



WESSEX BRANCH

Western Front Association

THE DUGOUT

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CHAIRMANS CHAT:

Welcome to ***THE DUGOUT-ISSUE 23!*** As I write one is hopeful that now at last life seems to be slowly returning to some level of normality and that this continues despite the onset of winter and that we may enjoy a happy festive season! Although it has been a while since *Dugout* 22 the time has been spent gathering a variety of articles that we hope you will find both interesting, entertaining and most of all an enjoyable read? Many readers will know that we will have completed our 2021 programme with our December 4th 2021 meeting, to the great pleasure and relief of the trustees. Judy has been kept busy both re-arranging speakers for our November and December 2021 meetings and setting up the branches 2022 programme with much rescheduling of speakers from 2020 and 2021 many of whom have very kindly kept their diaries open for us to re-schedule their talks. Furthermore, Wessex WFA is very fortunate in that unlike many branches we have retained our excellent venue which like us is very pleased to resume 'normal' operations. Speaking of normal operations - *The Dugout* like any publication needs a steady supply of articles – perhaps during the various hassles of the last 18 months you have been researching a aspect of Great War history, or the part an ancestor played in the conflict or even read a book that warrants a review, now is the time to write it up and please send to Sandra at sandra.twyford@btinternet.com , for future issues of *The Dugout*. All that remains is on behalf of the trustees to wish you all a Merry Christmas and Best Wishes for the New Year.

Martin Willoughby

Wessex WFA Chairman

BRITISH ARMY CAP BADGES: CAVALRY & YEOMANRY:



The Dorsetshire Yeomanry (Queen's Own)

The Dorset Yeomanry was first raised on 9 May 1794 as the Dorsetshire Regiment of Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry of six troops. In 1796, it became the Dorsetshire Rangers and now consisted of ten troops. In 1802, it was disbanded as a result of the Treaty of Amiens and the consequent peace. With the ending of the Peace of Amiens in 1803, the regiment was re-raised as the *Dorsetshire Regiment of Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry*, consisting of seven troops. In 1814, it was once again disbanded.

The next, and longest lived, incarnation came in 1830 when the *Dorsetshire Regiment of Volunteer Yeomanry Cavalry* was reformed from troops at Wimborne, Blandford, Isle of Purbeck, Wareham and Charborough. In 1833 it gained royal patronage as *The Princess Victoria's Regiment of Dorset Yeomanry Cavalry* and in June 1843 became the *Queen's Own Regiment of Dorset Yeomanry Cavalry*. At some point thereafter it was renamed as the *Dorset Yeomanry (Queen's Own)* with headquarters at Dorchester. On 1 April 1893, the troops were reorganised into squadrons, and the headquarters moved to Weymouth.

Second Boer War

On 13 December 1899, the decision to allow volunteer forces to serve in the Second Boer War was made. Due to the string of defeats during Black Week in December 1899, the British government realized they were going to need more troops than just the regular army, thus issuing a Royal Warrant on 24 December 1899. This warrant officially created the Imperial Yeomanry. The Royal Warrant asked standing Yeomanry regiments to provide service companies of approximately 115 men each. In addition to this, many British citizens (usually mid-upper class) volunteered to join the new regiment. The Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry fought at the Battles of Doornkop, Diamond Hill, Nooitgedacht and the capture of Pretoria.

17 April 1901, the regiment was renamed as the *Dorsetshire Imperial Yeomanry (Queen's Own)* and reorganised in four squadrons and a machine gun section. In 1902, the headquarters moved to Sherborne. On 1 April 1908, the regiment was renamed for the final time as the *Dorset Yeomanry (Queen's Own)* and transferred to the Territorial Force, trained and equipped as hussars. The regiment was based at Priestlands Crescent (since demolished) in Sherborne.

First World War

The TF was intended to be a home defence force for service during wartime and members could not be compelled to serve outside the country. However, on the outbreak of war on 4 August 1914, many members volunteered for Imperial Service. Therefore, TF units were split in August and September 1914 into 1st Line (liable for overseas service) and 2nd Line (home

service for those unable or unwilling to serve overseas) units. Later, a 3rd Line was formed to act as a reserve, providing trained replacements for the 1st and 2nd Line regiments.

1/1st Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry

The 1st Line regiment was mobilised in August 1914 and attached to the 1st South Western Mounted Brigade. In September 1914, It was transferred to the 2nd South Midland Mounted Brigade, 2nd Mounted Division. In 1915, it was deployed overseas to Egypt, then onwards to participate in the Dardanelles campaign, where it served as dismounted troops and was involved in the Battles of Sari Bair and Scimitar Hill. After the evacuation of Gallipoli, it returned to Egypt in January 1916 and became part of the 6th Mounted Brigade, an independent brigade that was involved in the action of Agagia in February 1916. At this battle, the retreating Senussi tribesmen were attacked by the Dorset Yeomanry with drawn swords across open ground. Under heavy fire, the Yeomanry lost half their horses, and about a third of their men and officers were casualties (58 of the 184 who took part). Colonel Soutar, leading the regiment in this charge, had his horse shot from under him and was knocked unconscious. When he came to, he found himself alone amongst a group of the enemy. He drew his revolver, shot several, and took the Turkish leader Jaffir Pasha prisoner. In February 1917, 6th Mounted Brigade joined the Imperial Mounted Division and took part in the First and Second Battles of Gaza. I, June 1917, it was transferred to the Yeomanry Mounted Division for the Third Battle of Gaza and the Battle of Beersheba. The regiment remained in Palestine until the end of the war

Second World War

94th (Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry) Field Regiment, RA served in the Home Forces for most of the war, taking part in the North West Europe Campaign from June 1944. At the outbreak of the war, 94th Field Regiment was part of 43rd (Wessex) Infantry Division. Initially commanding two batteries – 218 (Bournemouth) at Bournemouth and 224 (Dorset) Battery at Dorchester – the third battery (468) was formed in the regiment on 27 February 1941. It remained in the United Kingdom until June 1944, when it was deployed to France, still with the 43rd (Wessex) Infantry Division remaining with it until the end of the war.

141st (Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry) Field Regiment served in the Home Forces throughout the war. At the outbreak of the war, 141st Field Regiment was also part of 43rd (Wessex) Infantry Division. Initially commanding two batteries – 375 (Dorset Yeomanry) at Shaftesbury and 376 (Dorset Yeomanry) at Sherborne – the third battery (505) was formed on 27 February 1941. It was authorised to use the "Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry" designation from 17 February 1942. It transferred to the 9th Armoured Division in June 1942, 55th Infantry Division in August 1944 and finally to 61st Infantry Division in June 1945.

Post War

In 1947, the Regiment was reformed in the Territorial Army as two artillery regiments, 294th (Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry) Field Regiment RA and 341st (Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry) Medium Regiment RA. On 1 July 1950, the two regiments were amalgamated as the 294th. In 1961, the regiment merged with the 255th (West Somerset Yeomanry and Dorset Garrison) Medium Regiment RA, forming the 250th (Queen's Own Dorset and West Somerset Yeomanry) Medium Regiment RA – the Dorsets' title was passed to P Battery. In February 1967, the new

regiment was disbanded and some of its personnel used to form two infantry companies. The final parade was held on Sunday, 26 February 1967.

Dorset Yeomanry

In 1997, an Armoured Replacement Regiment was formed at Bovington and called 'The Dorset Yeomanry'. This new regiment did not inherit the lineage and battle honours of the Queen's Own Dorset Yeomanry. In 1999, this regiment was reduced to a single squadron, which became "A" (Dorset Yeomanry) Squadron of the Royal Wessex Yeomanry. The other squadrons of this regiment are formed from Royal Wiltshire Yeomanry, Royal Gloucester Hussars and the Royal Devon Yeomanry, old yeomanry regiments that had been reduced to the strength of one squadron.



Sources:

- *The Keep Military Museum; www.keepmilitarymuseum.org*
- *Wikipedia QODY: www.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen%27s_Own_Dorset_Yeomanry*
- *British Army Cap Badges of the First World War. Peter Doyle and Chris Foster*

MARTIN WILLOUGHBY

INFANTRY:



The London Regiment (Territorial Force)

With many Regular troops deployed abroad during the 1790s, the threat of invasion from France and perceived inadequacies of the existing Militia system prompted interest in raising volunteer formations for home defence. When Napoleon concentrated 150,000 men at Boulogne for an invasion of Britain in 1804, Parliament passed the Volunteer Act raising of large numbers of non-regular infantry and cavalry (Yeomanry). Following Waterloo in 1815, many Yeomanry units were retained as an aid to the authorities in times of political and industrial unrest, but the volunteer infantry formations were stood down. A few groups continued as shooting clubs. They received no Government assistance, but often trained on military lines.

The Volunteer Force

The modern history of the territorial infantry dates from 1859. With half of the British Army scattered around the Empire on garrison duty, the Crimean War made it apparent that there were insufficient forces available to respond to an additional emergency without reducing the

defences of the British Isles'. Militia infantry and yeomanry had been deployed to the Crimea to make up the shortfall of regular troops. The situation was complicated by the fact that these auxiliary forces were controlled by the Home Office until 1855. Towards the end of the decade tensions arose between Britain and France. Britain's military defences were stretched invitingly thin and vulnerable to invasion by the much larger French Army. It was against this background that a great wave of patriotic enthusiasm swept through the country and rifle clubs and Volunteers sprang up almost everywhere.

To harness this movement Lord Lieutenants of Counties were instructed to submit plans for the formation of volunteer corps in their area in May 1859. A total of 21 corps were formed in Worcestershire alone. One of my paternal great-great-grandfathers, James Gower, was a sergeant in the 20th Worcestershire Rifle Volunteer Corps based in Kidderminster. Each local corps was independent and usually officered by local employers or landowners – in Kidderminster the carpet manufacturers. They had to provide their own arms and equipment and were to defray all costs except when assembled for actual service. They were also allowed to design their own uniforms, subject to the lord lieutenant's approval. Each corps was supported by a local fund-raising committee. Similar arrangements applied in Greater London where numerous Rifle Volunteer Corps [RVC] were formed in the geographical counties that covered the area (Middlesex, Kent and Surrey) – e.g. 40th Middlesex RVC. Those formed within the City of London identified with that location viz. 3rd London RVC. To achieve some measure of uniformity of standards, the corps were soon grouped into Administrative Battalions – two covered the Worcestershire County area.

In 1872 jurisdiction over the volunteers was placed under the War Office, and they were increasingly integrated with the Regular Army. Under the Childers Reforms of 1881 the rifle volunteer corps Administrative Battalions became volunteer battalions of the new "county" infantry regiments. Those within the City of London were linked to the Royal Fusiliers, the Kings Royal Rifle Corps [KRRC] or the Rifle Brigade. By 1907 there were 221 battalions of volunteer infantry. Each regular infantry regiment in England, Scotland and Wales had a number of volunteer battalions ranging from only one for the Dorsets to eleven for the Kings Royal Rifle Corps. In addition there were almost 200 cadet formations training boys for possible enrolment in the Volunteer Force when they came of age.

The Territorial Force

Under the reforms introduced by Richard Haldane in 1907, existing Yeomanry and Volunteer Forces were to be combined under a new organization to be known as the Territorial Force. The Territorial and Reserve Forces Bill provided for an establishment of 14 Infantry Divisions, each comprising three brigades of four battalions, with Territorial Force [TF] artillery, engineers and medical units. Transfer to the new arrangements was fairly straightforward for infantrymen. The vast majority of battalions continued service under a new designation with the regiment to which they were previously attached. For most regiments the regulars would usually be the 1st and 2nd Battalions, followed by the Militia (now Special Reserve) as 3rd, and then the TF battalions as 4th et seq. Five new regiments were established consisting entirely of

territorial troops. Four of these were the Cambridgeshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, and Monmouthshire Regiments. The Territorial Force came into existence on 1st April 1908.

Formation of the London Regiment

The fifth new all-territorial infantry formation was the London Regiment. The Royal Fusiliers had been formally recognized as “The City of London Regiment” in 1881, but at that time the large area outside of the “Square Mile” was divided administratively into the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent and Essex. Several pre-1908 London volunteer battalions had the respective county regiment as their parent formation. Others had links with the Kings Royal Rifle Corps [KRRRC] and the Rifle Brigade. Many sent active service contingents to the Second Boer War. Local government reform in the 1880s saw the creation of the London County Council to administer the Greater London area beyond the city boundary. The new structure provided an identity for creating a “county regiment” for the Nation’s capital. The London Regiment was the largest peacetime infantry formation in the British Army. Under the Haldane Plan it was proposed that it should have an establishment of 28 battalions, but only 26 were actually formed prior to 1914. The first eight battalions were administered by the City of London Territorial Force Association and the remainder by the London County Territorial Force Association, reflecting the separate identities of the “City” and “County” of London.

The Twenty-Six Battalions

The first three battalions had all been raised as Middlesex Rifle Volunteer Corps [RVC]: the 19th (formed 1859 at Bloomsbury Working Men’s College by Thomas Hughes, the author of *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*); 46th (formed 1861); and the 20th (formed in 1859 at Euston from London & North Western Railway workers). The fourth was raised in 1859 as 2nd Tower Hamlets RVC (later renumbered 1st). After various mergers / renumbering, all four became volunteer battalions of the Royal Fusiliers and wore the cap badge of that regular regiment. In 1908 they became 1st / 4th (*City of London*) *Battalions (Royal Fusiliers)*.



The predecessors of the 5th (*City of London*) *Battalion* were the 1st London RVC formed in 1859. Their badge included the Royal Coat of Arms and they were known as the *London Rifle Brigade*.

The 6th (*City of London*) *Battalion (City of London Rifles)* were formed as 2nd London RVC and nicknamed “The Cast Iron Sixth”. They wore a KRRRC style Maltese cross with the London motto “*Domine dirige nos*” – Lord direct us.

A simple brass grenade badge with a white metal numeral ‘7’ was the badge of the 7th (*City of London*) *Battalion*. Nicknamed the “Shiny Seventh” they had no other formal title. Their forebears were formed in 1861 as 3rd London RVC. They wore a brass grenade badge with a ‘3’ and were affiliated to the KRRRC.



In 1882 GPO workers in 24th Middlesex RVC served in Egypt with the Royal Engineers Cable and Telegraph Corps. Their unit was awarded a unique battle

honour for a territorial formation - 'Egypt 1882'. In 1908 the unit became *8th (City of London) Battalion (Post Office Rifles)*. They wore a white metal Rifle Brigade pattern cap badge.

A black KRRC style badge was worn by *9th (County of London) Battalion (Queen Victoria's)*. They traced their history back to the formation of the Duke of Cumberland's Sharpshooters in 1803. When volunteer infantry units were disbanded after the Napoleonic War, they continued as the Royal Victoria Rifle Club. In 1859 they became the 1st Middlesex RVC. They amalgamated with 11th Middlesex (St George's) RVC (founded in 1860) as 1st Middlesex (Victoria & St George's) RVC in 1892. In 1908 they merged with 19th Middlesex RVC (founded in Bloomsbury in 1860) to create the TF battalion.



The 36th Middlesex RVC was raised at Paddington in 1860. Renumbered as the 18th in 1880, they formed a Rifle Brigade Volunteer Battalion (VB) the following year. In 1908 they became *10th (County of London) Battalion (Paddington Rifles)* with a badge based on the borough coat of arms. Recruitment problems led to the battalion's disbandment in 1912, but it was then re-raised as the "*Hackney Rifles*". Their badge displayed a tower from the arms of Hackney. The unit earned a redoubtable reputation in the First World War and was nicknamed "*The Hackney Gurkhas*" – which did not surprise those who knew their London!

Another unit with a KRRC style badge was *11th (County of London) Battalion (Finsbury Rifles)*. They traced their history back to 1860 and 39th Middlesex RVC, which was renumbered the 21st in 1880. After initially becoming a Rifle Brigade VB, they transferred to the KRRC in 1883. Their badge displayed the motto '*Pro Aris et Focis*' (For hearth and home) on the four arms of the cross.

The Rangers, the *12th (County of London) Battalion* also had a Maltese cross badge, "*The Rangers*" appearing on a scroll at the bottom. The badge included the motto '*Excel*' – a play on the unit's origins in 1860 as 40th Middlesex Rifle Volunteers; XL was the Roman numeral 40.

The *13th (County of London) Battalion (Kensington)* was first raised as 4th Middlesex RVC in 1859. They wore an eight pointed brass star cap badge showing the Kensington coat of arms. In 1914 they were granted the right to include *Princess Louise's* in their name.

Perhaps one of the best known units was *14th (County of London) Battalion (London Scottish)*. Formed in 1859 as 15th Middlesex (London Scottish) RVC, they later became a Rifle Brigade VB. They wore a Glengarry with a white metal badge of a Scottish lion with saltire and the motto '*Strike Sure*'.



The history of *15th (County of London) Battalion (Prince of Wales' Own Civil Service Rifles)* dates to 1798 when they were founded as the Bank of England Volunteers. In 1860 several Government offices formed volunteer rifle corps and they were merged as 21st Middlesex (Civil Service) RVC. They were granted the title Prince of Wales' Own in 1898.



The 22nd Middlesex RVC were formed around the same time as 21st and renumbered 13th in 1880 (the 21st were renumbered 12th). In 1908 they became 16th (*County of London*) *Battalion (Queen's Westminster Rifles)* and wore a KRRC style Maltese cross with a portcullis from the City of Westminster Arms.

In 1880 the 2nd Tower Hamlets RVC was formed by the amalgamation of several independent rifle companies that had been operating in the area since 1859.

Also formed in 1859 was 15th Middlesex RVC recruited from customs officers and workers at St Catherine's and other London docks. They became 17th (*County of London*) *Battalion (Poplar & Stepney Rifles)* in 1908 and wore a Rifle Brigade style badge.

The 18th (*County of London*) *Battalion (London Irish Rifles)* began life in 1859 as 28th Middlesex RVC. Raised from Irishmen living in the London area, early membership included two marquises, two earls, Lord Palmerston (who joined as a private) and W.H. Russell of The Times. Renumbered as 16th in 1880, they became a Rifle Brigade VB in 1881. Like many volunteer battalions, they sent a contingent to South Africa during the Boer War. Their badge was a black Harp of Erin.

The 29th Middlesex RVC was founded at St Pancras in 1860. Renumbered 17th in 1880, they became a Middlesex Regiment VB in 1881. They formed 19th (*County of London*) *Battalion (St Pancras)* in 1908. Their Rifle Brigade style badge had a central motif 'XIX' – the Roman '19'.

Several RVC from the West Kent area were grouped as 1st Administrative Battalion, Kent Rifle Volunteers in 1860. They were consolidated as 3rd Kent (West Kent) RVC in 1880 with their HQ at Blackheath. Two other Kent voluntary units, 26th (raised from Woolwich Arsenal personnel) and 4th, raised 1859-60, were amalgamated as 4th Kent RVC also in 1880. In 1883 the RVCs became 2nd and 3rd VBs of the Royal West Kent Regiment [RWKR]. In 1908 they merged as 20th (*County of London*) *Battalion (Blackheath & Woolwich)*. The battalion adopted the RWKR badge of the white horse and 'Invicta' ("Unconquered") motto with a scroll '20th London Regiment' added.



The 1st Surrey (South London) RVC was formed at Camberwell in 1859 but traced their history back to 1803. They became a VB of the East Surrey Regiment in 1881 and transferred to the TF in 1908 as 21st (*County of London*) *Battalion (First Surrey Rifles)*. Their badge was a small Maltese cross surmounted by a crown and the motto 'Concordia victrix' ("Unity is victorious"), with a title scroll at the bottom.



The 23rd (*County of London*) *Battalion* also arrived in the TF as a former VB of the East Surrey Regiment. Their predecessors were 7th and 26th Surrey RVC formed at Southwark in 1859 and Clapham in 1875 respectively. Their badge was based on the regular regiment's eight-pointed star with the Arms of Guildford.

The 22nd and 24th (*County of London*) *Battalions* were former VBs of the Queens Own (Royal West Surrey Regiment). The former originated from 10th Surrey RVC formed at Bermondsey in 1860, and 23rd Surrey RVC formed at Rotherhithe in 1861, amalgamated as 6th Surrey RVC in 1881. The 24th Bn was raised at Lambeth in 1860 as 19th Surrey RVC, renumbered 8th in 1880. Both battalions wore the regular regiment's "lamb and flag" badge and added "The Queens" to their title.

Britain's first all-cyclist battalion was the 26th Middlesex (Cyclist) RVC formed in 1888. They became a VB of the Rifle Brigade and were included in the London Regiment in 1908 as 25th (*County of London*) (*Cyclist*) *Battalion*. F Company was composed entirely of staff from Harrods Knightsbridge store. Their badge was a bicycle wheel within a wreath with the number '25' in the centre. The unit motto, '*Tenax et audax*' ("Tenacious and bold") appeared at the bottom.

Under the 1908 plan, the Honourable Artillery Company [HAC] and the Inns of Court RVC were earmarked to become the 26th and 27th Battalions of the London Regiment. Not surprisingly units with histories dating back to 1537 (HAC) and 1584 respectively were not impressed and successfully campaigned to retain separate identities outside the London Regiment. The Inns of Court unit became an Officer Training Corps [OTC]. The HAC is the oldest regiment in the British Army, the second most senior unit of the Army Reserve.



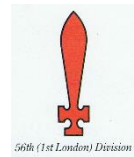
The final peacetime formed battalion was 28th (*County of London*) *Battalion* (*Artists Rifles*). Their origins dated back to 38th Middlesex RVC formed in 1860 with a membership of painters, sculptors, musicians, architects, actors and other "artistic" professions. They were renumbered as 20th in 1880. Their badge was designed by an original member, W.C. Wyon, a Queen's Medallist and Engraver to the Signet. It linked the heads of Mars, God of War, and Minerva, Goddess of the Arts with a title scroll, originally simply "Artists" but later "Artists Rifles". A soldiers' rhyme records -

*"Mars, he was the God of War
And didn't stop at trifles.
Minerva was a bloody whore,
So hence the Artists Rifles"*

The London Regiment Goes to War

The whole of the Territorial Force [TF] mobilized on the outbreak of war in August 1914. Expansion to 2nd Line (and later 3rd and 4th) battalions was approved, but Kitchener ordered that recruitment and equipment for an increased TF was to be given a lower priority than the creation of the New Armies. Haldane had intended TF soldiers to be available for foreign service, but as part of the negotiations to secure Parliamentary approval, the TF was designated primarily as a home defence force. Individual TF soldiers could opt for "Imperial Service" on enlistment, and a high proportion of men did so. In 1914 those who had not already agreed to serve overseas were asked to reconsider and with the result that over 90% of TF soldiers were

available for deployment abroad. Part of the thinking behind the creation of the 2nd Line was to provide a holding slot for those who would only serve in the UK.



56th (1st London) Division

Under Haldane's plan the 14 TF divisions were given a geographical designation rather than a number - e.g. Home Counties, Wessex, and Highland etc. The London Regiment's pre-war strength of 26 battalions was sufficient to establish two infantry divisions and 24 of these were grouped into the 1st and 2nd London Divisions comprising the 1st to 12th and 13th to 24th Battalions respectively. The formation of 2nd Line battalions facilitated the creation of two more London Divisions – 2nd/1st and 2nd/2nd – mirroring the first two with 2nd/1st to 2nd/12th and 2nd/13th to 2nd/24th Battalions earmarked as the constituent units. The exigencies of war, casualties, manpower shortages, and some amalgamations all contributed to none of the four Divisions taking the field as originally structured. Several London Battalions served in non-London Divisions.

The first departure from the structure took place as early as September 1914 when the 1st to 4th Battalions – the entire 1st London Brigade from the 1st London Division - were sent to Malta to relieve Regular troops for service in France. There was also a period of emergency on the Western Front in late 1914/early 1915 when individual TF battalions had to be sent out to support BEF Regular Divisions. Six were London battalions (three from each of the 1st and 2nd London Divisions). This led in October 1914 to 14th London Bn (London Scottish) becoming the first TF infantry battalion to see combat on the Western Front. Most of these early deployments of London battalions were temporary, but they impacted on the preparation of their parent divisions for overseas service. The priority given to Kitchener's New Armies Divisions meant that when then time came for TF Divisions to be allocated numbers the first slot available was 42. TF Divisions were numbered in sequence as they went abroad. The 42nd (East Lancashire) Division went to Egypt, and the 43rd (Wessex), 44th (Home Counties) and 45th (2nd Wessex) went to India. The 46th (North Midland) Division was the first TF Division to move to the Western Front in February 1915.



47th (2nd London) Division

The piecemeal use of its battalions in 1914 meant that the 1st London Division was not fully reassembled until 1916. Thus the 2nd London Division went to France as 47th (2nd London) Division before the 1st London Division. The 47th Division landed in France in March 1915 and served on the Western Front throughout the war. It fought at Aubers Ridge, Festubert and Loos in 1915, on the Somme in 1916 (capturing High Wood on 15th September), and in most of the battles of 1917 and 1918, culminating in the triumphal entry into Lille on 28th October 1918. There is a memorial to the 47th Division at High Wood. Although the 1st London Division was regarded as the senior of the original two London Divisions, the use of some battalions as overseas garrisons and BEF reinforcements on the Western Front in 1914-15, meant it ended up as the last of the pre-war TF Divisions to be concentrated abroad. It arrived in France in February 1916 as 56th (1st London) Division. Only seven of the Division's original constituent battalions were now available, but the replacements for the missing formations all came from London. The attached pioneer battalion however were 1st/5th Cheshire Regiment from the pre-war Welsh Division.

The 56th Division saw its first major action at Gommecourt on 1st July 1916. They saw further action in the later stages of the Somme campaign. In 1917 they fought at Arras, Third Ypres and Cambrai, and took part in most of the 1918 battles.



58th (London) Division

The 2nd/1st London Division was the Second Line of the pre-war 1st London Division. One brigade comprising the 2nd/1st to 2nd/4th Battalions was sent to Malta to replace their First Line equivalent battalions. In 1915 these battalions were sent to Gallipoli and attached to various divisions there. Evacuated in 1916 in a much weakened state, they were disbanded. Their place was taken by the equivalent Third Line battalions (3rd/1st to 3rd/4th), probably the only Third Line TF battalions to see active service. *The 58th (2nd/1st London) Division* crossed to France in January 1917. They fought at Bullecourt in May and saw extensive action in Third Ypres. In March 1918 the Division was deployed at the extreme southern end of the British Armies. Separated from the main BEF by the Kaiserschlacht, the Division operated under French command for two weeks before re-joining the BEF. They took part in the Battle of Amiens in August 1918 capturing the village of Chipilly (where a Divisional Memorial was erected post-war) and saw further action in the Hundred Days campaign.



60th (London) Division

Second Line battalions of the pre-war 2nd London Division were grouped as 2nd/2nd London Division. The early and isolated deployment of more senior London Regiment battalions impacted on the composition of this Division too. The constituent battalions which eventually took the field were not all “sister” battalions of original 1st/2nd Division units. Nevertheless all the 2nd/2nd Division’s infantry all came from the London Regiment with the exception of the pioneer battalion – 1st/12th Loyal North Lancashires. *The 60th (2nd/2nd London) Division* crossed to France in June 1916 but was only used for trench-holding in various sectors before transferring to Salonika towards the end of the year. They saw action in the Balkans in April and May 1917 but moved to Egypt in June to prepare for the Palestine Campaign, including the capture of Jerusalem in December. In mid-1918 the Division was “Indianized”. Seven London battalions were moved to France and two disbanded. All nine were replaced by Indian Army battalions; only 2nd/13th, 2nd/19th and 2nd/22nd preserved the “London” element of the Division to the end of the war.

The First Line 25th (County of London) (Cyclist) Battalion started the war stationed on the East Coast. Converted to a conventional infantry role in 1915, they moved to India in 1916 and remained there for the rest of the war. The 2nd/25th were retained in Home Defence from 1914 to 1918.

The Artists Rifles (1st/28th) served in an officer training role in France, from 1914, later absorbing 2nd/28th. Some 10,256 officers were commissioned after training with the Artists Rifles. In 1917 1st/28th joined 63rd (Royal Naval) Division in a combat role.

For the London Regiment the Third Line expansion produced a further 26 battalions. Four Fourth Line battalions were also raised (4th/1st to 4th/4th). Most of the Third Line and all the

Fourth remained in the UK throughout the war in reserve or training roles, feeding recruits to active service battalions.

During the war a further six “new” battalions were established (29th to 34th) as training formations although two, 33rd and 34th, both saw active service with 41st Division in 1918. In total no less than 88 battalions appeared under the umbrella of the London Regiment and 55 saw active service on the Western Front, in Italy, Salonika, Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine and India. Their total fatal casualties were 29,074 – 528 for each active service battalion.

The Honourable Artillery Company & Inns of Court OTC

Although not part of the London Regiment these units were volunteer formations based in the capital and their wartime activities are of some interest.



In 1914 the Honourable Artillery Company [HAC] comprised two batteries of horse artillery and four infantry companies. The artillery branch wore the Royal Artillery field gun style badge with “HAC” on a tablet above the gun and beneath a scroll with the motto “*Arma Pacis Fucra*” – Arms the Mainstay of Peace. The infantry branch badge was a brass grenade similar to the Grenadier Guards (the HAC dress uniform was based on the Grenadiers) with the monogram “HAC”.

The 1st/1st HAC crossed to France in September 1914 and served with various divisions on the Western Front. In 1918 they reverted to GHQ control. The 2nd/1st HAC arrived in France in October 1916 and fought as part of the 7th Division, transferring to the Italian Front in November 1917. Both battalions were looked upon as a good source of potential officers. Of 13,000 men who served with HAC during the war, 4,000 were subsequently commissioned in other units. The 3rd/1st was formed as a reserve battalion.



The Inns of Court Regiment took on an officer training role from 1909, initially focusing on the Special Reserve and TF. During the First World War over just under 12,000 men were commissioned from the Inns of Court OTC. The unit’s badge was a laurel wreath surrounding four shields bearing the insignia of the four Inns of Court.

V.C. Recipients

During the First World War, nine VCs were awarded to men serving with the London Regiment. A further two went to officers in the HAC. All survived their medal action; notable because more than 25% of the war’s VCs were posthumous. One died of wounds received in a later action, the other ten survived the war. Four were won in Palestine, the other five (including the two HAC) on the Western Front.

In alphabetical order the eleven were:

- L/Sgt Douglas BELCHER (1st/5th Bn) 13/05/1915 at Wieltje-St Julien Road, Ypres – died 1953.
- Lt.Col Arthur ‘Bosky’ BORTON (2nd/22nd) 7/11/1917 at Sheria, Palestine – died 1933.
- L/Cpl John CHRISTIE (1st/11th) 21-2/12/1917 at Fejja, Palestine – died 1967.
- Pte Robert CRUIKSHANK (2nd/14th L. Scottish) 1/05/1918 at Jordan, Palestine – died 1961.
- 2/Lt Reginald HAINE (1 HAC) 28-9/4/1917 at Gavrelle, France (same action as Alfred Pollard below) – died 1982.
- Pte Jack HARVEY (1st/22nd) 2/09/1918 at Clery, Peronne – died 1940.
- L/Cpl Leonard KEYWORTH (1st/24th) 25-6/05/1915 at Givenchy, France – died 10/10/1915 of wounds received after his VC action.
- Sgt Alfred KNIGHT (2nd/8th Post Office Rifles) 20/09/1917 at Hubner Farm, Ypres – died 1960.
- 2/Lt Alfred POLLARD (1 HAC) 29/04/1917 at Gavrelle, France – died 1960.
- Cpl Charles TRAIN (2nd/14th L. Scottish) 8/12/1917 at Ein Kerim, Palestine – died 1965.
- 2/Lt Geoffrey WOOLLEY (QVR) 20-1/04/1915 at Hill 60, Ypres – first TF officer to be awarded VC, died 1968.

The Break-up of the London Regiment

During the war, many of the London battalions formally linked back to their original VB parent regiments whilst retaining their London Regiment number and title. Perceived changes in military requirements and the inevitable post-war retrenchment in expenditure impacted on the units. Mergers took place in 1920s: e.g. the 7th and 8th Battalions amalgamated using the number of the first and the name (Post Office Rifles) of the second; the 15th and 16th merged as 16th London (Queen’s Westminster & Civil Service Rifles). The 25th converted to a Royal Corps of Signals unit with 47th Division. All surviving London battalions were given regimental status: e.g. 1st City of London Regiment (Royal Fusiliers). During the 1930s, many of the “regiments” were converted to anti-aircraft units of the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers. One (23rd) took on an armoured role as 40th Bn. Royal Tank Regiment and fought in the Western Desert in the Second World War.

The London Regiment was formally broken up in 1937 with surviving infantry units becoming Territorial Battalions of linked regular regiments – whilst their integration with the Royal Fusiliers, KRRC, Rifle Brigade and, Middlesex, West Kent, East Surrey and West Surrey Regiments might be obvious, perhaps the Berkshire Regiment (for 10th Hackney), Gordon Highlanders (London Scottish) and Royal Ulster Rifles (London Irish) may not seem so! Many of the infantry battalions spawned Second and even Third Line units at the outbreak of war in 1939 seeing worldwide service. Post war the process of disbandment and conversions resumed but several of today’s volunteer formations are still proud of their origins with to The London Regiment.

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ROD ARNOLD

A BRITISH “PRIVATE RYAN”? FREDERICK DANCOCKS VC

Six years ago, on a visit to my native Birmingham, I met up with a former work colleague. She knew of my interest in the First World War, asked if I could add anything to what she knew about her grandfather Ernest Yarrow, who died during the Third Battle of Ypres. She had his medals and a letter stating that he had been reported missing “after an operation on 9th October 1917” – the date of death recorded by the CWGC - and knew that he is commemorated on the Tyne Cot Memorial. Private 33505 Ernest Yarrow was serving with 4th Battalion Worcestershire Regiment [4WORCS] at the time of his death. He was aged 39 and a married man with one son (two daughters died as infants before 1914). In 1911 Ernest was a “salesman in fine arts and business materials in a large business house”. The 4WORCS was a pre-war unit of the Regular Army but as the war progressed it would have included Kitchener volunteers and conscripts. Ernest Yarrow did not receive either the 1914 Star or the 1914-15 Star. This suggests that he was probably conscripted anytime from 1916 onwards. Given this assumption it was not a difficult task to research the activities of 4WORCS from 1916 through to the date of Ernest’s death – 9th October 1917. The battalion was part of 88 Brigade/29th Division from 1915 until 1918. On 9th October 1917 88th Brigade took part in the Battle of Poelcappelle. Chris McCarthy’s *“Passchendaele Day by Day”* records:

“88 Brigade attacked with the 4th Worcesters and met strong opposition from pillboxes along the railway embankment. These were dealt with. The Royal Newfoundland Regiment, in support, had become intermixed with the Worcesters and both units arrived at the first objective, Namur Crossing (where a road ran under the railway embankment). The consolidating men came under fire from a blockhouse in front of their position which had not been cleared, but before mortars could be brought up it was single-handedly captured. (Private

Frederick George Dancox - correct spelling Dancocks - of 4th Worcs was awarded the VC for capturing the blockhouse).

On the way to the second objective a blockhouse 300 yards to the front, near the railway and Pascal Farm, caused some casualties but was dealt with by trench mortar fire. By 9 a.m. the second objective had been taken. The Newfoundlanders passed through and went on to take Cairo House and the line of the third objective."

The 4WORCS casualties were 134 killed or wounded and 40 missing. I thought that some research into Dancocks' life and VC exploit might give my former colleague a further insight into the action which cost her grandfather his life.

Dancocks survived his award-winning action, but by the time it appeared in the London Gazette on 26th November 1917, his unit was involved in the Battle of Cambrai. It was in following this line of enquiry that I learned that his death formed part of a tragic story that one author has described as the equivalent of a "British Private Ryan".



Frederick George Dancocks came from a large family of labourers who lived in the poorer parts of Worcester City. His father died around 1880, just a few years after Fred was born. His widowed mother then married William Whittle who already had two sons from his first marriage. The couple then had children of their own. It appears that Fred set up home with Ellen Pritchard from when he was about 18. They had at least five children born between 1902 and 1915, one of whom died in infancy. In 1911 the family was living in Church Square in the All Hallows district of Worcester. Fred was employed as a hay-baler for a straw dealer which may have been a seasonal occupation.



When war broke out, he enlisted into the Worcestershire Regiment. Fred's surname was mistakenly recorded as "Dancox" at the time and this error was perpetuated through his army records and beyond. Whilst under training at Norton Barracks outside Worcester he married Ellen at Pershore on 8th March 1915. This gave her and their children access to the benefits, such as they were, of a serving soldier's dependent family. Frederick was posted to the 4th Battalion

Worcestershire Regiment [4WORCS] after his initial training. The battalion had landed at Gallipoli on 25th April 1915 as part of 88th Brigade / 29th Division, a Regular Army division. He joined the 4th Battalion in Gallipoli on the 19th September 1915.

After the Gallipoli campaign the 29th Division proceeded via Egypt to France, arriving in Marseilles in March 1916. The Division took part in the disastrous attack at Beaumont Hamel on the First Day of the Somme, but the 4WORCS were in support and not committed. The Division was moved to the Ypres sector for a time but returned to the Somme where the 88th

Brigade was attached to 12th Division, taking part in the Battle of the Transloy Ridges in October 1916. The 4WORCS were back with 29th Division by the time of the Battle of Arras in April 1917 seeing action at Monchy.

When Third Ypres began in the summer of 1917, Frederick was a veteran in his late 30s (some sources suggest early 40s) and something of a character known by the nickname "Dando". He was the Sanitary Orderly in HQ Company. The 29th Division were involved in the Battle of Langemarck in August. The 4WORCS taking part in an advance to the Kortebeck stream. They were the lead assault battalion for 88th Brigade at Poelcappelle on 9th October. Another writer reported the beginning of the attack as follows:

"Just as the first light of the October day (9th) showed through the rain the British guns opened the battle, and the two leading companies of the 4th Worcestershire advanced. Led by Captain H. L. Grogan and Lieut. C. W. Morton, both of whom set splendid examples of bravery. Lieut. Morton was wounded in the advance but refused to leave his company until the objective had been secured. Both officers were awarded the M.C. They reached the stream; and before the one available bridge could be got forward it was found that two of the enemy's foot-bridges were still intact. Some of the attackers crossed by those bridges, but most splashed their way across through the stream and through the muddy shell-holes on its banks. Germans, many more than had been expected, were found in the shell-holes near the stream; they were killed or captured and the attack pushed forward."

Dancocks' VC citation reads:



"For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty in an attack. After the first objective had been captured and consolidation had been started, work was considerably hampered, and numerous casualties were caused by an enemy machine gun firing from a concrete emplacement situated on the edge of our protective barrage. Pte. Dancox was one of a party of about ten men detailed as moppers-up. Owing to the position of the machine-gun emplacement, it was extremely difficult to work round a flank. However, this man with great gallantry worked his way round through the barrage and entered the 'pill box' from the rear, threatening the garrison

with a Mills bomb. Shortly afterwards he reappeared with a machine gun under his arm, followed by about 40 enemy.

The machine gun was brought back to our position by Pte. Dancox, and he kept it in action throughout the day.

By his resolution, absolute disregard of danger and cheerful disposition, the morale of his comrades was maintained at a very high standard under extremely trying circumstances."

In November 1917 the 29th Division took part in the Battle of Cambrai. They were in reserve when the battle opened on 20th November, but with the early successes they were brought forward towards the St. Quentin Canal where it was hoped to secure bridgeheads. The 4WORCS and 1ESSEX reached the canal at Masnières. They watched as the tank "Flying Fox" attempted to cross the canal using a damaged bridge. The bridge collapsed: the crossing was blocked.



The 29th Division was still in positions around Masnières on 30th November when the Germans unexpectedly began a counteroffensive. One German combat group drove back the 20th Division and threatened to outflank the 29th Division's 86th and 87th Brigades in Masnières. The 88th Brigade, including 4WORCS were in support at Marcoing and took part in a successful counterattack. They "*stopped the break in developing into a break out.*" It was in this operation that Dancocks was struck in the head by shrapnel and killed. Fred Dancocks has no known grave, and he is commemorated on the Cambrai Memorial at Louverval.

Dancocks' VC award was published in the London Gazette on 26th November 1917. He was expected to return on leave to receive his medal from the King and visit his native Worcester. One source suggests that Fred was offered leave but being told that a civic reception was being planned he volunteered to remain at the front. He was reportedly a very shy person and was reluctant to take part in a celebration after so many of his comrades had been killed. Nevertheless, he is said to have written home saying he would be receiving his medal from the King on 30th November and would travel on to Worcester.

Unaware that he had been killed on the very day scheduled for his investiture, Worcester prepared to mark the homecoming of the local hero in style. Bunting was put up and members of the Dancocks family, civic dignitaries, reporters and hundreds of local people gathered at the railway station and waited in vain for him to arrive.

Fred was not the first of his family to die in the First World War. His older brother William Dancocks, a regular soldier in the 3rd Bn Worcester Regiment was killed on 23rd October 1914 near Neuve Chapelle. Like his brother he has no known grave and is commemorated on the Le

Touret Memorial. His stepbrother Thomas Whittle served with 1st/7th Bn Worcestershire Regiment and was killed on the Somme on 21st August 1916. His name appears on the Thiepval Memorial, a few hundred metres north of where his unit fought on the day he died.

Four months after Fred died another stepbrother, William Whittle was killed in the defence of Amiens on 31st March 1918, serving with 2nd/8th Bn Worcestershire Regiment. He also has no known grave and is commemorated on the Pozieres Memorial. Another brother, Henry Dancocks, survived the war having served alongside Fred in 4WORCS.

King George wrote to Ellen to express his regret that Fred's death had denied him "*the pride of presenting to him in person the Victoria Cross.*" Ellen was now left with three dependent children facing a future of considerable financial hardship. The City of Worcester opened a public fund for Ellen Dancocks with an initial donation of £50, but by February 1918 they were reporting that '*subscriptions were not coming in very satisfactorily*'. Eventually a total of £451 was raised (equivalent to over £26,000 in 2021).

The deaths of Fred Dancocks and his brothers represent a loss as significant to their families as the Niland Brothers whose story inspired the plot of the Tom Hanks film '*Saving Private Ryan*'. Of course, a number of families suffered multiple losses during the First World War – the Beechey, Souls and Shaw families all lost five sons, but the fact that none of the Dancocks / Whittles has a known grave makes their fate particularly poignant. In 2006 Worcester and Herefordshire WFA Branch erected a memorial to Fred Dancoc,ks VC close to Namur Crossing and not far from Langemarck German Cemetery. Dancocks House, a sheltered accommodation facility in Worcester city centre, is named after him. Worcester City Council bought Frederick Dancocks' medals from the family, and they are now in the Museum of the Worcestershire Regiment. Some months after I passed on my research, my former colleague travelled to Belgium with her husband and followed her grandfather's footsteps at Langemarck.

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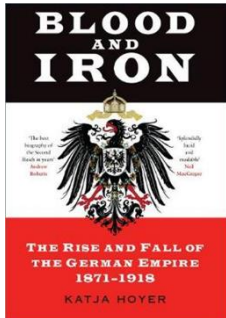
ROD ARNOLD

BOOK REVIEW

BLOOD & IRON

KATYA HOYER

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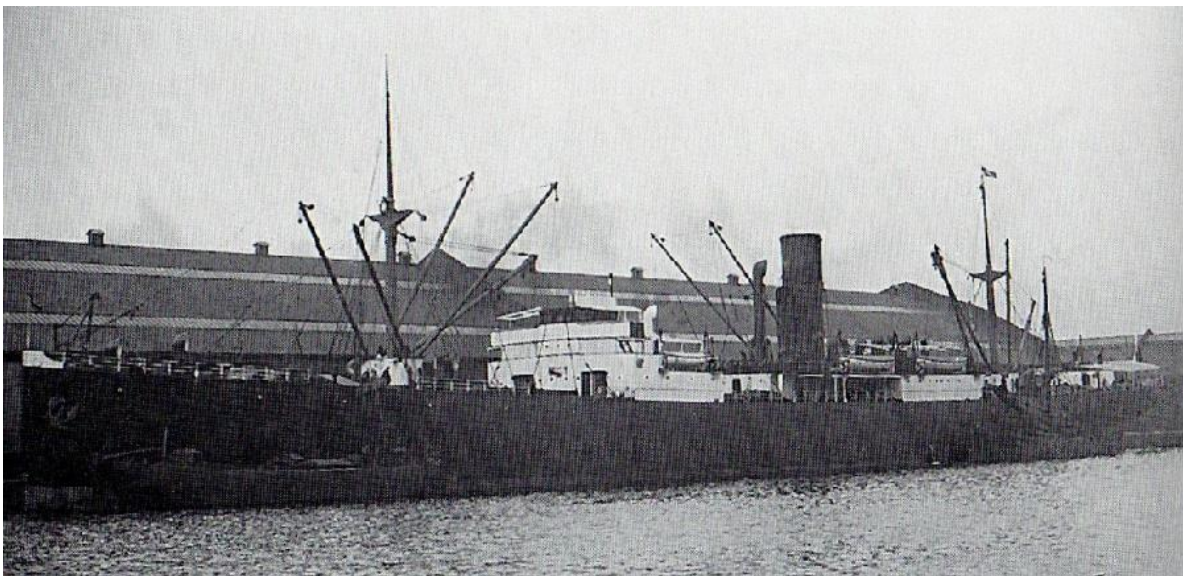
This recent publication by Katya Hoyer has been subject to much critical acclaim and deservedly so in my view. This is a very lucid account of the Second Reich, very well researched and readable covering a period of historical complexity in great detail and entertaining prose. We are given a very cogent argument that what started in Versailles Hall of Mirrors in 1871 need not of ended in disaster of the Great War. Before 1871 Germany was not a nation but a concept in the mind of its founder Otto von Bismarck. How would he bring 39 individual states together under a

'Kaiser' convincing Prussians, Bavarians, Rhinelanders and Saxons et al to become German? Bismarck that pivotal figure in the creation of a unified Germany recognised in his 1862 speech that it would take a war to unify the German people and that view proved as accurate before 1871 as after. Forging a new nation state in the fires of war against Denmark, Austria and France he created a Germany whose only binding experience was conflict against purported enemies which was not necessarily confined to the external. He considered socialists as being opposed to a national identity declaring them to be 'enemies of the state' thus perpetuating the struggle of all Germans against common enemies. Bismarck followed the risky strategy of perpetuating the struggle against common enemies including other Germans, in order to preserve his new Germany. It is of note that Bismarck thought Wilhelm II 'a hothead' and is no real surprise that Bismarck and Wilhelm quickly clashed over the issue of German unity. They both recognised that common economic and cultural ground was not enough to hold the Second Reich together but Wilhelm found Bismarck's solution of Germans battling each other repugnant. Lacking Bismarck's political skills Wilhelm argued that Germany must fight for its 'place in the sun' amongst the great nations e.g. Britain and France believing an empire on a par with Britain and France would lead to internal unity a flawed strategy that lead ultimately to the destruction of the Second Reich and more immediately the departure of the 'Iron Chancellor'. There had never been a Germany without the 'Iron Chancellor' and an uncertain future dawned with Wilhelm quickly discovering that the divisions caused by religion, class, geography, culture and ethnicity to name but a few could not be overcome by force of personality and 'royal charisma'. At first shocked when WW1 broke out in 1914 Wilhelm still saw opportunity for to finally bring all Germans together declaring on 1st August 1914 'today we are all German brothers and only German brothers'. Research has dispelled the myth of widespread euphoria at the outbreak of the war there was an initial feeling that the fatherland had to be defended but the price was too prove too high in blood and iron for the young

German state and the Second Reich was destroyed where it all began – in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Versailles. There is an extensive bibliography and comprehensive index with notes referred at the page footer where relevant. I thoroughly recommend this book to both the general and specialist reader alike filling as it does a significant gap in the understanding of the German Empire.

MARTIN WILLOUGHBY

LOST WITHOUT TRACE HMS CLAN MacNAUGHTON



Charles Stanley Garnsworthy was born on the 10th November 1888 at Topsham, Devon the only son of Charles Edward Garnsworthy and his wife Maude Emma Garnsworthy. His father Charles Edward was born at Starcross, Devon in 1858. At the age of fifteen, on the 13th February 1873 he began a four year apprenticeship in the mercantile marine with J. Holness of London in their sailing ship Calliope, at Exeter. After completing his apprenticeship he gained a Second Mate's Certificate on the 9th June 1877 and subsequently his First Mate's and Master's Certificates. He married on the 3rd October 1885 Maud Emma Copplestone, aged 19 years at Topsham. Three years later she gave birth to her son Charles Stanley Garnsworthy. Maud was widowed after ten years of marriage when her husband Captain Charles Edward Garnsworthy died on the 21st March 1896 at Buenos Aires, aged 38 years. Later, his ashes were interred in Topsham Cemetery. The 1891 Census recorded that Maud was residing at 4 Armada Street, Plymouth with her widowed mother aged 62, her brother Beavis, a baker aged 23 and Charles her two year old son. Maud, by 1901 had moved from Plymouth with her two year old son to Salisbury House, 30 Monmouth Street, Topsham and employed a domestic servant Sarah Dyke. In 1911, Maud aged 44 was living with her 84 year old mother at the same address. Maud died on the



4th December 1949 aged 83 years. She left an estate valued at £6,112 17s 5d to Christopher Ashford, a solicitor and William Strickland a motor engineer. Charles Stanley Garnsworthy at the age of 16 pursued a career, as his father had done in the mercantile marine. He began a four year apprenticeship on the 6th April 1905 with John Edgar and Company at Liverpool. He served on the three-masted fully rigged sailing ship Benica, registered at Liverpool from the 19th

April 1905 to the 28th July 1907 and again from the 17th October 1907 to the 11th December 1909, a total of four years, four months and thirty-five days. When he completed his apprenticeship in 1909, he continued to gain further seagoing experience serving on the following vessels:

<u>Ship</u>	<u>Rig</u>	<u>Port of Registry</u>	<u>Commencement</u>	<u>Termination</u>
Killarney	Barque	Liverpool	4 th May 1909	9 th December 1909
Grenada	Barque	Greenock	9 th December 1909	2 nd May 1910
Grenada	Barque	Greenock	2 nd May 1910	7 th May 1910
William Eggerts	SS	London	15 th November 1910	2 nd May 1911
King Howel	SS	London	29 th June 1911	7 th October 1911
King Howel	SS	London	11 th October 1911	9 th February 1912
King Howel	SS	London	21 st February 1912	5 th June 1912
King Howel	SS	London	5 th June 1912	16 th July 1912
Winifred	SS	W. Hartlepool	21 st October 1912	21 st December 1912
Winifred	SS	W. Hartlepool	22 nd December 1912	2 nd January 1913

During his service on these vessels he undertook the duties of Acting Mate, Mate, and First Mate. He was described as being 5ft 10-inches in height, with brown hair, brown eyes, of medium complexion and had no distinguishing marks. On the 27th March 1909 he gained a *Second Mate's Certificate of Competency of a Foreign-Going Ship*, at Plymouth, and gave his address as Salisbury House, 30 Monmouth Street, Topsham. At the beginning of July 1910, he failed the navigation part of the examination for First Mate. He retook the examination later the same month and passed in all subjects and received a *Certificate of Competency as a First Mate of a Foreign-Going Ship* on the 27th July. Three years later he passed the examination for Master and received a *Certificate of Competency as Master of a Foreign-Going Ship* on the 8th February 1913.

During April 1914, Charles was serving as First Mate on the Pymon Steamship Line's 6,100-ton cargo vessel the S.S. Waverley. The ship left Monte Video on the 19th and via St Lucia arrived as New Orleans on the 23rd May, their destination being the port of Rotterdam.

In July 1914 Charles married Ethel Gertrude Maud Gardner at Exeter. She was born on the 23rd January 1891 at Leyton, Essex, the second daughter of William and Emily Gardner. Her family resided at 5 Regents Park, Heavitree, Exeter in 1901 and household members were William (father) a fancy goods dealer, aged 42, Emily his wife aged 41, sons William aged 17, Arthur

aged 14, daughters Emily and Ethel aged 12 and 10 years respectively. Also living with them were Christopher Gardner, William's father aged 76 and domestic servants Rose Shute aged 15 and Elizabeth Caddy aged 20. The family moved from Regents Park and in 1911 to 14 Sylvan Road, Exeter, the household members being William and Emily, son William, who was also a fancy goods dealer, Arthur a stationer and daughters Emily and Ethel and Gertrude Reynolds a 16 year old domestic servant.

After the outbreak of the First World War, Charles sailed from the United Kingdom on the S.S. Waverley for a voyage to Canada. The ship returned to the United Kingdom on the 7th November, and Charles was discharged from the ship. Two weeks later he enrolled into the Royal Naval Reserve 'For Period of War Only' at Chatham on the 21st November, 1914. He was appointed at Chatham a Temporary Sub-Lieutenant on the 10th December and was drafted to the Armed Merchant Cruiser Clan MacNaughton. On the 17th January 1915 he was promoted to Acting Lieutenant, Royal Naval Reserve.

Sir Charles Cayzer, first Baronet, established C.W. Cayzer & Company in Liverpool in 1877 for the purpose of operating seagoing passenger routes between Great Britain and Bombay via the Suez Canal. The following year, Captain William Irvine joined the company which then became known as Cayzer, Irvine & Company. In 1881 the Clan Line Association of Steamers was established when a Glasgow businessman became a member of the company. Their company headquarters was at 109 Hope Street, Glasgow. Cayzer, Irvine & Company built and managed ships for the association, whilst Charles Cayzer retained ownership of six clan ships. They also began a new passenger route to South Africa. In 1890 the company became the Clan Line of Steamers Limited with Charles Cayzer holding a majority interest. Further expansion occurred in 1894 when the company bought the Persian Gulf Steam Ship Company and four ships. With these additional assets they expanded their operations to the Persian Gulf and North America and their ships began to carry cargos. The company was incorporated in 1907 as Cayzer, Irvine & Company with the Cayzer family retaining control. Sir Charles Cayzer died in 1916 and his sons continued to manage the business. During the First World War several of the Clan Line ships were requisitioned by the British Government. Although a number of them were lost during the war, the company had by the 1930's recovered and operated the largest cargo carrying fleet in the world. The company continued to operate a successful merchant fleet after the Second World War acquiring further assets and in the 1970's in conjunction with other shipping companies formed British & Commonwealth Shipping Limited. The Clan Line, a subsidiary of the British & Commonwealth ceased trading in 1981 and by 1986 all the Clan Line ships had been sold.

The Clan MacNaughton, a cargo vessel was built in 1911 for the Cayzer, Irvine & Company by Alexander Stephenson & Sons Limited at Govan. She displaced 4,985-tons, and was 429-8-ft in length, with a beam of 53-7-ft and a draught of 34-5-ft. Powered by a Triple 3-Cylinder Steam Expansion Engine, with a nominal Horsepower of 497hp she was capable of steaming at 14-knots. Launched in June 1911, she was seconded by the Admiralty on the outbreak of the First World War for duties as an Armed Merchant Cruiser. During her conversion at Tilbury, which was completed at the beginning of December 1914, 8 x 4-7-inch Guns were installed. She was then assigned to the 10th Cruiser Squadron and deployed on patrolling duties around the United

Kingdom. Commanded by Commander Robert Jeffreys R.N., her crew was comprised of mercantile marine ratings, Royal Naval Reservists (some from Newfoundland), an R.M.L.I., detachment, Royal Navy ratings and boys from the Royal Naval Training Establishment, HMS Ganges.

At the beginning of February 1915, HMS Clan MacNaughton was patrolling a sea area off the North coast of Ireland. On the 3rd she made a routine radio signal at 0600 hours to the Admiralty reporting severe gale force weather conditions. That message was the last that was ever heard from HMS Clan MacNaughton. A search of her patrol area was undertaken and some wreckage was found off the North coast of Ireland but there was no sign of the ship or her crew. It was presumed that the ship had struck a mine and sank with the entire loss of her crew of 20 officers and 261 ratings. Speculation about the circumstances of her loss, were hypothesised. Was she torpedoed? Was she mined? Or with the addition of her armament was she top heavy and unstable and foundered in the gale force weather conditions? In German U-boat archives of the First World War there is no record of a submarine torpedoing HMS Clan MacNaughton.

A question was raised on the 3rd March 1915 in the House of Commons by Mr Falle M.P., who asked "if His Majesty's Ship 'Clan MacNaughton' was surveyed after her guns were put aboard; if so, was she passed and by what authority."

Dr T. Macnamara replied: "The 'Clan MacNaughton', a nearly new vessel of the Clan Line, classed by the British Corporation Registry, was fitted out for His Majesty's service at Tilbury under the supervision of naval, constructive and engineering officers deputed to act for that purpose. The amount placed in the vessel was light in comparison with her size and all necessary stiffening to take it fitted. Investigation as to the loading and the stability of the vessel were made at the Admiralty, and instructions were issued to the commanding officer of the ship. The Admiralty are satisfied that the vessel was in good condition and seaworthy, and that she possessed ample stability."

Southern Times ~ Saturday, 27th February 1915. Armed Merchant Ship Lost with all hands:

'The Admiralty announced on Wednesday night that H.M.S. Clan MacNaughton, armed merchant cruiser (Commander Robert Jeffreys, R.N.) has been missing since February 3rd and that is feared she has been lost. Unsuccessful search has been made. Wreckage, supposed to be portions of the ship, has since been discovered. The last signal from the Clan MacNaughton was made in the early morning of February 3rd. The Admiralty fear that she was lost during the bad weather, which prevailed at that time. The losses are 20 officers, 261 petty-officers, non-commissioned officers and men, 69 belonging to the "specially entered mercantile crew" – stewards, fireman, &c. Among the officers serving on the Clan MacNaughton, officially reported missing on Thursday, although the fate of the vessel was generally known more than a week ago was Lieutenant Charles S. Garnsworthy, R.N.R., a nephew of Mr B.W. Copplestone, of Hurston, Hanover Road.

Newspaper Cutting ~ Unknown Source:

'Lieutenant (Act) Charles Stanley Garnsworthy R.N.R., HMS "Clan MacNaughton," born in 1888 was the only son of the late Captain Garnsworthy of the Mercantile Marine and of Mrs Garnsworthy of Salisbury House, Topsham, Devonshire. He served about 9 years in the Mercantile Marine, gaining his masters certificate at an unusually early age, but on returning to England from a voyage in December 1914 he obtained a commission as Sub-Lieutenant in the Royal Naval Reserve and was appointed to the armed merchant cruiser "Clan MacNaughton" being subsequently promoted to Lieutenant. Mr Garnsworthy went down with his ship when she was lost on patrol duty on 3rd February 1915. He married Ethel G.M. Gardner daughter of W.A. Gardner Esq, formerly a member of the Exeter City Council, now of Toronto.'

Lieutenant Charles Stanley Garnsworthy, Royal Naval Reserve was one of the 281 members of the crew of the Clan MacNaughton who lost their lives when the ship sank. He was 26 years of age. He has no known grave but the sea and his name is commemorated on the Chatham Naval Memorial, Panel No.13. After the First World War an appropriate way had to be found of commemorating those members of the Royal Navy who had no known grave, the majority of deaths having occurred at sea where no permanent memorial could be provided. An Admiralty committee recommended that the three manning ports in Great Britain – Chatham, Plymouth and Portsmouth – should each have an identical memorial of unmistakable naval form, an obelisk, which would serve as a leading mark for shipping. The memorials were designed by Sir Robert Lorimer, (1864-1929) who had already carried out a considerable amount of work for the Commission, with sculpture by Henry Poole (1873-1928). The Chatham Naval Memorial was unveiled by the Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VIII) on the 26th April 1924.



After the Second World War it was decided that the naval memorials should be extended to provide space for commemorating the naval dead without graves of that war, but since the three sites were dissimilar, a different architectural treatment was required for each. The architect for the Second World War extension at Chatham was Sir Edward Maufe (1882-1974) – who also designed the Air Forces memorial at Runnymede – and the additional sculpture was by Charles Wheeler (1892-1974) and William McMillan (1887-1977). The extension was unveiled by the Duke of Edinburgh on the 15th October 1952. Chatham Naval Memorial commemorates 8,517 sailors of the First World War and 10,098 of the Second World War.



Lieutenant Charles Garnsworthy is also commemorated on the Topsham War Memorial and on the Roll of Honour in St Margaret's Church, Topsham. When probate was granted on the 9th June, 1915, Charles Stanley Garnsworthy of 14 Sylvan Road, Exeter, left an estate to the value of £559 12s 6d to his wife, Ethel. She also later received her husband's 1914-15 Star, British War Medal 1914-1920, Allied Victory Medal 1914-1919, Bronze Memorial Plaque and Scroll.

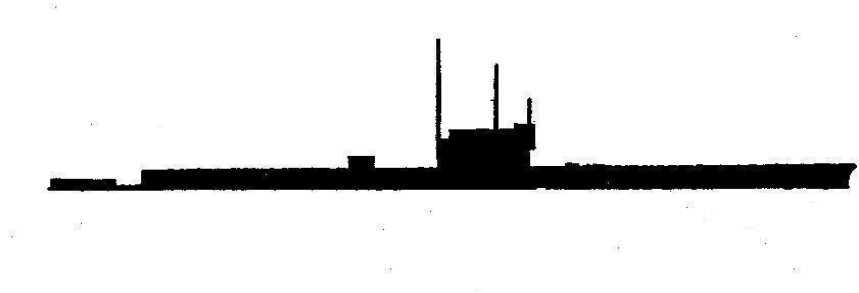
From information gleaned from a Passengers Declaration, Ethel arrived in Canada via New York in December 1918. It was most probably her intention to stay with her parents and brother, Arthur who were residing at 14 Starr Avenue, Toronto. In July 1920, Ethel returned to the United Kingdom for a holiday and returned to Canada embarking from Liverpool on the S.S. Minnedosa, disembarking at Quebec. The 1921 Census of Canada recorded on the 1st June that William (her father) was aged 62, her mother aged 62, Arthur aged 34, Ethel aged 30 and Marjorie Marston aged 15, were living in Toronto, at the previous mentioned address.

When Ethel returned and took up residence again in the United Kingdom is unclear. The 1939 Register records that she was employed as a clerical worker living at Vale down, Honiton Road, Exeter with her married sister Emily Fulford and her husband. She made another trip to North America in the late 1950's. An Incoming Passenger List states that she arrived via New York on the Cunard Steamship Queen Elizabeth at Southampton on the 19th August 1958. Her given address was Welwyn Taddypole Estate, Exeter. Ethel Garnsworthy died aged 80 years on the 16th April 1971. Probate details record that her address was Withymead House, Mill Road, Countess Wear, Exeter. She left an estate valued at £10,596.

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ROGER COLEMAN, PHOTOGRAPHS © ROGER COLEMAN



'E' CLASS SUBMARINES

During the Second World War a cry of "E-boat!" from the lookout would have sent the escorts of East Coast convoys to Action Stations and their charges would close up for all-round defence from the approaching German fast torpedo-boat. A quarter of a century earlier a similar cry (albeit not in English) would have alerted German and Turkish shipping to the presence of a British E-Class submarine, the most successful Allied boats (submarines are boats - not ships!) of the First World War.

Historical Background

Few ideas have had a greater appeal to inventors than the construction of a vessel capable of operating underwater. Ingenious minds wrestled with problems which could only be solved by time and technological progress. In 1578 William Bourne described how a craft might dive below and then return to the surface. Bourne's boat was never built, but he correctly identified the principle on which submarines operate today. Over the next three hundred years a number of designs were produced and some were actually built. Two American designs saw active service - against the British in the War of American Independence, and with the Confederate States against the Union in the Civil War.

Two major problems hindered submarine development – reliable propulsion systems (especially underwater) and an effective weapon which did not endanger the attacking vessel itself. It was not until the late Nineteenth Century that these issues were resolved. The propulsion problems were solved by electric motors driven from high-capacity storage batteries for use underwater, and compact forms of motive power – petrol engines and diesel engines - to drive a submarine on the surface. The modern torpedo first appeared in 1866. It was soon recognized as an essential naval weapon and resulted in the design of a completely new class of warship – the torpedo boat. Of course it was also an ideal weapon for the submarine when it emerged.

The Modern Submarine

The modern submarine was the invention of John P. Holland an American schoolteacher of Irish birth. After 18 years of experiments he built a boat for the US Navy in 1895 powered by steam and electricity. Three years later he substituted the petrol engine for steam propulsion in the USS Holland – the prototype of the Twentieth Century submarine. By the late 1890s both France and Italy were building their own submarines, but the British Admiralty remained sceptical. During the debate on the Navy Estimates in 1900, the First Lord of the Admiralty told the House of Commons:

“The Admiralty are not prepared to take any steps in regard to submarines, because this vessel is only the weapon of the weaker nation. If, however, this vessel can be rendered practical, the nation which possesses it will cease to be weak, and will become really powerful. More than any other nation, we should have to fear the attacks of submarines”

Germany, then en-route to becoming the World's second naval power, also had reservations. Admiral Tirpitz argued that until the submarine proved its effectiveness it would not be accepted as an essential type of warship. The first submarines constructed in Germany were built in 1903 for the Russian Navy!

The First British Submarines

Within a year the situation in Britain had changed. Press and public criticism together with some impressive trials of a French boat alerted the Admiralty to the risks of neglecting the new weapon. The 1901 Naval Estimates included an order for five submarines “of the type invented by Mr. Holland.” Within fifteen years the submarine had become the most deadly and decisive warship in the world. All five “Hollands” were built by Vickers at Barrow in Furness and completed 1902-3. On the surface they displaced about 100 tons and were driven by a 160-260hp petrol engine which gave them a speed of about 8 knots (kts). Submerged their electric motors enabled them to travel at 5kts. Of single hull construction they had internal ballast tanks and one 14” torpedo tube fitted in the bow. Much practical experience was gained from these boats and equipment such as the periscope was evolved.

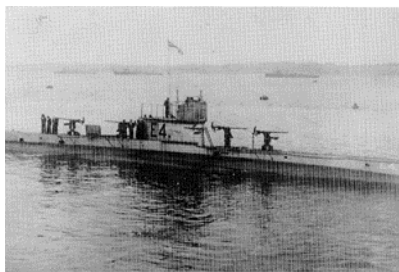
British Submarine Development

Until the late 1920s, with two exceptions, all Royal Navy (RN) submarines were unnamed. They were identified by their class letter and a serial number. The Hollands were simply known by number - 1 to 5. The first Admiralty designed submarines were the A Class (180tons, 450-550hp, 11.5kts surface / 7kts submerged). Thirteen of these were completed in 1904-5. They introduced the conning tower and 2 – 18” bow (side by side) torpedo tubes. A heavy oil surface engine was tried in the last ship (A13). A fourteenth A Class boat was completed as B1, the first of eleven B Class (280 tons; 600hp; 13/8kts) entering service in 1905-6. This class were the first RN submarines to be fitted with forward hydroplanes. Until 1906, all RN submarines had been built in Vickers Barrow shipyard. Six of the thirty-eight C Class (290tons; 600hp; 13/8kts) completed 1906-10 came from HM Dockyard at Chatham. These were completed 1906-10 and had larger superstructures than the A and B Classes.

The D1 (550tons; 1200hp; 16/9kts) marked a major advance in British submarine design. Almost twice the size and with twice the horse power of the C Class, she had twin screws and external ballast or “saddle” tanks. The two 18” bow torpedo tubes were arranged one above the other giving a finer entry; a stern tube was also fitted. The D2 to D8 (604tons) were completed to an improved design between 1910 and 1912, and introduced the diesel engine to British submarines – much safer and with greater range than petrol engines. They also had two electric motors producing 560hp compared with D1's 275hp from one motor. D4 was the first RN submarine to mount a gun.

The stage was set for the arrival of the E Class.

E Class Submarines



No less than 57 E Class submarines were built including two for the Royal Australian Navy (RAN). The latter were designated AE1 and AE2. Completed in three groups between 1913 and 1917 the E Class were the mainstay of the British Submarine Service throughout the First World War. Some 20% larger than the D Class with more powerful electric motors they could manage 10kts submerged and had a surface range of 3,000 nautical miles (D Class 2,500). Other improvements included the fitting of transverse

bulkheads and beam torpedo tubes. Six were the Royal Navy's first submarine minelayers. In 1913 the Admiralty decided to expand the submarine fleet by trying out other designs and included more shipbuilders in a programme hitherto monopolized by Vickers and HMD Chatham. The very successful E Class design was later developed in the L Class (890-960tons, 2,400hp, 17.5/10.5kts) which began to enter service in 1917. L1 and L2 were laid down as E57 and 58.

E Class Specification

- Group 1 E1-E6; Group 2 E7-E21; Group 3 E22-E56 (no E28)
- Displacement: Group 1 - 660/810 tons (surfaced/submerged; Groups 2/3 – 662/835 tons.
- Dimensions: Group 1 - 176x22.5x12 feet; Groups 2/3 – 181x23.5x12.5 feet.
- Complement: 30
- Propulsion: Two diesel engines 1600hp (surface); two electric motors 840hp submerged.
- Speed: 16kts surface / 10kts submerged.
- Torpedo Armament: Group 1 (plus E7 and E8) – 4x18" tubes (two bow, two beam); Groups 2/3 – 5x18" tubes (two bow, two beam, one stern).
- Gun Armament: The E Class were the first RN submarines built with a magazine for gun ammunition, but weapons carried varied ranging from a 2pdr to a 6" howitzer.
- Minelayers: E24, E34, E41, E45, E46 and E51 were fitted as minelayers carrying 20 mines in lieu of the beam torpedo tubes.

Submariners – Selection and Training

Before following the fortunes of the E Class between 1914 and 1918, a summary on the selection of RN submariners might be of interest. There was no direct entry to the Submarine Branch. All entrants were volunteers from serving naval personnel. Officer applicants required their captain's recommendation and either a lieutenant's first class torpedo examination certificate, or an endorsement from the torpedo officer of their present ship that they had shown "exceptional zeal" in torpedo training. An accepted candidate joined a waiting list until those above him were either absorbed into the service or rejected. Eventually he went to Fort Blockhouse, the submarine depot at Gosport, for a medical examination with an exacting fitness standard. Those who passed spent 3 months studying submarine handling and machinery both ashore and afloat. The would-be submarine officer then faced an examination in all aspects of the syllabus. Failure meant an immediate return to the surface fleet. Successful candidates had one foot on the submarine ladder. After three years in "the boats" split between time as third officer in one of the larger boats and as first lieutenant in one of the smaller, the officer returned to the surface fleet. If he had the makings of a good submarine officer, this exile lasted one year. Otherwise the Submarine Service saw him no more.

Rating volunteers followed a similar process. A seaman applicant had to have his captain's recommendation and continuous "very good" conduct reports. They received the same medical screening as officers, and faced a similar, but shorter training course requiring less comprehensive technical knowledge. Again an end of course examination had to be passed. Retention in the Submarine Service then depended on an annual commanding officer's recommendation.

Outbreak of War

Naval war in 1914 was something quite new for the Royal Navy – new warship types, new tactics, new weapons and a new enemy. In the past British naval strategy concentrated on the English Channel and South Coast. Now the enemy lay across the North Sea. New main fleet bases had been developed at Rosyth, Scapa Flow and Cromarty Firth but naval forces had to be spread to cover the East Coast of England against the perceived German threat. After the end of the test mobilization in July 1914, the Fleet was ordered its war stations. On 29th July the first submarines arrived at Harwich, designated as the base for the 8th or "Overseas" Flotilla comprising the newest and larger submarines (8 D Class and the 9 E Class boats then completed). Five other flotillas of older boats (37 C Class and 10 B Class) were stationed with patrol groups of light cruisers and destroyers at Dover, Humber, Tyne and Forth. Their role was seen as largely defensive. The commander of the operational submarines was Commodore Roger Keyes with his HQ at Harwich. At the outbreak of war the RN had twice as many submarines as the Imperial German Navy.

Six RN submarines had been lost in accidents before the war, one (A1) twice. The first submarine wartime loss was also accidental. The AE1 operating with other RAN units in the reduction of German Pacific colonies struck a reef and went down with all hands on 19th September 1914. She was the first of 28 E Class boats to be sunk during the war. Two more (E4 and E41) sank after colliding on 15th August 1916 off Harwich; they were salvaged, returned to service and survived the war. In 1914 a submerged submarine was safe unless there was a navigational error or the boat struck a mine or other underwater obstruction. There was no means of detecting a submerged boat and no weapons such as depth charges to make an attack. All a surface ship could do was to keep a submarine down until its batteries were exhausted. Once forced to surface it could be sunk by gunfire or ramming.

Heligoland Bight, 1914

The British ultimatum to Germany expired at midnight (German time) on 4th August 1914. At 2:00am on 5th August E6 (Lt. Cdr. C.P. Talbot) and E8 (Lt. Cdr. F.N.H. Goodhart) sailed from Harwich for the Heligoland Bight. Theirs was the first of a planned series of reconnaissance missions to learn about German naval movements in the area. They had orders not to attack and had to pass-up a number of tempting targets. Patrols in the Bight were halted from 8th August when the Overseas Flotilla was deployed to help cover the BEF's crossing to France. They were resumed from 14th August and the information gained by the submarines contributed to plans for an operation on 28th August intended to lure enemy cruisers and destroyers into open waters where they would be overwhelmed.

What became the Battle of Heligoland Bight was essentially a surface operation by a British force of destroyers backed up by cruisers and battlecruisers, but eight boats of the Overseas Flotilla (D2, D8, E4, E5, E6, E7, E8 and E9) were assigned roles. Three submarines were to approach Heligoland on the surface to help draw out German patrols whilst the other five formed two submerged picket lines to intercept enemy ships, especially as they returned to harbour. Three German cruisers and one destroyer were sunk and several others damaged. No British warships were lost. Poor visibility prevented the submarines from

sighting any targets and only one boat – E4 (Lt. Cdr. E. W. Leir) – played a part. British destroyers had lowered boats to rescue German survivors when the German cruiser Stettin appeared and drove off the British destroyers leaving their boats, boats crews and German survivors behind. Leir surfaced, picked up the British sailors and three Germans “as a sample”. He supplied the remaining Germans with food, water, a compass and the course to steer to reach safety. The operation demonstrated a lesson in the use of submarines. The cruiser Southampton spotted a surfaced submarine, identified it as hostile and attempted to ram. The E6 had to crash dive to escape. Submarines cannot operate safely with surface forces in a fast moving sea battle. Unfortunately the lesson was repeated with tragic results later in the war. Routine patrols of the Bight resumed and on 12th September 1914, E9 (Lt. Cdr. M. Horton) sank the old cruiser Hela southwest of Heligoland. The next day Horton took the boat into the island’s anchorage but found no worthwhile targets. On its next patrol E9 sank the destroyer T116. Max Horton was well on the way to establishing a fearsome reputation as a submarine commander. These early patrols involved the loss of only one of the E Class boats – E3. On an earlier mission she had “sunk” an aircraft. Surfacing alongside a seaplane observed landing on the water, she captured the pilot and observer and scuttled their machine. On 18th October E3 went too close inshore off the Ems estuary and was cut off in a bay by destroyers and sunk by gunfire.

E11 (Lt. Cdr. M. Nasmith) was amongst the vessels that attempted unsuccessfully to intercept the German battlecruisers after the bombardment of Scarborough in December 1914. Later that month the boat was one of several submarines supporting the British seaplane raid on Cuxhaven. Three of the attacking aircraft ran out of fuel on the return flight to their ships and were forced to alight at a prearranged rendezvous point where E11 was waiting to rescue the crews and scuttle the seaplanes. Patrols in the Heligoland Bight continued throughout the war; we shall return to these waters later.

The Baltic, 1914-1918

A few weeks into the war, it became apparent there was no prospect of an early clash between the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet. The latter seemed to be avoiding North Sea operations, and was using the Kiel Canal to exercise in the Baltic Sea. The Grand Fleet could not penetrate the Baltic but submarines might. To mount an extended Baltic mission a local base would be necessary and the Russian Government was approached with the suggestion that British submarines might operate alongside the Russian Baltic Fleet. The offer was accepted and it was agreed that base facilities would be provided at Libau (nowadays Liepāja in Latvia).

To reach the Baltic, submarines would have to cross the North Sea and navigate down the Skagerrak and Kattegat and then through the Sound separating Denmark and Sweden. At the end of September 1914 E1 and E5 reconnoitred the waters as far as the Sound and reported that a passage was possible. On 11th October Keyes was instructed to send three submarines into the Baltic. He chose E1 (Lt. Cdr. N. F. Laurence), E9 (Lt. Cdr. M. Horton) and E11 (Lt. Cdr. M. E. Nasmith) – the three most experienced submarine commanders.

E1 was the first boat through on the night of 17th October. An attack on the German cruiser Victoria Luise en-route was unsuccessful and an incursion into Danzig Bay was also fruitless. On arrival at Libau E1 was recommended to move to a more secure location because German land advances were already threatening the port. Laurence chose to remain at the rendezvous until the other boats arrived. Horton and E9 had an easy passage. Arriving in the Kattegat on 17th October they waited on the bottom all of the next day and

then passed through. Clear of patrolling German warships by 20th, they joined E1 at Libau two days later.

E11 was not as fortunate. Engine defects had delayed departure from Harwich. They reached the Sound on 20th but were sighted by enemy destroyers and turned back to deeper water. Nasmith made another attempt that night. Another submarine was sighted and attacked, fortunately unsuccessfully – the boat was Danish. E11 was sighted by a seaplane when battery charging and again had to evade pursuing destroyers. The defence was now fully alert and there was no chance of slipping through. Nasmith returned to Harwich.

After E11 failed to appear at Libau, E1 and E9 moved first to a small base at Lapvik near Helsinki, before finding better support facilities at Reval (Tallinn, Estonia) on the opposite (southern) side of the Gulf of Finland. At this stage of the war, British submarine attacks were restricted to enemy warships and naval auxiliaries. Before the end of the year both E1 and E9 carried out patrols but torpedo malfunctions when targets were sighted meant they were unsuccessful. Large areas of the eastern Baltic freeze over during the winter months and this provided a new operational challenge. Preceded by an icebreaker Horton took E9 to sea in January 1915. Once he discovered that the boat's vital venting system would operate, Horton took E9 towards Kiel Bay and found the destroyer S120. Unfortunately, the torpedo ran deep and exploded below the enemy vessel. This unsuccessful attack alarmed the German Baltic Fleet HQ. It had been assumed that the submarine activity in the autumn of 1914 was a single boat entering the Baltic for a short patrol before returning the UK. Now the Germans suspected that a depot ship was hidden somewhere in Baltic waters. Heavy units supporting the German Army along the Baltic Coast were withdrawn to port for safety and patrol craft despatched to search for the clandestine base.

On 4th February 1915, Germany declared the waters around Britain and Ireland a "war zone". Allied merchant shipping would be sunk without warning. In response British submarines were authorized to intercept and inspect merchantmen. Only those carrying "contraband" could be sunk and even then arrangements had to be made to safeguard the civilian crew. There was no question of adopting unrestricted submarine warfare. This relaxation allowed the Baltic boats to target the Swedish exports of iron ore to Germany. They were ideally placed to do this from their base at the entry to the Gulf of Finland. The British boats were so successful in disrupting Baltic trade that increasing numbers of German warships were deployed to patrol the Baltic and minefields were extended.

On 5th June 1915 E9 broke up a German operation in the Gulf of Riga sinking a naval collier, damaging a destroyer and narrowly missing the cruiser Thetis. Four weeks later Horton and E9 struck again. On patrol off Rixhoft a cruiser squadron with destroyer escort was sighted. E9 penetrated the screen and torpedoed the armoured cruiser Prinz Adalbert. The cruiser had to be towed to Kiel for repair. In July 1915, the success of E1 and E9 encouraged the Admiralty to reinforce the Baltic Submarine Squadron by despatching four more E Class boats.

Before any of them could arrive E1 recorded a notable success. Hipper's battlecruisers had entered the Baltic to support operations in the Gulf of Riga. On 19th August E1 torpedoed the Moltke. The battlecruiser survived but the German operation was cancelled. E1 was credited with saving Riga and Laurence was decorated personally by the Tsar.

The first of the new boats met with disaster. Passing through the Sound on 17th August 1915, the E13 (Lt. Cdr. G. Layton) ran aground off the Danish Island of Saltholm. Under International Law the crew had 24 hours to release the boat and leave Danish waters. There was every prospect that the boat could be

floated off at the next high tide, but with 12 hours remaining German destroyers arrived off Saltholm and opened fire on the stranded E13 at a range of 300 yards. It was a clear breach of International Law that saw 14 members of the crew killed. Their bodies were returned to the UK under Danish naval escort and the survivors were interned. Layton and his first officer later escaped to the UK. The remaining internees were released in 1918. The wreck was later salvaged by the Danes.

German defences had been doubled since October 1914, but the remaining three boats: E8 (Lt. Cdr. Goodhart); E18 (Lt. Cdr. R. C. Halahan) and E19 (Lt. Cdr. F. N. Cromie) all passed through safely to join E1 and E9 at Reval. The new boats quickly avenged the loss of their sister. On 23rd October the E8 completed the work begun by E9 when she torpedoed the newly repaired Prinz Adalbert. This time the cruiser went down. Three weeks later the E19 torpedoed and sank the cruiser Undine.

The interception of merchant ships continued. Prior to their success against the Undine, Cromie with E19 had stopped, inspected and destroyed six ships within a 24-hour period. A seventh was allowed to proceed because it was bound for Rotterdam. Another patrol by E8 around this time saw five ships intercepted in a 24-hour period. German Baltic trade, especially the vital iron ore imports from Sweden, was severely dislocated. The E boats were now seen as such a serious threat that Prince Henry of Prussia, the Kaiser's brother and C-in-C of the German Baltic Fleet declared "the destruction of a British submarine to be at least as valuable as that of a Russian armoured cruiser." It was also around this time that some German naval officers began to refer to the Baltic as "Horton zee". Towards the end of 1915 both Horton and Laurence were recalled to the UK to take command of new submarines. Cromie (E19) became the senior officer and Lt. Cdrs. H. Vaughan-Jones and A. Fenner arrived to take command of E9 and E1 respectively.

It was March 1916 before icebreakers started clearing a passage out of Reval, and late April before any British boats left on patrol. To protect the iron ore supply German merchant skippers now kept within Swedish waters until they rendezvoused with patrols for escort across the open sea. Swedish registered ships were increasingly used to carry goods to Germany. Anti-submarine measures were intensified. Patrols were increased, minefields extended and anti-submarine nets installed in various places.

The Russians were now increasingly concerned about German Army advances towards Riga. The British boats were frequently called upon to mount joint operations with Russian units to interdict the enemy's maritime support and supply arrangements. It was on such an operation in May 1916 that E18 was lost. On 26th May she had torpedoed and seriously damaged the new German destroyer V100. Two days later E18 was reported off Memel but nothing further was heard from the submarine. The Admiralty declared the boat lost on the 11th June 1916. This is the date of death recorded for the 31 crew members in CWGC records but the loss probably took place around June 2nd.

A few years ago Swedish divers found the remains of E18 off the Estonian island of Hiiumaa. The conning tower hatch was locked open suggesting the boat probably struck a mine whilst proceeding on the surface. Compared with the success of autumn 1915, the 1916 campaign was disappointing for the British. Cromie was CO of E19 but was also responsible for the operational efficiency of all four British boats. He had to deal with Russian officialdom as well as a long range relationship with the Admiralty and supply depots in the UK. Replacement crews were able to travel overland via neutral Norway and Sweden, but all stores came the long way round by sea. Only two ports were

available: Port Romanoff – nowadays Murmansk - on Kola Inlet or Archangel at the mouth of the River Dvina on the White Sea. Murmansk was 1,200 miles from Lerwick in the Shetlands – the nearest British port - 5 days steaming at 10 knots. Archangel was 450 miles further. Archangel had extensive port facilities, but was 600 miles from Petrograd and half of that was a single track railway. The port was usually closed by ice from December to May. In 1916 it was closed until 9th June. Murmansk was always ice-free but was undeveloped as a port and with no railway link to Petrograd until 1917 - stores had to travel by sledge. Coupled with these physical difficulties were the problems of bureaucratic inefficiency aggravated by the gradual breakdown of the Russian state under wartime pressures. Stores were regularly delayed, misdirected or simply “disappeared”.

The Admiralty now considered reinforcing Cromie’s command with more E Class boats. German defences at the entrance to the Baltic had increased significantly and the First Sea Lord estimated that even with “good luck” only 50% would get through. It was decided to tow four of the small C Class coastal submarines to Archangel and from there send them on barges via rivers and canals to Petrograd. They could assist with the Russian defensive measures along the Baltic coast releasing the E Class boats to adopt an offensive role. The C boats arrived safely but battery damage in transit meant only two could be made operational in 1916. After a disappointing year, the British prepared for another ice-bound winter in Reval. Francis Goodhart of E8 was ordered back to the UK and replaced by Lt. Cdr. T Kerr.

The New Year brought dramatic changes in the political situation. Small scale civil disturbances began in Petrograd at the end of February 1917, but early March saw serious rioting and looting of food stores. Several Russian regiments mutinied and by 12th March 17,000 troops plus sailors from the Baltic Fleet had joined the crowds on the streets. There was little animosity towards the British and Reval, the British base, was relatively quiet. Replacement crews for the British submarines passed through Petrograd without any problems.

The winter of 1916/17 had been particularly severe, ice delaying the resumption of maritime operations. German shipping was now well organized and protected and had escorts equipped with underwater hydrophones to detect submarines and depth charges. British boats made several patrols during the summer. Suitable targets were sometimes sighted but none were sunk.

Concerns over the Russian Army’s ability to hold Riga or prevent a German advance towards Reval put the security of the base in doubt. Helsingfors (Helsinki) had good facilities but was now a hotbed of revolutionary activity. Cromie had now been released from command of E19 to concentrate on managing the British flotilla and he opted for a move to Hango at the northern entrance to the Gulf of Finland. At the end of August, the depot ship, stores, spares and torpedoes were moved to the new base. The shorter range C Class boats used Roggekuel on the Gulf’s southern coast, convenient for operations off Riga.

Cromie worked with more reasonable Russian elements to maintain the operational efficiency of the boats under his command. From 1914 Russian naval telegraphists had been berthed on the British boats to assist with operational communications. These were popular postings for Russian sailors and were still looked upon as a great privilege as discipline broke down on many Russian warships. The effectiveness of Russian forces continued to deteriorate and on 1st September the long expected land

offensive against Riga began. After two days Riga had been occupied. The Germans later mounted Operation Albion to secure control of the Gulf of Riga and the British C Class boats undertook defensive patrols in the area.

During these activities the C32 was ran on to a sand bank and had to be blown up to prevent capture. The remaining C Class boats now operated from Hango with the E Class. As the German advance continued the British flotilla prepared to defend the entrance to the Gulf of Finland. The approaching winter made it unlikely there would be another German offensive in 1917 and the British submarines moved to Helsingfors (Helsinki) to lay-up until the spring of 1918. The dominating factor now was the Bolshevik Revolution which began on the night of 6th/7th November – 24/25th October in the Russian calendar. The new government quickly sought an armistice, and a ceasefire was concluded in December.

The situation was further complicated when Finland, hitherto part of Russia, declared independence in December 1917 and demanded the withdrawal of all Russian forces from the territory. Cromie discussed the situation with the British Naval Liaison Officer in Russia. The E Class boats were overdue for refit. The C Class were old and unreliable for anything other than short patrols. For some time no relief engineering ratings had arrived from Britain, suggesting that London intended to abandon the Baltic enterprise. They concluded that should it become impossible to operate from a Russian base, the C Class boats should be destroyed and an attempt made by the E Class to exit the Baltic. If that proved impracticable they should seek internment in Sweden.

The Admiralty now decided to bring home the majority of the British crews leaving only a small care and maintenance party in Russia. If Russia resumed hostilities, new crews would be sent out. Early in January 1918 the returning British crews left Helsinki by train for a ten day trip to Murmansk. Here they boarded the armed merchant cruiser Andes for the voyage to Greenock. Lt Downie, of C26, was left in charge of the seven laid-up boats with 25 officers and ratings. Cromie headed for Petrograd to work from the British Embassy.

The Germans and Austrians lost patience with Bolshevik stalling in the peace negotiations and resumed hostilities on 2nd March 1918. The Red Army was unable to offer effective resistance; the front collapsed and the Russians capitulated. Under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk that followed, Russia ceded large areas of territory. One clause included the surrender of the British submarines in the Baltic. The Treaty also required Russian armed forces to withdraw from Finland, now a neutral state. However, they stayed and tried to help Finnish Reds seize power. By late March 1918 Finnish Whites had been unable to overcome the Reds and their Bolshevik Russian supporters and appealed for German military intervention. On 3rd April German troops landed at Hango just a few miles from Helsinki and Downie decided to destroy the seven boats in his charge. With the assistance of Russian officers who had served with the British, all seven British submarines – E1, E8, E9, E19, C26, C27 and C35 – were scuttled using torpedo warheads off Harmaja, a small island just outside Helsinki. Spare torpedoes and tons of stores were also destroyed. German troops were only 20 miles away when the British party and a Russian liaison officer set off on the long overland journey via Petrograd to Murmansk and a UK bound transport ship. Francis Cromie was shot dead on 31st August 1918 when armed men, possibly from the Cheka secret police, burst into the British Embassy in Petrograd.

The Dardanelles 1914-15

“The naval history of Britain contains no page more wonderful than that which records the prowess of her submarines at the Dardanelles” - Churchill

When war broke out in 1914 both the Entente and the Central Powers tried to persuade a number of non-belligerent nations to join the conflict. The story of how Turkey opted for alignment with Germany is outside the scope of this article, but British attention was drawn to the Dardanelles after the German warships Goeben and Breslau escaped to Turkish waters in August 1914. Turkey was still neutral at the time and it would be November before she actually entered the war but the possibility of the German ships emerging from their sanctuary necessitated a naval blockade of the Dardanelles entrance. An Anglo-French naval force was stationed there including six submarines – three British and three French. The British boats were all units of the small coastal B Class. Once Turkey was in the war Britain and France began to look at the possibility of a major campaign at Gallipoli. It was against this background that it was decided to send a submarine into the Dardanelles Straits leading from the Aegean to the Sea of Marmara. The Goeben and Breslau were out of reach at Constantinople, but Turkish warships patrolled the area and might provide a suitable target. The mission presented a number of problems.

The Straits are some 27 miles long with a narrow stretch less than one mile wide in the centre between Chanak and Kilid Bahr. Waters from the Sea of Marmara sweep through the “Narrows” at from 4-5 knots – a B Class boat could only manage 8kts submerged, a margin of only 3kts against the tide. There were also a number of sand bars making navigation difficult especially underwater. Extensive Turkish defences included forts sited on both sides and several rows of mines in the water. As the war progressed these were strengthened and enhanced by steel mesh anti-submarine nets and shore based torpedo tubes. A mine guard was devised which would push mines aside; it did not guarantee safety, but the risk was reduced. The B11 (Lt. N.D. Holbrook), recently fitted with new batteries and mine guards, was selected for the mission.

On 13th December B11 entered the Dardanelles, dived under five rows of mines, torpedoed and sank the old Turkish battleship Messudiyeh and returned safely. Every B11 crew member was decorated - Holbrook received the Royal Navy's first Victoria Cross of the war. The successful mission raised the possibility of a submarine passing through the Dardanelles and into the Sea of Marmara. Such a voyage was beyond the capabilities of a B Class boat, but well within the scope of the E Class.

One E Class boat was already in the Mediterranean: the Australian AE2. Her CO, Lt. Cdr. H.D.G. Stoker, was asked to examine the issues facing a submarine in reaching the Sea of Marmara, but the first attempt to break through was made by the French submarine Saphir on 15 January 1915. The boat negotiated the Narrows, passing the ten lines of mines, but ran aground at Nagara Point and was sunk by shellfire or scuttled. Fourteen men were killed and thirteen taken prisoner.

January 1915 saw the decision to proceed with a naval surface attack on the Dardanelles and the first bombardments took place on 19th February. The final attempt to force a passage began on 18th March. Attention then turned to landing troops on the Gallipoli peninsula. This gave impetus to the idea of sending submarines into the Sea of Marmara because this was an important route for Turkish shipping between Constantinople and Gallipoli. Three E Class boats came out from the UK to prepare for the operation. En-route a faulty motor kept E11 at Malta, but on 12th April E14 and E15 arrived in the British base at Mudros. Two days later a group of naval officers met on board the flagship Queen Elizabeth to consider Stoker's

proposals. Roger Keyes, now Chief of Staff to the local commander Admiral de Robeck, was in the chair. Also present were the Senior Officer for British Submarines (Mediterranean), the captain of the submarine depot ship Adamant, and two submarine commanders - Lt. Cdr. E.C. Boyle (E14), Lt. Cdr. T.S. Brodie (E15). Stoker would have been involved but AE2 was at Malta for repairs after grounding.

Stoker's scheme was for a submarine to run on the surface as far as possible up the lower Dardanelles, dive to 90 feet for one hour to pass under mines, come up to check position by periscope, and go deep for about three miles to Chanak. Next came the most critical part – a further three miles at periscope depth through the Narrows navigating two sharp bends round Kilid Bahr and Nagara Point proceeding at speed to counter the strength of the opposing current. Once past Nagara Point the remaining 17 miles presented no navigational difficulties although Turkish warships were likely to be present. "Success, and indeed survival – depended on how much endurance remained in the submarine's batteries after the high speed section." After some discussion Keyes asked "Do you think an E Boat can make it?" Only T.S. Brodie (E15) thought it could be done. "Well," said Keyes, "it has got to be tried and you shall do it!"

E15 left Mudros on 16th April and approached the Dardanelles in the early hours of 17th April under cover of a diversionary raid by RNAS aircraft. When rounding Kephez Point, E15 "bounced" on heavy salt water at 70 feet and, out of control, grounded on a sand spit beneath Fort Dardanus. The boat was a sitting target. An early hit killed Brodie and another exploded in the battery compartment. Leaking battery acid mixed with sea water generated chlorine gas in the boat. Six crewmen suffocated before the survivors could surrender. The stranded boat had to be destroyed to prevent the enemy learning details of its construction and equipment. The submarine B6 was ordered up, but under fire had to launch its torpedo from long range and missed. A bombing raid by seaplanes was no more successful. After dark the destroyers Scorpion and Grampus were sent in but they were picked up by searchlights and driven off. Holbrook's B11 was the next to try but heavy fog obscured the target. The battleships Triumph and Majestic then tried long range gunfire to no avail. Finally two picket boats from the battleships equipped with torpedo dropping gear made an attempt. They came under fire but hit E15 with two torpedoes before the leading craft was hit and began to sink. The second boat came alongside, picked up the survivors and escaped. The picket boat operation had been commanded by Lt. Cdr. Eric Robinson who had led a landing party to attack the Turkish gun battery "Achilles Tomb" in February 1915, an exploit which earned him the Victoria Cross. Seaplane reconnaissance the next day confirmed E15 was effectively destroyed but B6 was sent up again to make sure. The boat almost suffered the same fate as E15 grounding less than 100 yards from the wreck. Fortunately she got off and returned to base. Despite the loss of E15, when AE2 returned from Malta on 21st April Keyes asked Stoker if he was prepared to make an attempt. The boat was on its way within two hours but developed a mechanical fault and returned for repairs. AE2 sailed again on 25th April – the first day of the Gallipoli landings.

The boat dived when it came under fire from the European shore, but its periscope remained clearly visible in the flat water and drew further shelling. AE2 responded by torpedoing a gunboat. Going deep to avoid a destroyer, the submarine grounded in 10 feet of water. The conning tower was clear of the water but none of the many shells fired hit the target. AE2 managed to get off but grounded for the second time shortly afterwards. Again she was saved by poor enemy gunnery and after slipping off passed Nagara Point – the last navigational obstacle. Stoker described their survival as "miraculous!" That night AE2 surfaced on the Asiatic shore to charge batteries after 16 hours submerged. Stoker signalled his position before proceeding slowly on the surface and diving at dawn. An Allied submarine had reached the Sea of Marmara!

The E-boats new operational theatre lies entirely within the borders of Turkey. It is 175 miles long (NE to SW) and nearly 50 miles wide at its widest point. The Sea of Marmara (or Marmora) has an area of 4,380 sq. miles (11,350 sq. kms.) with some small islands and connects to Black Sea via the Bosphorus Straits. Over the next eight months usually one and often two British submarines were active in these waters. Rarely was no boat present but even then their reputation deterred Turkish shipping. Two boats made three patrols and three made two. The longest single patrol was made by E11 and lasted 47 days. The experiences of individual boats varied. Some had great difficulty negotiating the Dardanelles – “up” or “down”; others passed through quite easily. Some enjoyed great success against enemy shipping; others were thwarted by torpedo shortages or malfunctions. They entered enemy anchorages to attack targets, and when fitted with guns bombarded shore targets as well as shipping. Two individual officers mounted lone sabotage attacks ashore. A selection of their exploits follows.

Less than 48 hours after Stoker’s success, E14 (Lt. Cdr. E.C. Boyle) also broke through to the Marmara. She was fired from the shore but her transit of the Dardanelles was easier than AE2’s. A Turkish torpedo boat was sunk opposite Chanak before the crew of a small passing steamer spotted E14’s periscope and grabbed hold of it in an attempt to pull it out of the water. The boats had mixed fortunes. Faulty torpedoes meant AE2 was unsuccessful, but a single torpedo hit from E14 started a fire on one of two transports sailing in company.

On 28th April the two boats met by pre-arrangement in the middle of the Sea of Marmara. AE2 had already expended her torpedoes and carried no gun, but it was agreed she should remain on patrol because the mere presence of the two submarines was already influencing Turkish shipping movements. Unfortunately AE2’s run of bad luck continued. Submerged in Atarki Bay, AE2 lost trim in denser water and broke surface within sight of the Turkish torpedo boat Sultan Hissar. Stoker managed to dive the boat again but she was now unmanageable and returned to the surface very close to the enemy warship. The submarine soon received several hits and Stoker ordered the crew to scuttle the boat.

E14 continued her patrol sinking three small vessels and damaging the gunboat Paykisevkei. In the absence of worthwhile torpedo targets E14 simply resorted to stopping small craft for inspection. This gave encouraged Turkish suspicions that several submarines were present and shipping movements were restricted. Within a few days the need to speed up reinforcements for Gallipoli forced to risk the sea route. On 10th May E14 intercepted two large transports with a single destroyer escort off Constantinople. Her first torpedo was faulty but the second struck the steamer Gul Djemel (a former White Star vessel) carrying 6,000 troops and an artillery battery. The steamer was beached to avoid sinking. This was E14’s last torpedo but the boat remained on patrol for a further week before heading back down the Dardanelles, a journey completed without difficulty. Boyle was awarded the Victoria Cross in recognition of the first successful submarine patrol in the Sea of Marmara. On his return Boyle recommended that all submarines should carry a gun. E14 was immediately sent to Malta to have one fitted but there was not time to arm the next boat to attempt the passage.

E11 (Lt. Cdr. M. Nasmith) sailed on 18th May. Nasmith was considered to be the most outstanding British submarine commander of the time. Before 1914 he was Chief Instructor in underwater tactics at the Fort Blockhouse submarine base. On the way “up” the Dardanelles a Turkish battleship was spotted steaming in the opposite direction but the potential target had passed before E11 could reach a firing position. On arrival in the Marmara a dhow (small sailing vessel) was captured and the Turkish crew put ashore. The

dhow was secured to the submarine and E11 then proceeded with the hull awash – a distant observer would have seen just an innocent sailing vessel. Over two days E11 sank four ships including the Turkish gunboat Pelenk-i-Dria and an artillery transport.

On 24th May Nasmith took E11 into Constantinople harbour and torpedoed the large steamer Stamboul. The submarine grounded on the way out but remained submerged. Nasmith used the current to fix his position and plot the route back to sea after manoeuvring released the boat. All sailings from Constantinople were immediately cancelled. Three days later in moonlight E11 was on the surface when a battleship escorted by two destroyers was sighted. The submarine was attacked by one of the escorts before a firing position could be reached. Later the submarine approached a stationary yacht but was fired on when a small gun was unmasked on board – it was a Turkish Q-ship! The E11 escaped and the next day sank a large supply ship using a demolition charge. Further sinkings followed but the submarine was running out of torpedoes. Nasmith now adopted the tactic of setting any torpedo fired to “float” if it failed to hit the target. The “miss” was followed up and Nasmith or his first officer (Lt. G. D’Oyly-Hughes) would swim out and disarm the torpedo for it to be reloaded via the stern torpedo tube for future use.

E11 began her return journey on 6th June with two torpedoes left. A large transport was allowed to pass because Nasmith was saving his last shots for use against the Turkish warships he expected to find off Nagara Point. None were present and so Nasmith reversed course back up the Dardanelles and sank the transport. Resuming the journey “down”, a mine cable lodged in E11’s forward hydroplanes and the mine started bumping along the hull. Contact with one of the mine’s horns would have been fatal. Nasmith risked towing the mine until they were able to surface out of sight of Turkish artillery and dispose of the unwelcome stowaway before heading for Imbros. During her 20 day patrol E11 had sunk one gunboat, two transports, two ammunition ships and two supply ships. A third supply ship had been driven ashore. Enemy shipping, and especially the Turkish Army’s seaborne supply route to Gallipoli, was totally disrupted.

The patrols of E14 and E11 set the pattern for submarine operations in the Sea of Marmara for the remainder of 1915. Like Boyle, Nasmith was awarded the VC and promoted to commander. Other crew members were also decorated. D’Oyly-Hughes, whom we shall meet again later, received the DSC.

Commander Boyle and E14 began their second Marmara patrol on 10th June. The boat now carried a 6pdr gun, but over 24 days found only one target worth a torpedo. Ignorant of the fact that temporarily there had been no British submarine in the Marmara, the Turks had introduced a new supply route for Gallipoli. Reinforcements were sent by train to Rodosto on the northern coast and then marched for three days to the front. Supplies went along the coast under warship escort in dhows or tug towed lighters. Boyle found the dhow traffic so heavy that he wirelessed back suggesting that two submarines should be kept operational in the Marmara. E12 (Lt. Cdr. K. M. Bruce) came up in response and discovered that an underwater steel anti-submarine net had been installed in the Narrows to supplement the minefields. The boat managed to power drive its way through the net but damaged its motors in the process.

On 25th June E12 sighted two steamers towing five sailing vessels. Bruce surfaced and signalled the steamers to stop but only one complied. Only three men from a boarding party had crossed on to the stopped steamer when the Turkish crew opened fire with small arms and uncovered a hidden gun. Two of the towed dhows now joined in with rifles and attempted to tow a rope over the submarine’s propellers. Bruce had to leave his three crewmen to defend themselves on the steamer whilst he dealt with the most

immediate threat to his boat. The boarding party was then recovered and the steamer and the two dhows sunk by gunfire. Bruce then pursued the second steamer and opened fire setting the target ablaze. The steamer slipped the three towed dhows and ran aground. E12 now came under fire from shore based artillery but destroyed the three dhows with its own gun. Just one week after entering the Sea of Marmara E12 had to return to base because full depot ship facilities were needed to make an effective repair to her damaged motors.

Her replacement – E7 (Lt. Cdr. A. D. Cochrane) – came up on 30th June and pre-warned went straight through the new steel net at high speed only to encounter another danger. Two fixed torpedo tubes had been installed ashore. A Turkish destroyer spotted E7's movement through the net and raised the alarm. A torpedo narrowly missed the submarine which also had to evade the destroyer when it tried to ram. E7 reached the Marmara on 1st July and met E14 off Kalolimni Island to co-ordinate their operations. E7's first success came at Rodosto. Entering the harbour on the surface, she used her 6pdr to win a duel with a shore based gun, destroyed five dhows and sank a steamer with a demolition charge. Unfortunately the charge exploded prematurely severely injuring the demolition team – the submarine's first lieutenant and a seaman. When E14 returned to base for supplies of 3rd July, E7 remained in the Marmara. Fever and dysentery broke out and in the confines of a submarine affected many crew members including Cochrane. Despite the problems, E7 patrolled the Gulf of Mudania and the Gulf of Ismid at the eastern end of the Marmara destroying dhows and on 19th July she sank the 3,000 ton ammunition ship Biga despite a protecting screen of dhows.

Five days later Cochrane entered Constantinople harbour firing a torpedo into the naval arsenal where it ran ashore and exploded. That night E7 surfaced and bombarded the Zeitun powder mills causing panic in the city. A sighting the next day was worrying – a Turkish destroyer escorting a submarine into Constantinople. It was the newly arrived German UB14. Until now any submarine sighted had to be friendly. The u-boat was too far away for E7 to attack. In the absence of maritime targets back in the Gulf of Ismid, E7 shelled the cliff overhanging the railway from Scutari and dislodged boulders which blocked the track. Derinji shipyard was also visited but there were no worthwhile targets even for the 6pdr! Returning from Derinji, Cochrane spotted a troop train halted by the blocked line. E7's gun again came into action blowing up ammunition wagons. Four more days were spent in the area firing at two more trains and bombarding a viaduct.

By 21st July the E14 had arrived for her third patrol and rendezvoused with E7 before Cochrane and his crew started back to base and the medical facilities they needed. Boyle warned Cochrane that the Dardanelles defences had been further enhanced. E7 nearly met her end when mine mooring wires wedged in her hydroplanes and dragged her to a halt. The motors were repeatedly run backwards and forwards far past the "danger" marks and the main fuses had to be backed up to prevent them blowing. With all the reserves in her batteries exhausted, the last wire parted and E7 was free. She had spent eleven hours submerged.

The E boats had already demonstrated their ability to block shipping in the Marmara. E7's had shown that they could also interdict land transport. On the Gallipoli peninsula the Allied August offensive was imminent – any action against Turkish lines of communication would be welcome. Nasmith's E11 prepared for her second Marmara patrol, this time carrying a 12pdr gun, the largest yet fitted to a submarine.

On the journey "up" E11 again snagged a mine cable and despite going down to 110 feet was stopped by the nets (which had been extended). The boat eventually burst through and torpedoed a transport anchored

off Nagara Point. E11 met up with E14 on 6th August for Nasmith and Boyle to co-ordinate plans.

They had an early success: E14 acted as a surface decoy luring a Turkish gunboat within range of the submerged E11 to be sunk by torpedo. The next day they were off Dolan Aslan at the Dardanelles northern entrance. The coast road here was used by all Turkish reinforcements and supplies for Gallipoli. Several bodies of troops were seen and the boats surfaced and opened fire scattering the marching columns. They remained off-shore the following day too until field guns were brought up to drive them away. E11's next success was to torpedo the only surviving major Turkish warship, the battleship Barbarousse Haireddin (formerly the German pre-Dreadnought Kurfürst Friedrich Wilhelm). The battleship was transporting desperately needed ammunition to Gallipoli with a lone destroyer escort. An attempt was made to beach the Barbarousse but the cargo exploded and the ship sank with the loss of over 400 of her crew.

Later the same day a 5,000 ton transport ran aground attempting to escape when under fire from E14. Joined by E11, the transport was shelled until ablaze. The E11's gun mounting was damaged in the action but with just the few simple hand tools available the boat's fitters modified the mounting to keep the gun serviceable albeit with reduced training and elevation. Nasmith again took E11 into Constantinople. The large collier Ispahan had just arrived with 3,000 tons of desperately needed coal for the city, but blew up when hit by a torpedo from the submarine.

Moving to the Gulf of Ismid, Nasmith attacked the railway viaduct earlier shelled by Cochrane's E7. E11's 12pdr was no more successful than E7's 6pdr, but the viaduct was an important link in Turkish communications. Lt. D'Oyly-Hughes volunteered to go ashore and plant a demolition charge. Nasmith took E11 away from the area for a few days and made sure the boat was reported elsewhere before returning to the scene after dark on 20th August.

At 02:00am on 21st, D'Oyly-Hughes swam ashore pushing a small raft loaded with guncotton, a bayonet for despatching sentries, a pistol to ignite the fuse, a whistle and his uniform to protect him from execution as a spy if captured. He evaded one Turkish patrol, but he found working parties busy at both ends of the viaduct. D'Oyly-Hughes retraced his route past the patrol and placed the guncotton in a small culvert under the railway line. His firing of the pistol to ignite the fuse alerted the patrol and he ran off drawing his pursuers away from the culvert. Although fired on he was not hit and he heard the explosion as he descended the cliffs to the beach. He swam out to sea and blew his whistle but drew no response. His run had taken him well away from E11's position. He returned ashore and made his way along the beach until he heard rifle fire above him. Realising that this must be from the Turkish patrol firing at E11 he swam out there and reached the submarine. His reward was the DSO.

Meanwhile E14 had left the Marmara and was replaced by E2 (Lt. Cdr. D. de B. Stocks). In transiting the Narrows E2 was entangled in a wire at 60 feet and whilst halted came under attack from a new weapon. Until now surface craft were only a threat to submarines on or immediately below the surface. On this occasion the Turkish patrol craft dropped bombs. These were a primitive form of depth charge exploding on impact rather than at a preset depth. On this occasion the detonations helped release the submarine.

After meeting up with E11, E2 went to Kalolimno Island to repair her gun mounting which had been damaged in the Narrows. As with E11, without dockyard tools and equipment this could only be a patch-up job to give the gun some limited usefulness and the boat was left with serious leaks from loosened rivets. E2 did some useful work with her gun but an attempt to emulate D'Oyly-Hughes feat by blowing a bridge on

the Constantinople-Rodosto railway line ended with the loss of Lt. Harold Lyon. The First Lieutenant swam out alone from the boat on 8th September. Some sources claim the bridge was destroyed but Lyon failed to return and was never heard of again. He is commemorated on the Portsmouth Naval Memorial.

The two boats acted together until it was time for E11 to return to Mudros. Nasmith had been passed a report from RNAS aircraft that four large transports were in the Narrows. The transports were found to be screened by two warships and several other small craft. A torpedo fired at a destroyer ran ashore and exploded alerting the enemy to the submarine's presence. Nasmith steered "down" the Straits allowing E11's conning tower to appear above water and the warships sped off in pursuit. E11 then submerged and doubled back. One of the transports had got underway and was heading back to the Marmara. The three stationary targets were quickly sunk but Nasmith now set off after the fleeing fourth boat and damaged it with his last torpedo. The transport was beached when E2 arrived and completed her destruction with another torpedo. E11 had an easy passage through the minefields and nets arriving at Mudros to huge cheers on 4th September, the same day that E7 (Cochrane) set off for her second patrol in the Marmara.

In the Narrows a loose wire fouled one of E7's propellers and the current swung the boat broadside-on into the nets 100 feet down. She was now firmly held and surface patrol craft began dropping explosive charges which came gradually closer. Cochrane hoped the explosions would help release the boat but attempts to move were of no avail and simply depleted the batteries. E7 had been down for around 12 hours when a charge was exploded very close to the hull. With escape impossible Cochrane destroyed the confidential books, ordered scuttling charges to be set and prepared to surface and surrender. The explosive devices had been lowered to the suspected position of E7 and detonated electrically.

E12 began her second Marmara patrol carrying a 4inch gun, the largest yet fitted to a submarine. This gave her an advantage over many of the Turkish artillery batteries operating along the coast and was also used to bombard the powder magazine at Mudania. The boat also conducted experiments in underwater communications using a hammer to tap on the inside of the hull when the next boat came up (one of the new H Class design). These experiments led to the development of the Fessenden electrical apparatus which used a sonic beam to pass messages between submerged boats up to 3 miles apart. In the Narrows on her journey back to Mudros, E12 detached a sizeable portion of steel net which remained over her bows and forward hydroplanes. The weight took the boat down to 245 feet where she was in danger of being crushed by pressure. The boat was almost uncontrollable, rising to the surface and then going down again to 120 feet. Bobbing up and down E12 next became entangled in mine moorings off Kilid Bahr. Fortunately the moorings dragged the net off the hull. The sudden release of weight brought E12 to the surface under shore batteries where she received three hits – fortunately none pierced the pressure hull. Two torpedoes from the shore mounted tubes missed. With full control restored E12 proceeded safely to Mudros.

A 6inch howitzer was the gun armament of E20 (Lt. Cdr. C. H. Warren) the next boat to enter the Marmara but she had no opportunity to use it. The French submarine *Turquoise* had followed her through the Dardanelles and arrangements were made for the boats met and co-ordinate activities. Prior to the meeting date *Turquoise* ran aground and unable to get off surrendered. A note of the time and location of the meeting with E20 was found on board. The German submarine UB14 kept the appointment and torpedoed the unsuspecting British boat when she arrived on the surface.

November saw Nasmith and E11 back in the Marmara. This third trip was also very successful. The

destroyer Yar Hissar was torpedoed and eleven steamers and 35 dhows were also sunk. A train was set ablaze by gunfire and another call was paid to Constantinople where again a steamer was torpedoed in the harbour.

E2 also returned on 9th December now armed with a 4inch gun which was used to good effect against the railway sheds at Mudania. A Turkish Q-ship, some steamers and several dhows were also sunk. Ashore on Gallipoli the Allies were preparing for evacuation. E11 left the Marmara for the last time on 22nd December 1915 after a cruise lasting 47 days, the longest patrol achieved in these waters. Eleven days later on 2nd January 1916 E2 was recalled.

The Allied submarine activities in the Marmara were amongst the few successes of the Gallipoli campaign. Between April and December 1915 Turkish seaborne communications with the front were severely disrupted and at times totally abandoned. The nine British and four French submarines deployed sank one battleship, one destroyer, five gunboats, eleven troop transports, forty-four supply ships and 148 sailing vessels. Eight Allied submarines, including all four French boats, were lost in the operations.

The North Sea and the Bight 1915-18

After the Battle of Dogger Bank in January 1915 the main British and German fleets faced many months of inactivity. Light forces – cruisers, destroyers and submarines - from both sides maintained patrols. These were largely defensive in the case of the Imperial German Navy surface units. February 1915 saw the first period of “unrestricted” submarine warfare by German U-boats. RN submarines were instructed to observe International Law in dealing with merchant shipping but the German Merchant Marine had virtually disappeared from the oceans by the end of 1914. The controls on neutral ships introduced to intercept “contraband” bound for Germany were policed by cruisers and armed merchant cruisers. British submarines were left to patrol enemy waters looking for signs of any large scale naval activity, picking-off isolated targets and supporting occasional raids.

Construction of E Class submarines continued into the war – it was not until 1917 that the last of the class entered service. They remained the most numerous individual type but from 1915 onwards war emergency construction produced more units of other designs. Anti-submarine technology was developing. More sophisticated hydrophones were being developed by both sides and the first depth charges which could be set to explode at a predetermined depth provided an effective weapon to deal with a submarine under the surface. During 1915 E16 sank the German submarine U6 off Stavanger and E15 sank the destroyer T188 in the North Sea.

March 1916 saw the first minelaying operation by an E Class submarine - E24. A further five E Class boats were fitted for this dangerous role operating in the approaches to enemy harbours laying new minefields or “spiking” channels previously cleared by German minesweepers.

On 4th May 1916 E31 (Lt. Cdr. Fellman) was one of several submarines supporting an operation by seaplane carriers to attack the Zeppelin sheds at Tondern. The hope was that German surface units might emerge to pursue the seaplane carriers and so provide targets for the submarines. On this occasion the only enemy response was to send out the Zeppelin L7. Having dived on first sighting the airship, Fellman brought E31 back to the surface saw the L7 was low down and opened fire with the boat’s gun at maximum elevation. The airship was set ablaze and crashed in to the sea, but the cruisers Phaeton and Galatea also claimed the success. Seven survivors were picked up.

Admiral Scheer was now commanding the High Seas Fleet (HSF) and he adopted a more active strategy with major German warships but this was tempered with caution. He did not want a meeting with the full Grand Fleet but his plans resulted in the clash at Jutland at the end of May 1916.

Post-Jutland, British submarines had a number of contacts with units of the HSF. On 19th August 1916 E23 (Lt. Cdr. R.R. Turner) managed to penetrate the escort screen of the battlecruiser Seydlitz but the torpedo missed. Only 30 minutes later two squadrons, each of eight battleships, passed the submarine's position. The first group was beyond the ideal range: Turner fired a torpedo but again missed. By the time the second group came up, E23 had reached a better firing position. The torpedo seriously damaged the battleship Westfalen.

August 1916 also saw the collision of E4 and E41 off Harwich. E4 was submerged at the time but E41 was on the surface. The boats sank with considerable loss of life although there were a number of notable escapes from E41 after she had gone down. Both boats were salvaged and returned to service in May 1917.

Two months later it was E38 (Lt. Cdr. Jessop) that encountered a contingent of the HSF. The heavy units passed out of range but the cruiser München was extensively damaged by a torpedo from E38. Although not strictly part of the E Class story, it is worth recording that on 5th November 1916, the submarine J1 torpedoed two German battleships – Grosser Kurfürst and Kronprinz off Horns Reef. J1 was commanded by Noel Laurence whom we met commanding E1 in the Baltic. Both battleships were out of action for several months.

There were further E Class successes against U-boats: E54 sank two - UC10 off Schouven in 1916 and U81 in 1917. Also in 1917, E45 sank UC62 off Lowestoft and UC63 was sunk by E52. It was during 1917 that E50 operating at periscope depth collided with a submerged U-boat. Both vessels were damaged but survived. The last German submarine to be sunk by an E Class boat was U154 torpedoed by E35 in 1918.

When the salvaged minelayer E41 returned to service in 1917 she was commanded by Holbrook who had won the VC with B11 in the Dardanelles back in 1914. Following a successful minelaying operation in the Bight she torpedoed a naval auxiliary and then surfaced hoping to decoy the escorts into the newly laid minefield. When E41 submerged the escorts turned way fearing a torpedo attack and returned to harbour.

The last contact between the HSF and a RN submarine took place on 20th April 1918 during the German fleet's last wartime sortie. E42 sighted enemy battlecruisers and managed to torpedo the Moltke which had to be towed home. The submarine survived a 25 depth charge counterattack.

The Third E Class VC – White

Five VCs were awarded to First World War submariners. Three have already been mentioned; the fifth Lt. Richard "Baldy" Sandford won his at Zeebrugge when in command of C3 and is so outside the scope of this article. The fourth winner was another E boat commander linked with the Dardanelles. After the final withdrawal from Gallipoli in January 1916 Allied naval forces remained in the area to prevent any enemy exit or especially a breakout by the German warships Goeben and Breslau. E class submarines formed part of the blockading force but no attempts were made to re-enter the Sea of Marmara.

On 19th January 1918 the German warships, flying Turkish ensigns but still with German crews, did emerge in a sweep against on Allied warships intended to boost Turkish morale. The British were caught off guard.

The monitors Raglan and M28 were sunk at anchor off Imbros but the Goeben and Breslau both struck a series of mines. The cruiser Breslau sank and the Goeben developed a 15° list. The battlecruiser ran aground off Nagara Point on entering the Dardanelles. Over the next few days raids by aircraft and torpedo carrying seaplanes failed to cause any serious damage to the stranded vessel. Indirect fire from the small monitor M17 was also unsuccessful. Finally it was decided to send in a submarine.

One boat, E12 was available on 21st January, but engine defects restricted her operational effectiveness. Two more submarines arrived that day, but nothing was done until 27th January when E14 (Lt. Cdr. G. White) was sent in. Unknown to the British the Goeben had by then been refloated and returned to base. E14 was detected, depth charged to the surface and destroyed by shore batteries after running aground. Geoffrey White's VC was posthumous. E14 was, of course, the boat on which Edward Boyle won the VC in the Sea of Marmara in April 1915. White's award makes the boat unique in naval annals as the only warship to have two captains who each won the VC whilst in command.

Conclusion

The submarine had started the First World War as an untried weapon. Over the four years it clearly demonstrated that it had immense strategic value out of all proportion to cost and size, but submarines were vulnerable to the counter-measures which had developed alongside them. The E Class formed the backbone of the wartime British Submarine Service. Fifty-seven were built and twenty-eight were lost. This was a similar level to other British submarine classes. A total of one-third of submariners failed to return from patrol. Casualties in the German U-boats were even higher.

The majority of E Class losses took place in the North Sea and waters around the British Isles (16). Six, including the four scuttled off Helsinki, were sunk in the Baltic and five were lost at the Dardanelles / Sea of Marmara. The principal identified cause of sinking was by mine (7) but another seven are recorded as "unknown" – a reminder that the submarine operates alone and generally out of sight. Most of the E Class losses occurred in 1916 (9) with 1915 and 1918 each listing seven.

The surviving E Class vessels disappeared quickly as post-war reductions in military spending took effect. The last – E56 – was sold for scrap in 1923.

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ROD ARNOLD

CWGC HEADSTONES & EPITAPHS OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

The 2017 Wessex Branch WFA Battlefield Tour visited the Chemin-des-Dames ridge, northwest of Rheims. During the First World War the area was of strategic importance protecting a direct route to Paris. Three major battles were fought here, all named after the river flowing along the south of the ridge – the Aisne. September 1914 saw the First Battle of the Aisne - an Anglo-French offensive following the German retreat from the Marne. The Second Battle, in April 1917, was the main component of the Nivelle Offensive, infamous for the subsequent French Army mutinies. In May 1918 Operation Blücher, the third phase of the German Spring Offensive, produced the Third Battle. British troops were heavily involved in the 1914 and 1918 actions and there are a number of CWGC cemeteries in the area.

In my preparatory reading about the 1914 Aisne campaign, I came across a selection of inscriptions appearing on headstones in the local CWGC sites. I suggested to our Chairman Martin Willoughby that the historical background of CWGC inscriptions might make a unusual topic for a tour “stand” at an appropriate site. With Martin’s agreement, I selected Vendresse British Cemetery north of the village of Vendresse-Beaulne, some 16 miles south of Laon. Vendresse is a post-Armistice concentration cemetery with identified burials here from either 1914 (246) or 1918 (81). A further 339 burials are unidentified. There were a number of suitable inscriptions to illustrate my proposed short talk. In the event the stand had to be aborted. We found that the cemetery situated on a narrow road with no suitable coach parking. Hopefully the following general background notes intended for my use at the time may still be of some interest.

Today the CWGC is almost universally praised for the immaculate standards maintained in cemeteries and memorials around the world. However, just over a century ago, its predecessor the Imperial War Graves Commission [IWGC] found received severe and bitter criticism for its proposed policies for dealing with the remains of those who died abroad in the First World War. The two most contentious issues were the policy of not allowing the repatriation of remains and the form any permanent marker to be placed over each grave.

The IWGC position on non-repatriation and a prohibition on private memorials were intended to avoid class distinctions. The IWGC did not want wealthier families to be able to bring their dead home if poorer people could not afford to do so. Allowing private memorials would also differentiate between individual soldiers. The IWGC felt that to concede on these points would conflict with the feeling of “brotherhood” which had developed between all ranks serving at the Front and conflict with recognizing the concept of “equality of sacrifice”.

The design of a standard marker was also a matter of dispute. It was argued that in a country which still largely professed itself to be Christian, the marker should take the form of a cross. The IWGC pointed out that not all casualties were Christian and for many a cross would be unacceptable. Their proposed standard headstone would provide space for the display of far more information about the

individual commemorated, including a unit badge, and it would permit a religious symbol such as a cross to be added if relatives so desired. Perhaps the most telling point was that it would also be possible for relatives to add a small personal inscription. The debate on commemoration went to Parliament and the IWGC proposals were agreed on 4th May 1920.



The headstones were to be of a uniform shape and size with simple lettering to keep down production and maintenance costs. Roman lettering was considered the most suitable and would be engraved to be read at a 45-degree angle from above and from the side making it easier for visitors to scan a row of headstones for a particular name.

It was expected that the carving of each individual unit badge would occupy a skilled craftsman for one week. However a Lancashire firm developed a device known

as a pantograph that could trace the pattern of a regimental badge and inscriptions in a fraction of the time.

When Final Verification Forms were sent out after the war to confirm the details to appear in cemetery registers, next of kin were invited to supply an inscription or epitaph for their relative's headstone. The Final Verification Form also requested a decision on the use of a religious symbol such as the Star of David if the cross was not to be used.

Nowadays Twitter restricts authors to 140 characters. Relatives were limited to 66 including spaces between words. There are numerous examples of much longer inscriptions in CWGC cemeteries suggesting that the number was a guide and not a rigid limit. The adoption of Roman lettering as standard meant that special alphabets such as Greek were not allowed but exceptions were permitted in a few cases. Headstones for those who served in the Chinese



Labour Corps are inscribed with some Chinese characters. The headstone commemorating 2nd Lt. Hugh Langton (London Regt) at Poelcappelle British Cemetery (Special Memorial No.3) has music notation.

The IWGC initially suggested that only suitable texts or prayers should appear and it has been said that examples were provided. No official list has been found, but the frequent appearance of certain phrases makes this a possibility. One writer has

suggested that the IWGC was prepared to censor inscriptions (e.g. referring Germans as "Huns")

was not allowed) but found no evidence of any inscriptions being rejected. Should the next of kin formally state they did not want an inscription, no other relative could request one. However, if there was no reply, a defined close relative could later ask for an inscription to be added. Relatives choosing an inscription were charged a fee of threepence-halfpenny (old pence) per letter. An inscription using the full allocation of 66 letters would therefore cost just under £1. At the time Childless War Widow's weekly pension was £1. Advance payment was not required – relatives simply promised to pay later. In at least one case the IWGC agreed to meet the engraving cost. Many fees were not paid, but debts were not 'chased' and payment became voluntary. The fees for Canadian soldiers were met by their national government. The New Zealand government banned all inscriptions on the basis that payment went against the "equality for all" principle.

Apart from the New Zealand soldiers, frequent visitors to CWGC cemeteries will be aware that many named headstones (estimated at 40%) do not have an epitaph. Some relatives may have decided against an inscription for financial reasons, but factors such as casualties serving under assumed names or not nominating any next of kin, changed addresses, death of relatives and failure to return verification forms would also have contributed.



At first, IWGC salvaged temporary grave markers and made them available to the families of the dead. They also photographed all known graves for the next of kin. Both services involved a small charge. The practices stopped when significant numbers of grieving relatives began to visit the actual graves.

The epitaphs appearing on CWGC headstones include personal messages, quotations from poetry, literature and the Bible, hymns, songs, mottos, sayings and other popular expressions. They appear in different languages: Latin, Welsh and Gaelic might be expected, but other languages may be found. Examples on the Somme include

Danish (Bertrancourt Military Cemetery), Finnish (Albert Communal Cemetery Extension) and Zulu (Dive Copse British Cemetery).

A wide range of human emotions are displayed: love, joy, anger, sorrow, faith, patriotism, courage, pride, hope, despair and acceptance of sacrifice. Some endorse the cause for which the casualty died; others question it. They may tell you where the casualty was born, their parents' names, how they died, what they looked like, where they went to school, what their job was.



One inscription that I particularly remember appears on the headstone of Coldstream Guardsman G. E. Kelsall in Windy Corner Cemetery. It was presumably his mother who chose "In a grave that we may never see may someone place a flower for me" – 66 letters and spaces.

French, American and German First World War headstones have no epitaphs. CWGC cemeteries uniquely gave the bereaved an opportunity to speak about their loss. The epitaphs reflect in perpetuity British society, culture and values a hundred years ago.

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ROD ARNOLD

GREAT WAR MEDALS

IMPERIAL GERMANY - BRUNSWICK WAR MERIT CROSS 1914-1918

The Brunswick War Merit Cross (German – Braunschweigesches Kriegsverdienstkreuz) or the Ernst-Augustus was a military award of the Duchy of Brunswick. It was instituted on the 23rd October 1914 by Ernst Augustus, Duke of Brunswick, firstly in one class, and was awarded to all ranks for bravery in war. The 30mm bronze cross pattée has a loop for ribbon suspension. In the centre of obverse are the letters 'EA' for Duke Ernst Augustus. On the lateral arms of the cross are oak leaf sprays. At the top of the upper arm is the Brunswick crown and the date '1914' on the lower arm.

The reverse is inscribed 'Für'/'Verdienst im'/'Krieg' (For Merit In War) on the top, lateral and lower arms of the cross respectively. For combatants the 30mm wide ribbon is dark blue, with 3mm yellow stripes inset 2mm from the edges. The award for non-combatants was instituted on the 17th November 1915 and has a yellow ribbon with dark blue stripes.

A First Class Cross was established on the 20th March 1918 in pinback form, without a ribbon, (with the former cross becoming a 2nd Class award) to reward those who had received the 2nd Class Cross and had performed further acts of gallant conduct. The Brunswick War Merit Cross then became comparable to awards of other German states, for example the Prussian Iron Cross. The 40mm First Class cross has the same design on the obverse as the 2nd Class Cross, the reverse being plain with a brooch pin.

A distinctive emblem was introduced on the 20th March 1918 for combatants awarded the 2nd Class Cross who had less than two years' unbroken field service. Worn on the ribbon the oxidised bronze or matt silver emblem is 30mm in height x 23mm in width with two dowel pins

for attachment. The emblem has the salient horse of Brunswick, facing left, within a laurel wreath with crossed swords below and the Brunswick crown above.

Braunschweig or Brunswick is a city in Lower Saxony, Germany, north of the Harz mountains. The cities history can be traced back to the 9th century and was a centre of political and economic power in medieval Germany, and member of the Hanseatic League. The latter was a commercial and defensive confederation of merchant guilds and market towns in central and northern Europe.

Brunswick was the capital city of three successive states – the Principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel 1269-1432, 1754-1807 and 1813-1946, the Duchy of Brunswick 1814-1914 and the Free State of Brunswick 1921-1946. During the Napoleonic era it was part of the Kingdom of Westphalia. The Congress of Vienna in 1815 re-asserted Brunswick as the capital of the Duchy of Brunswick and became a state within the German Empire from 1871. At the end of the First World War, a socialist workers council coerced Duke Ernst Augustus to abandon his throne and announced that Brunswick would be a Socialist Republic. After a period of civil unrest in Germany compounded by unstable and short term governments, it was not until 1921 that a new constitution established the Free State of Brunswick, a parliamentary republic within the Weimar Republic with Brunswick as its capital.

Brunswick was heavily bombed during the Second World War and after the end of the war the Free State of Brunswick was abolished by the Allied occupying powers and the city was incorporated into the new state of Lower Saxony.

Brunswick was part of West Germany during the cold war but suffered economically due to its proximity to the Iron Curtain. In the mid-1970s reforms in Lower Saxony and a gradual population increase, Brunswick regained prominence and popularity as a major city in modern Germany.

DUKE ERNST AUGUSTUS

Duke Ernst Augustus Christian Georg was born at Penzing near Vienna on the 17th November, 1887 the sixth and youngest child of the former Crown Prince Ernst Augustus of Hanover and his wife, Princess Thyra of Denmark. His great-grandfather, Prince Ernst Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, the fifth son of King George III, became King of Hanover in 1837, due to Salic Law¹ which excluded the future Queen Victoria from inheriting the Hanoverian throne. In 1878 Crown Prince Ernst Augustus succeeded as pretender to the throne of Hanover as the British Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale. Ernst his younger son, then became heir apparent to the Dukedom of Cumberland and to the Hanoverian claim upon the deaths of his two elder brothers.

In 1884 the incumbent Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel died and title would have passed to the Duke of Cumberland. However, the Imperial Chancellor Otto von Bismarck manoeuvred the Federal Council (Bundesrat) of the German Empire to pronounce that if they allowed the Duke of Cumberland to ascend to the throne of Brunswick it would upset the peace of the Empire! As a replacement Prince Albrecht of Prussia became Regent of Brunswick. When he died in 1906

the Duke of Cumberland proposed that he and his eldest son would renounce their claims to the Duchy to allow Ernst Augustus, his other surviving son to become the Duke of Brunswick, but this was rejected by the Bundesrat who chose Duke Johann Albrecht of Mecklenburg-Schwerin as Regent.

Ernst's elder brother Georg was killed in a car accident in May 1912. The Kaiser Wilhelm II conveyed his condolences to the Duke of Cumberland who in turn sent Ernst to Berlin to thank the Kaiser. Ernst and Wilhelm II were third cousins by descent through King George III. Whilst he was in Berlin, Ernst met Wilhelm's daughter Princess Victoria Louise of Prussia (1892-1980) and the couple married May 1913. The wedding celebrations were attended by European monarchs and nobility, the last such gathering before the outbreak of the First World War. In February 1913 Ernst swore allegiance to the German Empire and was commissioned as a cavalry captain in the Prussian Zieten Hussars. At the end of that year the Duke of Cumberland renounced his claim to the Duchy of Brunswick in favour of his son Ernst Augustus. The Bundesrat gave their approval for Ernst Augustus to become the Duke of Brunswick. He was promoted to Colonel in the Zieten Hussars and with his wife moved into Brunswick Palace in the capital. There they had the first of their five children.

During the First World War the Duke of Brunswick was promoted to the rank of Major General and his titles of the United Kingdom were suspended, due to his service with the German army. The monarchy was abolished at the end of the First World War and Duke Ernst Augustus was forced to abdicate as were all other German monarchs, dukes, and princes during the turbulent period between 1918-1919 in Germany.

When his father died in 1923 Ernst Augustus did not assume the title of Duke of Cumberland. He remained as head of the House of Hanover (1923-1953) and in retirement, living on his various estates. Although he did not officially join the Nazi party, he did make donations and knew several of the leading personalities of the Nazi hierarchy. Both he and his wife were in favour of rapprochement between England and Germany in the 1930s. Aware of their sentiments Adolf Hitler asked them to try and arrange a marriage between their daughter Princess Frederica and the Prince of Wales. The Duke and Duchess refused the suggestion because of the age difference between the Prince and Princess. Princess Frederica (1917-1981) later became Queen Consort of the Hellenes from 1947 to 1964 as wife of King Paul I (1901-1964).

At the end of the Second World War the Duke and his family were living in Blankenberg, which by the end of 1945 became part of East Germany. The family decided to move into the British occupation zone and live in Marienburg Castle. Duke Ernst August died there on the 30th January 1953 and was interred, as later was his wife in the Royal Mausoleum in the Berggarten at Herrenhausen Gardens in Hanover.

¹Salic Law ~ Excluded women from inheritance of thrones, fiefs, and other properties.



WAR MERIT CROSS FOR COMBATTANTS

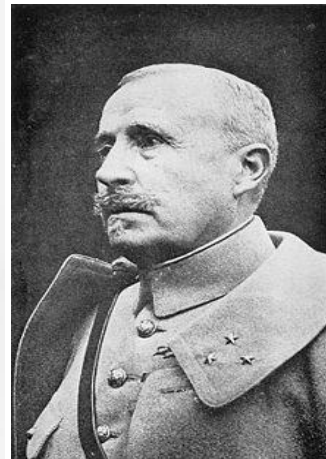
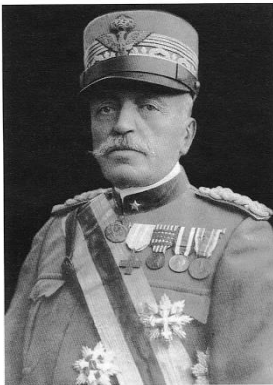
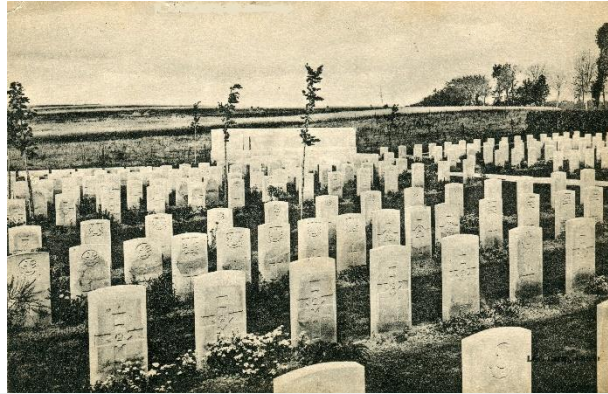
WAR MERIT CROSS NON-COMBATTANTS

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ROGER COLEMAN - PHOTOGRAPHS ~ ©ROGER COLEMAN

GREAT WAR QUIZ No.10 (Thanks Rod!)



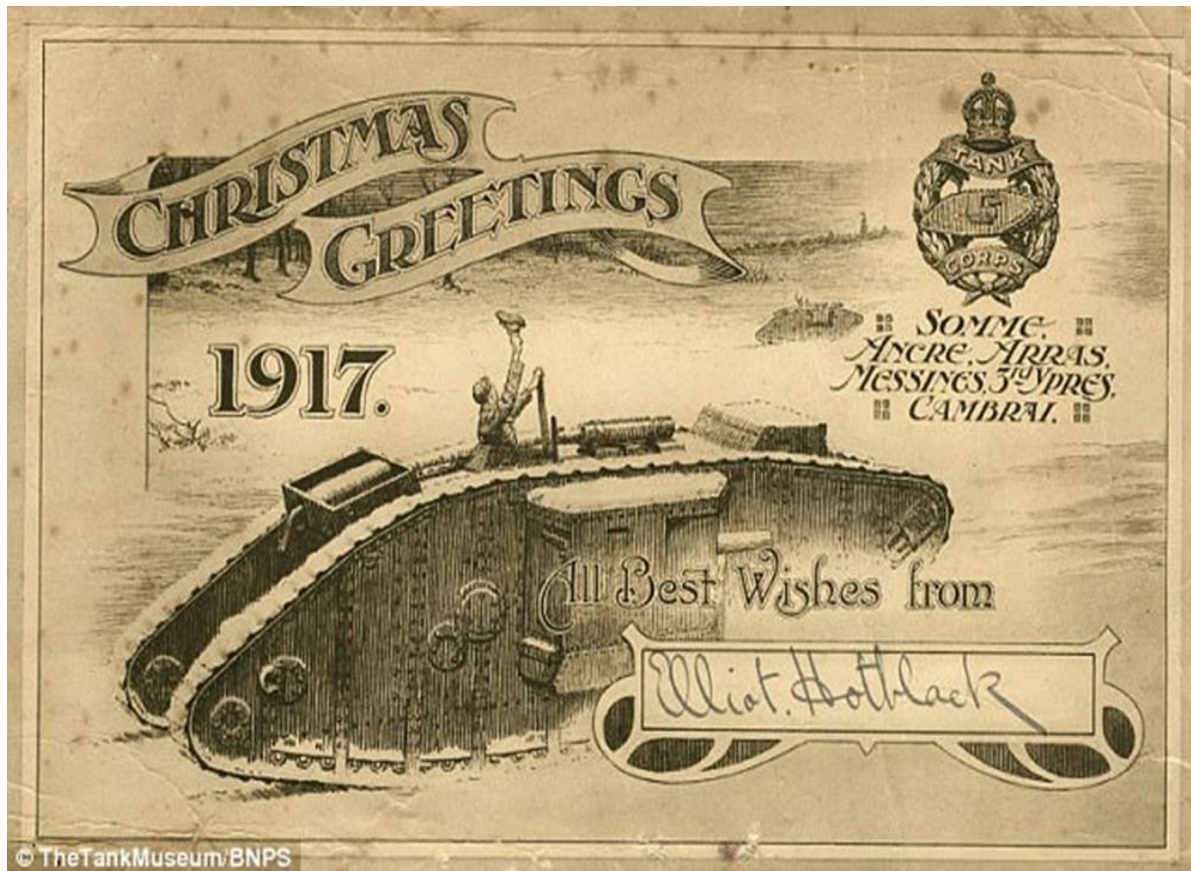
GREAT WAR QUIZ No.10

1. *In 1920 the IWGC built three “experimental” cemeteries in France at Le Treport, Forceville and Louverval. Which one became the “template” for future cemetery construction?*
2. *In 1918 the school leaving age in Britain was raised from what to what?*
3. *Who replaced Joffre as French C-in-C on the Western Front in December 1916?*
4. *What was unusual about the six VCs awarded to the Lancashire Fusiliers for their landing at W Beach Gallipoli on 25th April 1915?*
5. *Who was “la fiancée du danger”?*
6. *Who was commander-in-chief of the Italian Army from July 1914 to 7th November 1917?*
7. *Who was the leading British air ace?*
8. *What links the Grand Fleet battleships HMS Agincourt, Canada and Erin?*
9. *How long did a letter from Britain usually take to reach the Front in France and Belgium?*
10. *On what day of the week did 4th August 1914 fall?*

ANSWERS

1. [1] Forceville Communal Cemetery & Extension, 10km NW of Albert; [2] From 12 to 14; [3] Robert Nivelle; [4] They were allocated by ballot; [5] Frenchwoman Marie Marvingt – a pre-war aviator who, disguised as a man, enlisted in the French infantry; on discovery she volunteered for the air force and flew bombing missions over Germany. She died in 1963 as the most decorated woman in French history. [6] General Luigi Cadorna; [7] Mick Mannock – 73 “kills”; [8] All requisitioned for the Royal Navy in 1914 whilst under construction for foreign governments in UK shipyards; [9] Two days; [10] Tuesday.

AND FINALLY



AND IF YOU ARE STILL AT A LOOSE END ?

Time to write up that article?? All contributions gratefully received!

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Important Information

Meetings are held at:

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Blandford Forum Dorset DT11 8UZ



NEXT MEETING: CHECK WEBSITE!

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