirror* and the *London Evening Standard*), and right-wing periodicals (such as Leo Maxse's *National Review*) elaborating on the German atrocity stories coming from Belgium and the first arrivals of Belgian refugees to Britain. Public opinion became anti-German because powerful sections of society, such as the right-wing newspapers, right-wing politicians, and imperialist and militarist pressure groups of the period, such as the Navy League and the British Empire Union, called for action to be taken against the enemy at home.² Whereas the right-wing press had a powerfully persuasive effect on British public opinion, as well as influencing government officials, helping to effect the passing of emergency anti-alien legislation, Ireland's press and political class, on the other hand, were more concerned with the arrival of the first contingent of Belgian refugees, and the support networks and accommodation that was required to house their Catholic brethren. Pennell also states that 'the major difference between the British and Irish experience ... was the complicated political situation [in Ireland] ... Politics ... had in some degree been suspended in Britain, [but it] was intensified in Ireland'.³ Ireland also had its own political divisions to deal with, as was evident when John Redmond, leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party (IPP), managed to split the National Volunteers with his Woodenbridge speech supporting the war on 20 September. The issues of Home Rule, Irish involvement in the war effort and the political split of the Volunteer Provisional Committee (with the anti-Redmond faction led by Eoin MacNeill and The O'Rahilly) between the IPP and the Irish Volunteers,⁴ distracted the Irish public from imitating the anti-German hysteria that wreaked havoc in London and other major cities and towns in Britain the following month.

By the time of the next outbreak in Britain of anti-German hysteria and rioting in May 1915, caused by the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a German U-boat, the wartime

² Panikos Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 4

³ Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, p. 195

⁴ Deirdre McMahon, 'Empire and the British-Commonwealth, 1900-1948', pp. 139-40; Charles Townshend, *Ireland and the 20th Century*, p. 69; Keith Jeffery, 'The Irish military tradition' pp. 108-10

climate had changed significantly in Ireland. The traditional view of Britain as a nation tolerant of immigrant groups was tainted by the thousands of arrests that occurred in London, Liverpool and elsewhere.⁵ In fact, tolerance was a word that could more fittingly be used to describe Ireland's reaction to its foreign nationalities and immigrant groups during these months. No riots occurred in May or June, even though the people of Cork, Queenstown, Kinsale and other south coast towns and villages were faced with the rescue of the survivors, as well as the salvage and burial of the dead, of the *Lusitania*. Sorrow and shock never turned to anger or physical attack on enemy aliens in Ireland during this period.

Clare O'Neill is justified in stating that comparing the levels of enlistment in the armed forces between Ireland and Britain is made shadowy and 'invalid' with the introduction of conscription to Britain from 1916.⁶ British men of military age were forced to 'join the colours', while Irishmen were enlisting voluntarily. However, she is right to agree with Keith Jeffery's assessment that the decline in Irish enthusiasm for joining the British Army after the first eighteen months of war was 'in the same proportions as in the rest of the UK'.⁷ Enthusiasm for the war had waned in Ireland by the summer of 1915, and with the political climate changing, due to increasing support for the anti-Redmond Irish Volunteers and the radical nationalist groups in the country (due to land issues, the fear of conscription being introduced in Britain and Ireland, and Irish losses in the war increasing daily) the public feeling towards enemy aliens was diluted by their own political situation. This political distraction in Ireland was one reason why public opinion did not react in the same way as Britain in May and June 1915.

The next spate of anti-alien enemy hysteria that erupted in Britain was June 1916, the month after the execution of the rebel leaders of Dublin's Easter Rising. Naturally, Irish attention was not on what was happening in Britain regarding the threat of enemy aliens. As the Irish public struggled to come to terms with the aftermath of the executions and mass arrests, the British government was being viewed far more negatively than the enemy alien population. By the summer of 1916, most of Ireland's enemy alien population was not considered a threat, as many had been interned in

⁵ Panikos Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp. 223-4

⁶ Clare O'Neill, 'The Irish Home Front', p. 176

⁷ *Ibid.*; Keith Jeffery, *Ireland and the Great War* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 37-69

Oldcastle detention camp in Co. Meath. The main reason behind the anti-alien riots throughout Britain was the press and public reactions to the death of Lord Kitchener in June when his ship sank after striking a mine.⁸ Ireland had more important matters to confront after the Rising in Dublin, especially the increased military presence in many affected areas of Ireland. The fear of conscription by the British government was another reason why Ireland was distracted from the hysteria and anti-alien violence that erupted across Britain during June.

General attitudes in Ireland towards the war had changed from about the summer of 1915 onwards as the political situation worsened across the country. Therefore, when the final two spates of anti-alien disturbances (as it was not just enemy alien nationalities that were targeted and affected) erupted in Britain during July 1917 and June-July 1918, the majority of Irish public opinion did not share the British public hostility. Britain was dealing with war weariness, a shortage of food supplies and materials and continual enemy air raids on the country's major cities and coastline. These concerns did not affect Ireland and its people as much, although Ulster unionists shared British public feeling towards enemy aliens.⁹ The only Irish region to replicate the anti-alien (especially anti-German) fervour that appeared in England, Scotland and Wales during the war was Ulster. The strength of unionism, the fear and anger resulting from the human and monetary cost of the German U-boat war on the northern ports and the existence of groups such as Belfast's British Empire Union, all contributed to the heightened xenophobia. Elsewhere, the reaction of the Irish population towards their alien neighbours never reached the same levels of hostility that were experienced in the rest of Britain, mainly due to the small numbers of aliens that remained un-interned in Ireland after 1915. Most of Ireland's enemy aliens were interned, repatriated, or had left for their respective homelands within the first eighteen months of the war and therefore did not pose a significant threat to the local population. The influence and voice of the right-wing politicians and press in Britain played a significant role in instigating public reaction to the enemy alien menace throughout the war, but as Ireland's politicians and press turned their attention towards their own political turmoil, with debates concentrating on Home Rule and Irish independence,

⁸ Panikos Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, pp. 253-4

⁹ One example was the ostracising of Sir Otto Jaffe and his family from Belfast, a community and locality which he had represented as Mayor, while providing jobs and amenities for its people.

anti-British rancour came to the fore of political discussion more than anti-alien attitudes.

However little Irish public opinion imitated that of Britain when analysing the phases of anti-alien violence and hysteria that occurred during the war, it cannot be overlooked that foreign nationalities were still seriously affected by the anti-alien legislation and internment/repatriation policies introduced by the British government throughout the war years. The Aliens Restriction Act, Defence of the Realm Act, British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act and the numerous amendment orders that happened every year of the war, affected the residence, movement, business interests and freedoms of foreign nationalities and immigrant groups in Ireland. As the government was constantly influenced and goaded by the British press and public opinion, hundreds of innocent lives of aliens were unjustifiably changed and sometimes destroyed by the legislation, which was both restrictive and draconian. Panikos Panayi stated that ‘the government would not have introduced many of its measures against Germans within Britain without the pressure of “public opinion”’.¹⁰ The British government felt, however, that the anti-alien legislation passed was ultimately necessary in a time of an unprecedented world war.

Although the British and Irish police and military authorities implemented the hard-line policies of the government towards enemy aliens in Ireland, the question of British-born wives and children of enemy alien subjects led to a softening of the laws to provide dependents’ allowances by the Government. Charitable organisations, such as the Quaker Society of Friends’ Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress, were created to assist interned enemy aliens and their dependents. These charitable organisations also gave enemy aliens a voice at a time of anti-alien rhetoric. Public opinion towards the imprisoned German and Austrian POWs at Templemore and the co-operation shown towards the interned civilian enemy aliens at Oldcastle’s detention camp emphasised the sympathy also shown by the Irish people towards the internees’ plight. In turn, the waving of green flags and singing of Sinn Fein songs by the wives and families of the enemy aliens during the deportation of the Oldcastle detainees, showed the shared sympathy felt for Ireland’s fight for freedom. This could open another study concerning the figures, the

¹⁰ Panikos Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 3

differing groups and the political allegiance of the military and police authorities during the First World War, and how this impacted on the people they governed over. Comparisons can also be analysed between the various countries involved in the war and how they policed their people and threats to their sovereignty, statehood and independence.

Panikos Panayi clearly states that the main result of the anti-alien legislation and the intolerant attitude of the British public during the First World War was that Britain's German and Austrian communities experienced what has been phrased 'ethnic cleansing' by the end of 1918. The enemy alien communities had seriously decreased in size by the end of 1918 compared with their pre-war levels. The return of Germans to Britain and Ireland was slow after the war. Panayi states:

While a peak figure of 60,000 Germans lived in Britain by the outbreak of the First World War ... movement [of Germans] to Britain declined in the aftermath of the xenophobia of the [conflict] but some [returned] to allow a limited recovery of German communities destroyed during the conflict ... 20,000 between 1918-1939 ... a further 60,000 if it included German Jewish refugees.¹¹

As for Ireland's enemy aliens, many individuals were put off returning to the country by the political turmoil that existed after 1918. Although the pre-war numbers of Ireland's enemy alien population was considerably smaller than that of the rest of Britain, the government's anti-alien emergency legislation had the same devastating effects upon the population figures of German, Austrian and other enemy alien communities in Ireland. It also shows that public animosity played a less significant a role than government actions and legislation in affecting the daily lives of enemy aliens and their families.

Although Ireland's enemy alien population did not experience the same levels of public hostility and phases of hysteria from the national press, as was the case in England, Scotland and Wales, enemy aliens were still seriously affected by the anti-alien legislation introduced by the British government. This government interference only intensified as the war wore on and incidents like the bombardment of the British coast, German air raids and the intense German U-boat offensives, which resulted in the

¹¹ Panayi, *An Immigration History*, p. 39

Lusitania sinking (May 1915) and the death of Lord Kitchener (June 1916), brought further recriminations on the innocent enemy alien civilians in Ireland.

There was undoubtedly some confusion and miscommunication between the various authorities in Ireland and Britain during the first few months of the war, which led to some enemy aliens escaping, or finding loopholes in the new laws. Although the introduction of further restrictions led to confusion and miscommunication continuing in official circles after 1914, Dublin Castle, the military and police forces brought a resemblance of order to the internment and repatriation orders that continued to be issued from Westminster. The mass internment and repatriation initiative after June 1915 resulted in most of Ireland's male enemy alien population being interned by order of the Home Office in London, while dependents and families remained under strict supervision by the police and military authorities. Of the enemy alien population only 171 males and 131 females remained un-interned in Ireland in July 1917. A further 179 British-born females married to enemy aliens were residing in the country.¹² The control of enemy alien internment and repatriation by the Home Office in London from July 1915 onwards, brought some order to the execution of the anti-alien policies in Ireland. Anti-alien legislation continued into the 1920s, with the Aliens Act (1919) and the Aliens Order (1920), which set out measures to control the entry and registration of aliens into Britain and Ireland. It took most of the inter-war years for German and other enemy alien communities to reach the same level as their pre-war population figures in Ireland, especially as many individuals were dissuaded due to Ireland's tense political situation after 1918.

Studying friendly alien relations with their Irish neighbours and the impact of British legislation and government actions on their daily lives has provided an interesting comparison to the treatment and reception of enemy aliens in Ireland during the First World War. The reception of various political and social groups and the

¹² 'The Census of Aliens, 1 July 1917', NAI, CSORP/1917/446. The 1917 Census of Aliens was the only completed report found in the NAI. A census was collated every year of the war from July 1915 to 1919 to report on the numbers and locations of various nationalities throughout the UK. According to another file detailing 'police and military actions taken against enemy aliens in Ireland, 1914-18', NAI, CSORP/1918/18746, an RIC report claimed that by 1 July 1917 only ninety-five male enemy aliens remained at liberty and 175 enemy alien females (ninety-six of which were British-born) remained in all RIC areas of the country. The figures do not take into account children of enemy alien families. See Appendix 6 for two tables from 'The Census of Aliens, 1 July 1917', NAI CSORP/1917/446 for a complete breakdown of enemy and friendly aliens in Ireland compared to the rest of the United Kingdom (Table 1.) and a table of the numbers of aliens residing in each major city in the United Kingdom, including Belfast and Dublin (Table 2).

interaction with American residents and visitors, the introduction of Belgian refugees into Irish communities during wartime and the views of other ethnic and religious groups, such as the Russian and Lithuanian Jewish communities that had become the most numerous of ethnic minorities by the start of the war in 1914, all provide interesting comparisons. The first problem was which nationalities could be termed 'friendly'. The use of passports by the British and Irish authorities to determine an individual's nationality had its problems. Alsations and Lorrainers were often arrested and detained by the police because their nationality in their passports often stated the individual was German and they had failed to register as an enemy alien at the start of the war. However, most of this group of people saw themselves as French and therefore a friendly alien. It often took a court of law to determine their allegiance. This was also the case with the oppressed separatist nationals of the German, Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman/Turkish empires. They were often interned under suspicion, especially after the intensification of the British government's internment and repatriation policies. It was only after support by their national legations in the last two years of the war, that these minorities gained any reprieve and acceptance of their individual nationality. Confusion and miscommunication by all levels of government, the military and police authorities led to alien nationals being wrongly accused of being an enemy of the state. This was true of aliens from the territories of Alsace-Lorraine, Poland, the Slavic territories and Romanians that had seen their regions put through a transition of being the property of more than one country throughout its history. The question remained, should Armenians be considered enemy aliens because of their links within the Turkish Ottoman Empire – a situation not dissimilar to the plight of the Irish with the British Empire? By 1917, these groups gained support from nationalist groups on the continent, such as the Serbian Legation who helped gain Alphonso Palcic release from Oldcastle detention camp, were upon he joined the British Army to fight for Serbia's freedom on the side of the Allies. Lithuanian and Russian Jews also faced problems from 1916 onwards due to the introduction of military service in Britain. As the number of new recruits to the Allied forces began to drop the regulations for conscription intensified. The various leaders of the Allied countries called on all friendly aliens of military age living in other belligerent countries to sign up to the armed forces or risk being repatriated to their country of origin. As Ireland was excluded from the Military Service Act (1916), rumour began to spread in Britain that Jews were using Ireland as a safe-haven to avoid conscription. Russian and Lithuanian

Jews who had lived in Ireland since before the start of the war began to be labelled as 'shirkers' by the British press. This led to the arrests of many Russian and Lithuanian Jews and other friendly aliens in the summer of 1917. Therefore, friendly aliens did not always have an easier time than enemy aliens throughout the war.

What does the categorisation and treatment of enemy and friendly alien nationalities and ethnic minorities by the authorities tell the historian about the system of policing and law and order during a time of conflict? Firstly, for the British government and its people, this conflict was not one country against another; it was an unprecedented global conflict, affecting each country involved and the various empires, nationalities, minorities and dissident groups, each with their own agenda, aims and concerns. Ireland had as much to gain and lose as other nationalities enmeshed in global empires. Confusion surrounded the categorisation of individuals during wartime, often due to their political affiliation and loyalties; whether it was the result of an Irishman's (or woman's) political allegiance to their 'unionist' or 'nationalist' cause, just as much as the extent of the loyalty of a person of Serb, Polish, or Armenian nationality to their leaders. Ireland had pro-British supporters, Ulster Unionists, moderate and radical Nationalist factions all vying for top place in the political arena during the war. Each had their own aims and goals in the war. It made the wartime environment in Ireland increasingly more difficult and complex for alien nationalities and ethnic minorities as it was often safer to stay quiet and non-committal than risk sticking their heads above the parapet and taking a political side. It was also increasingly more difficult for the authorities to police the population and decide who was an 'enemy of the State'. This was especially evident after the 1916 Rising when American citizens were arrested for their involvement in the skirmishes, but with the entry of America into the war effort on the side of Britain and their Allies, these interned American citizens had to be released as they were now considered 'friendly aliens'. It was considered safer to release and deport these individuals back to America for the American government to decide what to do with them, than create any dissent between America and Britain and risk showing any signs of weakness in the Allied ranks for Germany to take advantage.

Unlike Ireland's settled minority groups, over 3,000 Belgian refugees came to Ireland because of the outbreak of the war and therefore had a different experience to the other friendly alien communities in the country. They had been uprooted from their

homes by the invasion of the German Army in Belgium. The Belgians that arrived in Ireland sought refuge and financial help from the Irish people, who were quite eager to offer assistance and accommodation to the refugees. The generosity of both Britain and Ireland was clearly evident during the first five months of the war, aided by German atrocity stories that came with the refugees across the English Channel and Irish Sea. Charities, relief funds and official organisations were set up to assist with the accommodation of the Belgian refugees that entered the United Kingdom. However, from December 1914 cracks had already begun to appear within Britain as the realities of war began to be apparent to the British public, as the first news of war casualties began to reach home soil.

This change of opinion towards Belgian refugees at the end of 1914 was not experienced in Ireland. Financial assistance and offers of accommodation gathered pace throughout 1915, as more refugees passed through the Irish ports. It was only after the summer of 1915 that Irish assistance for the Belgians began to wane, as the nation's attention turned to the political situation developing in Ireland. The fear of conscription began to play into the hands of the Irish radical nationalist groups. By the summer of 1916, Irish people were more likely to offer financial assistance to the Irish National Aid Association (INAA) or the Irish Volunteer Dependents' Fund (IVDF) rather than contribute to the Belgian Relief Fund. However, very little negative press appeared in the Irish newspapers regarding the Belgian refugees and a large proportion of the Irish people still looked on their temporary visitors favourably.

Much of the creative and organisational spirit of the Belgian relief and refugee committees in Ireland came from the wealthier and higher classes. The high society women of Ireland often took a leading role in relief efforts for Belgian refugees, wounded soldiers and sailors, dependents of British officers, as well as Irish nationalists after April 1916, and even British wives and families of interned or repatriated enemy aliens. Individuals like Lady Aberdeen, Dame Flora Lugard, Lady Maloney, Lilian Spender, Mrs Charlotte Despard and Lady Fingall, used their husbands, fathers or brothers' influence and position to promote their own cause and charities. Organisations such as 'Frauenverein' (Women's Society) and the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the International Women's Relief Committee all had their influential female figures at the heart of their activities. However, the lower class women and families in Ireland were affected by the daily pressures of wartime.

Whereas most women struggled with the absence of their husband and male members of the household as they trudged off to fight on the battlefields of mainland Europe and the social and economic turmoil that this brought to their families, wives of the lower classes had to face the economic hardship that the shortages and higher prices of food, clothing and fuel brought by the demands of the war. As for the wives and children of interned enemy aliens, they also had to live with the uncertainty of being repatriated due to their enemy alien marital labelling and connections. The public embarrassment of having to turn to charitable organisations, such as the Society of Friends, as well as the L.G.B. and the local Boards of Guardians (who were synonymous with the country's workhouses before the war), was confounded by the daily fears that came with being associated with an enemy alien; a fear that was all too real for a British-born wife of an enemy alien, even though the Irish public generally did not react with the same xenophobic vigour as their English, Scottish or Welsh neighbours against the enemy alien presence.

Public opinion towards Belgian refugees certainly changed in Britain as the war moved from year to year. By the end of 1916 onwards, war weariness was certainly a factor for the change from Britain's positive outlook towards Belgian refugees at the start of the war to one of apathy and even hostility towards their temporary visitors. Resentment towards Belgian refugees receiving food, clothing and monetary assistance, as well as more comfortable accommodation and facilities than the ordinary British people, was a serious grumble that created division in regional communities throughout Britain. The establishment of the refugee compound of 'Elizabethville' in Birtley, County Durham, with its creature comforts like hot and cold running water, employment and recreational facilities, all of which was not available outside the compound, caused anger among many local residents. Certainly complaints were also evident in Ireland, as Belgian refugees were given accommodation in workhouses at the expense and discomfort of their residents. The question was being asked as to why the authorities were taking on the responsibility of refugees when many Irish people were still destitute and in need of government assistance. Workhouses were quickly spruced up with bedding and cleaning facilities were provided to Belgians. Irish people wrote into local and national newspapers wondering why money was being found to help alien refugees when Irish residents of the country's workhouses had been accommodated in sub-standard buildings for decades. But generally, these complaints

were infrequent and Ireland's local communities tried to give as much as they could to these predominantly Catholic refugees from a similarly small but proud nation that had suffered from invasion from an oppressor. After the 1916 Rising, very little newspaper space was given to the plight of Belgium and the residence of its refugees in Ireland. Neither positive nor negative articles appeared to the same extent after the summer of 1916, as appeared in the Irish press before this date. After April 1916 monetary contributions and charity events that were advertised in newspapers were for the dependents of the Easter Rising leaders and Volunteers who had been executed or interned by the British government. Charitable organisations such as the Irish National Aid Association (INAA) and the Irish Volunteer Dependents Fund (IVDF) began receiving the monetary aid that had previously been given to the Belgian refugee funds. However, the entry of America into the war on the side of the Allied forces, led to the U.S. government taking over the running of the Belgian refugee funding organisations, giving them some new life.

Belgian refugees had also tried to help themselves. By March 1917 the *Westmeath Examiner* estimated that 50% of the 600 Belgian refugees in Ireland were actually 'maintained without assistance from public funds'.¹³ Belgians sought employment to ease the monotonous refugee lifestyle that hard-working Belgians were not used to. Industrious Belgian craftsmen and agriculturalists also assisted Irish industries to modernise with new techniques introduced from Europe, such as the introduction of beetroot into Irish agriculture and the stained-glass making industry. National employment opportunities were created with the expansion of the glass-making, linen and sugar beet industries through the use of Belgian experience.

Belgian males also volunteered to enter the Belgian Army in the second half of the war, partly due to a desire to assist the Allied forces, but also due to demands by the Belgian and British governments in the final two years of the war (instigated by the negative press and public opinion in Britain to Belgians of military age being given refuge when British males were being conscripted).¹⁴ Peter Gatrell illustrated the feelings of many contemporary figures in Britain who spoke out against Belgian refugees in the second half of the war:

¹³ *Westmeath Examiner*, 26 January 1918

¹⁴ Pressure was also being placed on the British government to enforce conscription on Ireland's male population, who were alleged to be shirking and profiteering from the war effort, while British males continued to be killed on the battlefields of Europe.

Contemporaries struggled to comprehend the circumstances that led millions of their fellow men and women to leave their homes. Some commentators blithely assumed that many refugees were opportunists who lacked the stomach to resist and who therefore took the ‘easy way out’. This lack of understanding led them to conceive of refugees as ‘deserters’ who had failed to demonstrate sufficient fortitude or prowess in the teeth of the enemy onslaught. ... Hostility towards refugees found a more acute expression in northern France where they were labelled as ‘les Boches du Nord’ [‘Germans of the North’] among whom women attracted especial opprobrium, because they were thought to have slept with German soldiers. Negative views were reinforced by the belief that refugees pushed up the price of food and housing, whilst competing for jobs and driving down wages.¹⁵

This type of hostility towards Belgian refugees was never openly experienced in Ireland to the same degree. The reasons were threefold. Politically, Belgian refugees never posed a threat to radical Irish nationalist groups achieving their goal of national independence. Constitutional nationalists used Britain’s fight for Belgian freedom and independence as an example for what could be achieved in Ireland. Unionists continued to support the policies of the British government when it came to assisting Belgium against the German Army. Economically, Ireland did not experience the same food shortages and financial pressures that Britain was facing after the summer of 1916. The Irish farmers actually had plentiful harvests throughout the war and the demand for food from Britain led to large profits in agriculture, while many industries profited from war contracts from Britain, America and the other Allied countries. Therefore, Belgian refugees were not seen as a drain on the country’s food supply or employment, as they were in Britain, France and the Netherlands. Socially, Belgian refugees shared similar attributes; both countries were predominantly Catholic; both were small nations fighting against an oppressive nation; both nations were largely agricultural. This all helped the assimilation of Ireland’s temporary visitors into the local communities that offered refuge to them. Relationships were created and ninety refugees decided to call Ireland their home after 1918.

Ireland’s Jewish communities were a complex and confusing minority for the authorities and public to define and deal with. The group also provided difficulties in the study of this thesis, as the numerous case studies of Irish Jews also needed

¹⁵ Peter Gatrell, ‘Refugees and Forced Migrants during the First World War’, *Immigrants & Minorities*, Vol. 26 (1 & 2) (March/July 2008), pp. 87-8

categorising into enemy and friendly alien status. Another aspect to take into consideration was the generational gap within the Jewish communities. The older immigrants looked upon their adopted home and leaders with affection for sheltering them from their previous Tsarist oppressors and inadvertently took on more pro-British, 'unionist' sympathies, while the younger generation, born and brought up in a more intense nationalist Ireland, saw themselves as both 'Irish' and 'nationalist' in their sympathies. While issues of their nationality and political leanings were given little credence by a British public who were caught up in the anti-alien hysteria of the war, created by the British right-wing press and politicians, political favour appeared to be more sought after in Ireland, as nationalists and unionists vied for popularity and support in Ireland's political cauldron.

Ireland's Jewish communities consisted of the enemy and friendly nationalities of Germans, Austrians, Russians, Lithuanians and Poles, to name just a few nations that made up the country's Jewish contingent. In Britain and Ireland, the Jewish community was the largest minority group before the start of the war. The pre-war alien legislation – especially the 1905 Aliens Act – was mainly introduced to control the numbers of eastern European Jews arriving in Britain, who were seeking refuge from the oppressive Russian Tsarist administration. Anti-alien legislation between 1914 and 1918 predominantly concentrated on the restriction of enemy alien nationalities in the British Isles. Even though there was a clear connection between anti-Semitism and anti-Germanism in Britain during the war, influential conservative journalists like Leopold Maxse of the *National Review*, authors like John Henry Clarke and Arnold White, politicians like Pemberton Billing and press barons like Lord Northcliffe concentrated on the spread of anti-Germanism (replacing anti-Semitism) as the main form of hostility to alien influence. Theories of the 'Hidden Hand' and anti-German spy fever clearly remained a phenomenon which replaced the Jewish conspiracies that had been evident in nineteenth century countries like Britain, France and Russia. After the war there was a return to some form of normality. In the early 1920s anti-Semitism again increased in importance for many of these journalists and authors.¹⁶

Prominent German Jews like Sir Otto Jaffe in Belfast were caught up in the anti-German legislation and public hysteria, often leading to their ostracising,

¹⁶ Panayi, *Enemy in our Midst*, p. 181

internment and repatriation from Britain and Ireland, however much they had contributed to society and their local communities. Some Jewish residents in Ireland joined the radical nationalist movement, the 1916 Easter Rising and the subsequent Sinn Fein movement. Friendly aliens faced the same rigours and restrictions of anti-alien legislation and intimidation after 1916 as enemy aliens, but leading members of the Jewish communities also prospered in the post-1916 environment by linking themselves with the growing radical nationalist movement in Ireland. The Judeo-Irish Home Rule Association had already been established in 1908. Jewish women like Fanny Goldberg and Estella Solomons joined Cumann na mBan; Robert Briscoe, Michael Noyk and Abraham Spiro assisted Sinn Fein and the Irish Volunteers after 1916.

Generally, however, most of Ireland's Jewish community kept their heads below the parapet and got on with their daily lives throughout wartime. Most were well aware of the anti-Semitism that tended to erupt at times of political and economic crisis, as they and their ancestors had come from troubled, oppressed communities to seek refuge in Britain and Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Many Jewish refugees had left Tsarist Russia's Pale of Settlement regions from the 1880s to 1914, when three million people emigrated. Two and a half million Jews went to the USA, but over 150,000 Jewish refugees had settled in Britain and Ireland.¹⁷

Their assimilation into Irish society by 1914 did not guarantee safety and solace in wartime. British Jews who continued to move to Ireland during wartime (mainly from England, Scotland and Wales) were attacked and arrested for 'shirking' their responsibilities to the armed forces when conscription became a contentious issue after the summer of 1916. They were also accused of being 'profiteers' in the war by continuing their business interests while native Britons were sacrificing everything for King and Country. Anti-Semitism was often interlinked with the anti-German propaganda and press and public hostility fed on this during the final two years of the war. So, even though Jewish individuals were accepted into Irish nationalist circles, unionism in the northern counties of Ireland still reflected the anti-Jewish attitudes portrayed by Britain's leading politicians and members of the press with right-wing leanings. Anti-German feelings were often entwined with anti-Semitism and this was

¹⁷ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 38

no different in the north of Ireland where northern unionists mirrored the pro-British and anti-alien attitudes of British politics. More attention was paid to the alien threat in Ulster and the northern counties due to the shared support for 'the Union' by Carsonist and unionist supporters, whereas Irish nationalists were more open to accepting support from alien communities to further their aims and objectives. This is not to say that all Nationalists were sympathetic towards Jewish individuals and communities. The prominent Catholic-Nationalist links meant that nationalist supporters also listened to leading Catholic individuals, such as Fr. T. H. Burbage, whose anti-Semitic articles appeared regularly in the *Catholic Bulletin* after 1916. This was certainly a concern for the Jewish individuals who supported the Irish nationalist cause, but saw religious differences create divisions between people who shared the same aim of Irish independence.

After the war anti-Semitism reached new levels of intensity even though only a few thousand Jews moved to Britain between 1914 and the 1930s. After the war the introduction of tighter immigration control through the Aliens Act (1919) turned attention back to restricting Jewish immigrants and the vast number of immigrants from the breakup of the various empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey (Ottoman Empire) from settling in Britain.¹⁸ Nazism created another wave of Jewish refugees in the 1930s that caused issues for the British and Irish governments before, during and after the Second World War.¹⁹ Ireland's Jewish communities certainly declined after 1918, in both numbers - as many left the country - and togetherness - as communities disintegrated and younger generations of Jews assimilated into the new Free Irish State, seeing themselves as more Irish than Jewish after 1918.

American citizens in Ireland caused further confusion for the authorities and Irish people during the war years. Before the war and during the first two years of the conflict, Americans were more strongly linked with Irish republicanism than with the British and the Allied war cause. President Wilson and the American government's neutrality policy were certainly negative in response to British war policies (especially Britain's sea blockade of trade with Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey). It was only at the end of 1916 and early 1917 when German U-boats preyed on the American

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 62-3

¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 38 & 62-3; the same view is held by J.C. Bird, *The Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain, 1914-1918* (London, 1986)

trading vessels off the east coast of America that Wilson began to change his view of Germany. When America entered the war in April 1917 on the side of Britain, Irish-American relations were also to change. American citizens were deported from Britain and Ireland after the release of many interned Irishmen after the Easter Rising. They were replaced in Ireland by American sailors, soldiers and airmen, protecting Irish shores from the German U-boat menace. The views of these American servicemen were also clearly opposed to Ireland's radical nationalist movement, which posed a small but real threat to Allied success in the war. The views were reciprocated by Sinn Fein and its followers, as America's entry in the war meant that the dictum 'England's difficulty' meaning 'Ireland's opportunity' no longer applied. American servicemen also became a more sexual threat, as skirmishes were not uncommon among Sinn Feiners and Americans over local girls. However, the general experience of American servicemen in Ireland from 1917-1919 was a positive one.

American servicemen disappeared from Ireland as quickly as Ireland's Belgian refugees after the war and the naval airbases were closed or returned to the British military. Admiral Sims returned to America from Queenstown in April 1919, as did Admiral Bayly to Britain. Queenstown returned to quiet inactivity though not for long as the Irish War of Independence started within months of the Armistice, in January 1919.

Britain was always a country of immigration over the past two centuries in a variety of ways. But at the same time 'an iron girder of racism and xenophobia has remained'.²⁰ Ireland was not too different regarding immigration into the country, but immigrants did not experience the same degree of prejudice. By the start of the eighteenth century communities of French Huguenots and German Palatines could be found in Ireland.²¹ The nineteenth century saw the arrival of eastern European Jews from Russia, while other nationalities arrived as a result of the expansion of the British Empire and trading links. Germans, Austrians, Italians, and many other nationalities settled in Ireland as they saw the country as another business arm of Britain, or they simply could not afford the final fare to America and settled in the country. However,

²⁰ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain*, p. 26

²¹ Michael Shine, 'A Look at the Palatines', *Mallow Field Club Journal*, Vol. 21 (2003), pp. 138-152; Patrick J. O'Connor, *People make places, the story of the Irish Palatines* (Newcastlewest, 1989); Sean G. Ronan, 'The Palatines in Ireland', lecture given to the German-Irish Society of the Rhineland-Palatinate in Bonn, 8 February 1973, online version, <http://www.gladleh.com/gen/ambassador.htm>; James Maegher, 'The Coming of the Palatines', *The Corkman* (1968)

when foreign nationalities and ethnic groups settle in any country, racism, prejudice and spates of xenophobia is a natural occurrence, especially at times of crisis. As with the case of Britain, the victims of racism and xenophobia may change, from the Victorian Irish to the early twentieth century Jews, the Germans of the First World War, West Indians during the 1950s, Asian communities from the 1960s-1980s, asylum seekers during the 1990s and, most recently, Muslims. However, the hostility towards outsiders, which usually focuses on one particular group at one particular time, remains constant.²²

With Ireland being so closely linked to Britain at the start of the First World War it was natural that the country's foreign nationalities were to experience the same effects from the anti-alien legislation and spates of xenophobic hysteria that emanated from the rest of the British Isles. The ripples of anti-alien public hostility were also felt by Ireland's foreign nationalities and immigrant groups, but not to the same extent as in Britain. Whether this was due to the smaller numbers of immigrant groups in Ireland, compared to the rest of Britain, not creating the same threat to the Irish people, or the political distraction of Ireland's fight for independence leading to less of a commitment to minimising the wartime alien threat by the host nation, the enforcement of emergency anti-alien legislation passed by the British government between 1914 and 1919 was ultimately the cause of the numerical decrease of enemy aliens communities experienced in Ireland during the war. Friendly alien nationalities were also wrapped up in this wartime hysteria, anti-alien legislation and general war weariness and fatigue that engulfed Britain and (to a lesser extent) Ireland by the later stages of the war.

²² Ibid.

APPENDICES

Chapter 1

Appendix 1

All quotes and references are from NAI, CSORP/1915/13931 file:

In a letter dated 29 August 1914, Sergeant D. Kennedy, of Miltownmalby (Co. Clare), wrote that: ‘Enemy aliens [are] ... not being allowed to travel on any railway line even with a permit ... Mrs Col. Moroney [is] making arrangements to take her German Governess to the Curragh in the near future’.

On 31 August, Colonel and Mrs Moroney were once again warned by the Ennis police office that if Strassacker was to travel with her employer more than five miles from their residence then she would not be able to travel by train, as per the Alien Restriction Order, which forbade any foreign national from travelling by rail, for reasons of national security. A letter from Mr Galatan at the County Inspector’s Office, the Royal Irish Constabulary (R.I.C.), Ennis, dated 4 September, requested Mrs Moroney to apply to the Chief Secretary’s Office to apply for a permit for Strassacker to travel. Only then could a travel permit be granted. On the same day, Sgt. D. Kennedy wrote from Miltownmalby:

I beg to state that Mrs Col. Moroney is writing to the Chief Secr[etary] this evening as it is her intention to start for the Curragh by the 12:40...train on Tues next 8th inst. when she gets the necessary document from the Chief Sec. I shall forward it to my officer as soon as possible.

Four days later on 8 September, J.P.B. Townsend (his official position is unknown from the document) wrote from Ennis, regarding Sgt. Kennedy’s report, warning Sgt. Kennedy that if the police found that Helene Strassacker and Mrs Moroney were travelling without a permit they would both be guilty and ‘considered to be acting in contradiction of the Order ... should it come to the knowledge of the Police that these ladies intend going without the permit they should be politely warned of their liability in so doing.’

A letter dated 7 September from District Inspector J. O’Brien of Ennistymon gave a brief history of Strassacker’s time spent in Ireland:

I beg to report that [Helene Strassacker] ... came from Clapham, London, on the 21st May last, and since then is a Governess to Col. Moroney's family at Miltown House. She is a reg'd Alien, and I know of nothing against her, save that she is a German and commanding my attention.

A further letter from J.P.B. Townsend (Ennis), in response to Mrs. Moroney's letter (and the above correspondence), to the Chief Secretary's Office stated:

Since she came to Miltown House in May last nothing suspicious has been noticed as regards this lady and as outward appearances go she would not seem to be dangerous but it is a question whether any alien enemy can be so far trusted at the present time as to be allowed to reside in such a locality as the Curragh Camp and especially so closely in touch with the military as being engaged in an officer's house. It might be well to consult the military authorities...Perhaps Col. Moroney would vouch for this lady being harmless.

The first real response in connection with the military camp in the Curragh came in the form of a letter dated 9 September, from County Inspector K.Y. Supple, Naas, Kildare, stating 'I prefer she did not get a permit to come to the Curragh'. County Inspector Supple stated that he would prefer to interrogate her personally and find out her German connections and whether she had written and sent letters to any foreign country other than Germany since the war. This was soon followed by a letter from Colonel Moroney, himself, dated 10 September, stating a change in the plans for who was to travel to the Curragh: 'I beg to state that Mrs Col. Moroney is leaving for the Curragh on this date and taking all her servants except the German Governess who is going to reside with a sister of Col. Moroney's'.

It wasn't until 16 September and a letter from W. O'Connell, of the R.I.C. Office, Dublin Castle, to the County Inspector in Ennis which questioned Miss Strassacker's history in Ireland and her relations with the Moroney family:

District Inspector O'Brien's report on Fräulein Strassacker does not come up to what should reasonably [be] expected. Aliens of German origin should be closely questioned. How long has Fr.[äulein] Strassacker been in the British Isles and where has she been employed? ... Has she visited Germany since her arrival? ... Does she correspond with people living in Germany? Where does her family reside? How did she get into the employment of Col. Moroney? Was it by advertisement or was it on the recommendation of private or mutual friends? Has she previously acted as Governess in the family of a British officer? It is now stated that Col. Moroney wishes still to have the

Governess living at the Curragh and that the present was only intended to be a temporary arrangement. What is the lady's age?'

On 19 September a reply from J. O'Brien answered some of Dublin Castle's queries on the enemy alien subject:

I beg to give the following particulars:- this girl has been in the British Isles since Jan. 1914, and had been in employment with her brother, Mr. Strassacker, in London up to May last ... I understand she did not visit Germany since her arrival in the British Isles. She corresponded with her sister before the war broke out and she states she got no reply since; and her family reside at Esslingen, Wurtemberg. I learn that she got her employment by having applied through Mrs Hunt's agency, Baker Street, London and she has not been previously on employment of the family of a British Officer. Her age is about 25yrs and she is a prepossessing young woman ... she states that her brother, Robert Carl Richard Strassacker, whilst in London was learning Engineering and staying at No.19 Glandin Road (a boarding house) Clapham. He left London last June and went to Germany to get married and not since returning to England.

J.F. Galatan's reply, from Ennis, showed the concerns surrounding Strassacker's residence in Spanish Point:

'This young lady appears to be harmless as far as we can state from our knowledge of her but it [is] quite impossible to state definitely. If she had any facilities for communicating with friends in Germany I do not think she should be allowed to do so. I do not consider her to be in danger at Spanish Point but if she was ... by herself and some drunken man met her and [noticed] her to be a German ... she would be assaulted.'

A week later, on 28 September, after a letter from Mrs Moroney, asking why the permit was taking so long to be granted, Co. Inspector Supple (Naas) wrote and gave a proposal for eight restrictions to be considered if Helene Strassacker was to be allowed to reside in the Curragh. The notes from the Intelligence Officer at the Chief Secretary's Office (dated 30 September) stated:

The restrictions proposed by Co. Inspector Supple do not seem to be feasible in many respects, and it appears to His Excellency that if they are necessary Miss Strassacker should not be permitted to reside at the Curragh at all. It is to be noted that no such restrictions are enforced on alien enemies who may be permitted to reside in prohibited areas, which the Curragh is not.

By 2 October a reply from R. Greenfield, the Brigadier General of the General Staff, Irish Command, Parkgate, to the Under Secretary at Dublin Castle, pointed out some serious concerns over Strassacker:

Sir,

I have read over the correspondence relative to the German Governess, Helen Strassacker, who wishes to reside in the Curragh District ... She appears to have only come to England in Jan[uary] last, and has only been in the service of her present employer for the past 4 ½ months. It is highly undesirable that this German lady should go to reside in the Curragh District. She should not therefore be granted a permit to do so. The Curragh Training Area is a proclaimed area under the Army Order or 19th Sept. 1914.

Appendix 2

NAI, CSORP/1915/22558:

(A). Petition (dated November 1914) and letter (dated 9 December 1914) from Frederick Lang to the Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Dublin Castle:

The appeal letter states:

Mr Lang always conducted himself as an honourable citizen, and nobody could find fault with his conduct and loyalty during that time. At the outbreak of War, a mob raided many shops belonging to aliens, amongst them the shop of Mr Lang ... Lang brought his claim for compensation, amounting to about £105 before the ... Recorder of Dublin, who postponed the case indefinitely. We regret to have to state that Mr Lang is a ruined man, and as he has a wife and 8 children dependent upon him, we appeal to Your Excellency to use your high office in his behalf. Mr. Lang has given 2 sons to the Navy ... Fred, aged about 18, was killed a few weeks back on board HMS *Impregnable* at Plymouth, and the other, Gussie, is now serving with the Marines ... We wish to mention that it has been decided in His Majesty's High Courts in Dublin last week that a registered alien has the right to claim and sue ... we trust Your Excellency will extend your usual kindness, and save a whole family from absolute starvation. Mr Lang has no means to carry on business [or] ... bring his case to court again ... During all the yrs that we have known him, we are able to testify to his sobriety, and gentlemanliness, and his concern to the welfare of his wife and family. We therefore humbly petition Your Excellency to expedite his claim so as to enable him to carry on his business. [The document also includes 1 ½ pages of signatures]

(B). Case report from S. Wickham, Superintendent of A. Division, the Dublin Metropolitan Police (D.M.P.), Chancery Lane Station, Dublin, dated 19 December 1914 – 'Frederick Lang's memorial, file 9253/14':

I beg to report with reference to the attached file that on night of 15th Aug 14 the pork butcher shop 39 Wexford St property of Frederick Lang was attacked by a riotous mob who broke the windows of the shop and

all the glass in front of the house. THEY ALSO WRECKED THE INTERIOR ... and the cash register, stealing contents about £23 ... and goods to value about £14. The total damage and loss was estimated at over £100. 18 persons were subsequently arrested for the offence and sent for trial ... were none were convicted and the remainder discharged. Lang applied for compensation and the Right Hon the Recorder's decision was 'postponed generally'. Memorialist resides at 5 Avonmore Terrace, Terenure, at a rental of £52/annum and at rear of his residence he has a factory where sausages and other commodities are made and sold in his [Wexford street] shop, the rent of which is £70/annum.

Lang came to Ireland from Germany in the year 1891 and is not a naturalised British subject. About 3 yrs after coming to this country he married an Irish girl who was at that time in Hafner's pork shop, S. Great Georges Street. After marriage there were frequent quarrels between Lang and his wife and on one occasion, about 8 years ago, she had him arrested for assaulting her. He was also summoned in 1913 for cruelty to 2 of his children at Terenure and sentenced to 3 months hard labour and on appeal to the Recorder he was cautioned.

Memorialist has 5 children living with him, none earning, and had a boy, aged 18 years, accidentally killed on HMS 'Impregnable' about 2 months ago and another at present is serving in the Marines.

Lang is at present in poor circumstance and about half his customers go elsewhere since the outbreak of the present war.

The signatures to memorial are authentic but Aldermann O'Connor, Bow St., stated that he signed it thinking the memorial was to get Lang out of prison.

Chapter 3 Appendix 3

From the *Southern Star*, 5 June 1915:

OUR BANDON LETTER.

(From our Correspondent)

THE SPY FEVER.

Quite a sensation was caused in the town and district during the past few days by the statement that four German spies dressed in the garb of Nuns had visited the town. All kinds of statements were circulated by the public as to their suspicious movements. The "spies" had indeed been kept under careful vigil by the public, who saw them arriving in a motor car, which was put up at the Devonshire Arms Hotel, from which the "spies" walked to the Presentation Convent to see the Nuns there; that they rung the gate bell, and having brought the servant out, declined to see the Nuns and proceeded to the chapel, where they spent only one or two minutes, and returned to the hotel; that on their way back they entered a certain house and had "a good look round" and saw the military barracks, the residence of Mr Alpears, an interned German alien, and generally had a fine view of Bandon; that when they got back to their motor car one of them gave away the 'show' by jumping into it instead of easily stepping in, like the others; that they looked more like men than women; that it was unusual to see four Nuns together, and that they sent a telegram at the Post Office before leaving the town. Such were the statements the public were heard to make, and no doubt they put us inquiring of the police who they were. The police assured us that they were four Nuns, some of the Nuns who were hunted from France about 5 years ago, and that they came from Blackpool Road, Cork. They further assured us that they did proceed to the Presentation Convent to speak to the Nuns, but the latter were engaged owing to a ceremony that was performed, and the visitors then left. Indeed there are some Bandon people who would make excellent detectives and Scotland Yard should be acquainted of them.

Appendix 4

Below is work of Edmund Delrenne after the 1916 Rising in Dublin:

http://www.artnet.com/artists/lotdetailpage.aspx?lot_id=0F66177643F7AB63DA200B3A1A05066



Artist **Edmond Delrenne**
Title Henry street, Dublin, after the Easter rising (+ Women and children before city ruins; pair)
Medium watercolor, bodycolor and crayon
Size 9.8 x 6.7 in. / 25 x 17 cm.
Year 1916 -
Misc. Signed, Inscribed
Sale Of Whyte's: Monday, April 30, 2007
[Lot 102]
Irish Art
Estimate*
Sold For* 5,383 USD

<http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/1885797> - below is another Delrenne works, 'signed and dated [1917] lower left; remains of inscribed labels on reverse oil on canvas 61 by 51cm., 24 by 20in. With the storage label of Millar and Beatty House Furnishers, Grafton Street, Dublin, and the framing label of the Dawson Gallery, Dublin, on reverse. Edmond Delrenne was a Belgian refugee who seems to have arrived in Dublin circa 1914 and remained here throughout the First World War. He exhibited

four war scenes at the RHA in 1915 and 1916, giving his address as care of Dermot O'Brien, then newly elected President of the RHA. O'Brien evidently bought some of Delrenne's work, for a watercolour depicting The Ruins of O'Connell St., Dublin, in 1916 was amongst his estate and presented to the NGI by his son, Dr Brendan O'Brien, in 1982 (NGI 18,486). As with the present work, Nelson's Column on O'Connell Street is clearly visible amongst the rubble. This is an extremely rare contemporaneous painting of Dublin in the immediate aftermath of the Rising. According to Dr Brendan O'Brien, son of Dermot O'Brien RHA, Delrenne was given hospitality by Dermot O'Brien at Cahirmoyle, Co. Limerick. He also stated that Delrenne was in Dublin at the time of the 1916 Easter Rising and, when standing in a doorway, a man beside him was killed by a stray bullet. (Adrian le Harivel & Michael Wynne (editors) National Gallery of Ireland Acquisitions 1982-1983, published NGI 1984).



Auction Date/Lot No.:	9 April 2006/ 128
Published Estimate:	€3,000-5,000
Price Realised:	€10000

Chapter 4

Appendix 5

‘The British in Ireland: Series 1, Part 7: Sinn Fein and Republican Suspects, 1899-1921 (CO 904, Boxes 193-216), Reel 127’. From Sir Otto Jaffe’s suspect file, a ‘Crime Special’ report by the RIC in Belfast (14 November 1914) the Commissioner’s Office stated:

There is not the slightest doubt that Sir Otto and Lady Jaffe are pro-German ... I got some information from their gardener ... that all the servants are talking about Lady Jaffe and every pro-German expression soon becomes common property amongst them ... at the dinner table ... she remarked that the loss of the Euden was a great blow to Germany, and later that Germany did not care that (snapping her fingers) for England ... Lady Jaffe has two nephews named Joel who are officers in the German Army, and other nephews named Goodwin who are Officers – Sir Otto also has many relatives fighting on the German side – The Jaffes are in communication with Germany ... Richardson [the gardener] ... said that Sir Otto was much more discreet than Lady Jaffe but that his sympathy was obviously with Germany. The news of German successes plainly gave pleasure to both...defeats caused corresponding depression.

About three years ago a large mill was built on the Newtownards Rd. beside the R.I.C. Barracks there. It is called Jaffe’s mill as Sir Otto Jaffe is a German Jew and a naturalised British subject appears to have the principal interest in it ... the building is very substantial ... The roof of the building is flat ... the floor is concrete ... The roof ... commands a good view of Belfast City and Lough and I have no doubt that fairly heavy guns might be assembled on it by the enemy if they succeeded in getting a footing in Belfast.

A note submitted by the Censor (hand-written) at the end of the report stated:

The military authorities here know all about the mill. The Jaffes are regarded by the entire community as German spies and letters have been received concerning them both by the military authorities and the police. Lady Jaffe has been very indiscreet and there is now amongst all classes a bad feeling against them ... They are naturalised British subjects and up to the present though kept under observation nothing tangible has been discovered against them.

Chapter 6 and Conclusion

Appendix 6

Table 1 (‘TABLE VII’ below) shows the numbers and percentages of adult aliens of all nationalities (excluding British-born women) residing in the United Kingdom. Ireland

has a separate column indicating the numbers of aliens residing on the island, compared with that of England, Scotland and Wales.

Table 2 (TABLE VIII' below) shows the adult alien population on 1 July 1917 of the ten most significant cities and towns in the United Kingdom. This table again provides interesting comparisons between Belfast, Dublin and the rest of the United Kingdom.

TABLE VII.
TABLE SHOWING THE FIGURES AND PERCENTAGES OF ADULT ALIENS OF ALL NATIONALITIES (EXCLUDING BRITISH-BORN WOMEN) RESIDING IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

NATIONALITY.	ENGLAND AND WALES.						SCOTLAND.			IRELAND.			UNITED KINGDOM.			
	Males			Females			M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	M.	F.	Total.	Per cent.
	M.P.D.	Prov.	Total.	M.P.D.	Prov.	Total.										
Austrians & Hungarians	3,570	1,041	5,411	2,551	957	3,507	156	110	6"	31	5,600	3,450	9,050	4.00	6.00	
Bulgarians	4,634	1,740	6,374	4,888	1,713	6,601	277	163	12 1/2	98	6,000	6,000	12,000	5.00	9.00	
Germans	483	573	1,056	4,888	1,301	6,189	18	8	10 1/2	8	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	3.00	
TOTAL ALIEN RESIDERS	8,705	4,223	12,927	7,020	2,977	10,075	448	300	171	132	13,546	10,507	24,053	10.00	10.00	
Belgians	6700	2,354	9,054	2,000	2,000	4,000	1,966	1,966	15 1/2	157	2,700	2,700	5,400	2.00	2.00	
French	3,272	1,874	5,146	2,500	1,500	4,000	1,151	1,151	200	100	2,000	2,000	4,000	1.50	1.50	
Italians	1,800	1,200	3,000	1,000	1,000	2,000	75	2	4	1	100	100	200	0.80	0.80	
Japanese	5	4	9	5	5	10	14	2	2	2	10	10	20	0.10	0.10	
Portuguese	187	833	1,020	400	85	485	14	3	27	2	1,000	67	1,067	0.40	0.40	
Russians	1,000	500	1,500	1,000	400	1,400	84	3,894	600	413	15,100	15,100	30,200	12.00	12.00	
Slovenes	31,000	14,738	45,738	11,000	5,800	16,800	590	140	1,240	84	8,000	1,300	9,300	3.50	3.50	
Serbs	1,000	4,501	5,501	1,168	1,168	2,336	590	1,168	1,240	84	8,000	1,300	9,300	3.50	3.50	
Americans (U.S.A.)	2,000	4,501	6,501	1,168	1,168	2,336	590	1,168	1,240	84	8,000	1,300	9,300	3.50	3.50	
TOTAL ALIEN ADULTS	48,046	50,128	98,174	42,280	42,280	84,560	11,473	8,986	2,498	1,105	11,007	52,371	164,445	70.00	70.00	
Americans (others)	532	820	1,352	220	220	440	85	14	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Chinese	1,000	4,000	5,000	400	400	800	200	100	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Danes	6,700	1,500	8,200	1,500	1,500	3,000	150	70	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Dutch	800	1,000	1,800	1,000	1,000	2,000	100	100	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Greeks	400	1,000	1,400	500	500	1,000	100	100	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Swedes	400	1,000	1,400	500	500	1,000	100	100	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Swiss	4,000	2,000	6,000	1,000	1,000	2,000	100	100	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
Other Nationalities	400	1,000	1,400	500	500	1,000	100	100	100	10	1,000	1,000	2,000	0.80	0.80	
TOTAL BRITISH AND OTHER ALIENS	13,909	17,266	31,175	4,261	4,261	8,522	1,456	549	377	111	13,008	4,981	37,989	16.75	16.75	
GRAND TOTAL	70,662	71,616	142,278	56,615	56,615	113,230	13,377	9,855	2,975	1,349	15,863	67,799	280,830	100.00	100.00	

*Including Armenians
**Including of Belfast (Refugees who in London are registered not with the Police but with the Registrar) and are by him estimated to number 2,000
***Including Armenians

TABLE VIII.

TABLE SHOWING THE ADULT ALIEN POPULATION ON THE 1st JULY, 1917 OF THE TEN TOWNS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH A POPULATION OF OVER 300,000 AT THE 1911 CENSUS.

	Austrians	Bulgarians	Germans	Hungarians	Turks	Belgians	French	Italians	Japanese	Montenegrins	Portuguese	Roumanians	Russians	Serbs	Americans (U.S.A.)	Americans (Others)	Chinese	Danes	Dutch	Greeks	Koreans	Spanish	Swedes	Syrians	Egyptians	Other Nationalities	Grand Total	
Birmingham Males	80	1	126	1	9	1767	69	212	0	0	1	11	2693	8	149	27	448	41	132	9	7	20	10	178	13	3	3,877	
Birmingham Females	14	1	66	1	1	1171	86	90	1	1	1	4	448	1	47	1	15	50	50	1	3	9	6	53	1	1	2,060	
Glasgow Males	149	1	144	9	13	1838	69	1083	20	1	2	16	2722	14	242	39	46	118	50	44	88	48	19	23	11	2	5,175	
Glasgow Females	177	1	88	1	1	1638	91	1383	20	1	2	17	2043	1	35	4	17	59	59	44	88	13	24	11	1	1	5,175	
Liverpool Males	84	1	116	1	2	327	134	61	61	1	1	8	1379	6	1733	244	305	211	170	165	444	182	29	30	45	178	11,544	
Liverpool Females	81	1	116	1	1	283	134	61	61	1	1	8	1379	6	1733	244	305	211	170	165	444	182	29	30	45	178	11,544	
Manchester Males	438	8	119	2	201	583	102	388	12	1	22	227	3219	3	116	51	45	48	72	44	13	22	23	155	16	20	5,922	
Manchester Females	476	8	126	2	152	450	124	183	12	1	22	227	3219	3	116	51	45	48	72	44	13	22	23	155	16	20	5,922	
Sheffield Males	70	1	73	1	5	710	35	116	0	1	1	1	323	8	54	4	25	6	48	2	5	1	17	48	1	1	1,504	
Sheffield Females	72	1	73	1	5	613	35	48	0	1	1	1	323	8	54	4	25	6	48	2	5	1	17	48	1	1	1,504	
Leeds Males	53	2	21	10	14	377	18	94	2	1	1	6	2345	14	37	44	13	18	18	2	6	1	17	42	1	1	3,150	
Leeds Females	39	2	21	4	16	317	19	61	2	1	1	6	2345	14	37	44	13	18	18	2	6	1	17	42	1	1	3,150	
Belfast Males	8	1	19	1	1	16	4	176	1	1	1	1	160	1	33	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	10	16	1	1	352	
Belfast Females	8	1	19	1	1	16	4	176	1	1	1	1	160	1	33	1	1	5	5	5	1	1	10	16	1	1	352	
Bristol Males	0	1	16	1	1	205	10	67	4	1	1	2	48	1	45	1	35	9	12	12	15	1	10	3	1	1	474	
Bristol Females	0	1	16	1	1	205	10	67	4	1	1	2	48	1	45	1	35	9	12	12	15	1	10	3	1	1	474	
Bainbridge Males	2	1	35	1	1	51	17	114	3	1	2	1	223	2	40	10	10	17	12	5	12	1	18	18	20	1	1	602
Bainbridge Females	10	1	35	1	1	51	17	114	3	1	2	1	223	2	40	10	10	17	12	5	12	1	18	18	20	1	1	602
Dublin Males	20	1	61	1	1	66	37	78	1	1	1	1	324	1	56	1	1	11	11	11	11	1	9	16	1	1	702	
Dublin Females	10	1	41	1	1	110	42	30	1	1	1	1	256	1	17	1	1	11	11	11	11	1	9	16	1	1	520	

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