

**Stefan Manz**

## **Civilian Internment in Scotland during the First World War**

The article is a regional case study of civilian internment during the First World War. After a brief look at the German migrant community in Scotland prior to the war it explores the mechanics of internment and conditions in the central Scottish internment camp, Stobs near Hawick. In order to avoid the depressive ‘barbed wire disease’, internees pursued a diverse range of cultural and professional activities. Patterns of repatriation and internal displacement are scrutinized through the example of Fifeshire. These government measures were both a reaction to and a driving-force behind widespread Germanophobia in Scottish society. Within the British context, Scotland was a representative region.

The Aliens’ Restriction Act of 5 August 1914 gave British wartime governments legislative power to deal with ‘enemy aliens’ as they saw fit to protect the home front. Henceforth, the movement of Germans and Austrians who happened to reside or sojourn in Britain after the outbreak of war was tightly controlled. Two migrants in Scotland, Friedrich Bernhard Wiegand and Fritz A. Schreiber, are cases in point. Wiegand was born in Naunhof/Saxony in 1878, apprenticed to a wigmaker as a fourteen-year old and migrated to Glasgow in 1899. He set up shop as a ladies’ hairdresser and soon married into a local family. In May 1915, while his wife Rebecca was expecting her third child, he was interned as an ‘enemy alien’ in Knockaloe internment camp on the Isle of Man. Without the income of the breadwinner, his family was able to escape poverty only through the support of relatives. Wiegand finally returned to his family in November 1918 and managed to rebuild his hairdressing business.<sup>1</sup> Others were less lucky. Lager brewer Fritz A. Schreiber, for example, resigned from his

position as Managing Director of the Tennents Brewery in Glasgow in 1916. The Board let him know that

both internally and externally there has been evinced so very strong a feeling against the re-imposition of the foreign element in the management that the Board have been forced to the conclusion that, in the interests of the business, it will be impossible for them to hold out any hope of your being offered re-instatement.

Schreiber was interned, then repatriated, and died shortly after his return to Germany.<sup>2</sup>

Biographies such as Wiegand's or Schreiber's have received little attention in previous studies of civilian internment in Britain during the First World War. This is due to methodological and thematic approaches, as well as the sources used. So far, two monographs have tackled the topic. John C. Bird's 1986 study is exclusively based on government sources and describes official measures and the decision-making process.<sup>3</sup> In his *The Enemy in Our Midst*, Panikos Panayi demonstrates that these measures tied in neatly with widespread Germanophobia in British society. Anti-German hysteria and spy-fever turned the German minority into an army of alleged spies and traitors which had to be contained in order to secure the home front.<sup>4</sup> Both studies give a countrywide overview but do not tackle the Scottish context.

This is where the following considerations step in. The regional focus on Scotland allows me to scrutinize further the mechanics of internment, the conditions in the central Scottish internment camp, Stobs near Hawick, and the impact of these measures on individuals such as Schreiber and Wiegand. *The article therefore presents a regional case study of civilian internment in Scotland during the First World War which can be regarded as largely representative in the British context.* Firstly,

however, I shall briefly consider the pre-war German migrant community in Scotland.

According to census records, the German community in Scotland numbered 2,362 in 1911, compared to 53,324 in England and Wales. In the light of recent microhistorical findings, these figures have to be at least doubled.<sup>5</sup> The most numerous and influential professional group were merchants and clerks, mainly trading with their native country. Brewers such as Fritz A. Schreiber introduced the art of lager-brewing to Scotland.<sup>6</sup> Musicians laid the foundations of a professional music scene. Other professional groups were school and university teachers, waiters and hoteliers, hairdressers, bakers and confectioners, glass bottle makers and miners. Women pursued remunerative occupations only as teachers and governesses.

An analysis of membership lists and minute books reveals a high degree of participation in German ethnic activities. The dense network of ethnic organizations was spearheaded by a German evangelical congregation, founded in Edinburgh in 1863. Dundee followed in 1880. Glasgow had two congregations, founded in 1884 and 1898 respectively. Although membership was open to all classes of society, the key positions were held by members of the financial elite and educated middle classes. Segregation along social and gender lines was also apparent in the secular clubs and societies. In Glasgow, for example, the *Deutscher Verein* catered for the middle-classes whereas the *Deutscher Club* attracted mainly artisans and shop-keepers. Towards the end of the century, nationalism became more and more prevalent. A German Navy League was founded in Glasgow in 1899 (*Deutscher Flottenverein Glasgow*), a second in Edinburgh in 1904.<sup>7</sup> This ethnic network completely dissolved after the outbreak of war in August 1914. Backed by overwhelming public support - and indeed fuelled by it - the Asquith administration introduced those

restrictive measures against ‘enemy aliens’ that are discussed in detail by Panikos Panayi elsewhere in this volume: registration, internment, repatriation, internal displacement, restrictions in movement, trade restrictions. This pattern also applied to Scotland as the Scottish authorities followed the policies introduced by Whitehall.

The focus on Scotland will now help to illustrate the mechanics and experience of internment. Whilst the War Office was responsible for the running of the internment camps, the police undertook to register and arrest the ‘enemy aliens’. The procedure was as follows. Police officers appeared on the doorstep of enemy aliens without any warning and took them to the local police station. After registration of their personal data and possibly one or two nights in a prison cell, the detainees were handed over to the military authorities. They had to pass through two transit camps. First a local one such as the Maryhill Barracks in North Glasgow, then the Redford Barracks in Edinburgh which acted as the central Scottish transit camp. From there the detainees were transported to the internment camps proper.<sup>8</sup>

One detainee was chief-chemist Arno Singewald, a colleague of Fritz A. Schreiber’s at the Tennents Brewery in Glasgow. He writes about his arrest:

Ich wurde am 11. September 1914 früh 7 Uhr durch 2 Polizisten meines schottischen Wohnortes Craigendoran nach der Polizeistation beschieden und wie ich ging und stand (ohne Ueberzieher und irgendwelche notwendigen Toilettengegenstände) per Bahn nach Glasgow gebracht. Dort wurde ich zusammen mit einem Oberkellner in den ‘Mary Hill’ Militärbaracken in eine Arrestzelle gesperrt, in der bereits ein junger Deutscher die ganze Nacht auf einer Holzpritsche ohne Decke zugebracht hatte. Wir [...] wurden 9 Mann hoch mit einem Sergeanten und 6 Mann Bewachung (mit aufgepflanztem Seitengewehr) noch am selben Nachmittag durch einige Straßen Glasgow’s, in

denen wir mehrfach mit Apfelsinenschalen etc. beworfen wurden, zu einer Station und von da in das Refort [sic] Camp bei Edinburgh gebracht.<sup>9</sup>

The internees usually stayed between one and four weeks in the Redford Barracks transit camp. The compound was surrounded by barbed wire fences and was patrolled by guards on raised platforms. Twelve internees shared one tent in which sleeping accommodation consisted of a sack of straw and two woollen covers. The hygienic conditions were generally unsatisfactory. Johannes Bock, for example, a German traveller who happened to have been in Scotland at the outbreak of war only received his luggage after twenty-one days. Until then he had neither soap, a towel, or clean clothes. He did not get changed, even at night,

weil es gegen Morgen in den Zelten schauerlich kalt wurde. Nur die Schuhe kamen von den Füßen, weil sie als Kopfkissen gebraucht wurden. Des Morgens wusch man sich am Brunnen im Freien, bei etwas Bewegung im Winde wurde man dann trocken. [...] In einer kleinen Leinwandinzäunung war ein großes Faß - das Bad für 1000 Mann -, für das man warmes Wasser am Nachmittag in der Küche erhalten konnte. [...] An einer Ecke des Platzes waren eine Anzahl Blechkübel aufgestellt, ein Wellblechdach darüber und eine Latte davor, das war die Aborteinrichtung.<sup>10</sup>

The reports by Bock and Singewald do stress, however, that the conditions were not intended as deliberate maltreatment by the military authorities but were due to the difficulties of organising the internment of tens of thousands of 'enemy aliens' and prisoners of war in a short period of time. The guards, as is pointed out in the reports, were not much better off in terms of accommodation and diet.

From Redford, the prisoners were transported to internment camps all over Britain. Arno Singewald, for example, was first sent to the Leeman Road Camp near York, but was soon released, only to be interned again

during the wave of germanophobia which followed the sinking of the *Lusitania* in May 1915 - just as hairdresser Friedrich Bernhard Wiegand was. Singewald now came to Lofthouse Park Camp near Wakefield, and finally to Stratford Camp in London before being repatriated in summer 1915.<sup>11</sup> Johannes Bock also passed through Leeman Road Camp before being transported to the *Royal Edward* in Southend-on-Sea, one of several passenger liners converted for internment purposes. Here, he celebrated Christmas 1914:

[Es verlief] mit einer stimmungsvollen Aufführung, Vorträgen und Musik beim Scheine der Christbaumkerzen weit besser, gar nicht so traurig, wie wir uns vorgestellt hatten. Schöne Weihnachtspakete aus Deutschland, von lieben Verwandten, guten Freunden, getreuen Nachbarn und dergleichen.<sup>12</sup>

In February 1915, finally, permission was granted for Bock to leave Britain for the United States.

Unlike Bock and Singewald, many of the former Redford inmates were interned in Stobs, the central Scottish internment camp near Hawick in the Lowlands.<sup>13</sup> As the following table shows the peak number of prisoners which could be traced was 4,592.

Stobs Internment Camp: Number and composition of internees<sup>14</sup>

	Civilians	POWs	total
February 1915	300	none	300
April 1915	?	?	800
15 June 1915	1098	1278	2376

The camp was used for both ‘enemy aliens’ and prisoners of war. The two groups were accommodated in separate, but mutually accessible compounds. Each consisting of twenty huts measuring 120 feet in length and twenty feet in width and sleeping thirty-three persons on average. The camp was surrounded by barbed wire. One of the inmates was August Blume whose boarding house in Edinburgh went bankrupt in his absence and was finally sequestered.<sup>16</sup>

Visits by relatives or friends were restricted to Saturdays and were attended by an interpreter. All incoming or outgoing mail had to bear the censor’s mark. This ensured that only trivial information - and certainly no criticism - could reach the outside world. As the camp newspaper *Stobsiade* remarks:

Manchmal fliegt ein Brief über den Stacheldraht. Aus Deutschland oder vom englischen Heim. Das, was wir wissen möchten, steht nicht darin. Natürlich nicht. Auch Pakete kommen an. Wenn etwas sehr Wünschenswertes darin plätschert, behält es der Zensor. Natürlich.<sup>17</sup>

A letter from E. Willinger who had been living in Middlesbrough before the war gives an insight into the nature of outgoing mail. The letter is addressed to the pastor of the German evangelical congregation in Middlesbrough and is quoted verbatim. Its content is almost devoid of any significant information.

Dear Mr. Abraham,

this to let you know that we are here in Stops Camp A now. That is to say not all of us from the Ship. there are only about 10 from M’borough and Southbank here. there is quit a young Pastor coming here from Edinbrough (I forgotten his

name) but he says he may see you some day, I hope so. It is quit all right here. The Air is splendit. I understand you are going to Lancaster and Lofthouse Park [two other internment camps, S. M.] as well. Please remember me to Paul Schulz, Franz v. Rohn and some of the old M'brough boys. I hope Your Wife and Child are quit well same yourself. My Adress is E. W. Concentration Camp A. Hut q.a., Stops, Hawick, Scotland.

Gruß

E. Willinger<sup>18</sup>

The long periods of internment and isolation caused those mental problems that were aptly described by contemporaries as 'barbed wire disease'. The inmates had nothing meaningful to do and often felt bored or depressed. An article in the camp newspaper *Stobsiade* addresses this:

Mittlerweile werden wir ein wenig simpel, spinnen wohl gar, und geraten in den gemütvollen Traumzustand, gemeinhin Dusel genannt. Das Gehirn verengt sich. Die Ereignisse des Vorlebens liegen weit zurück. Wie lange ist's her, dass wir Mariechen zum Abschied küssten? Gibt es überhaupt ein Mariechen, oder gehört auch das zu unsern Hirngespinsten? Gott weiss es.<sup>19</sup>

Sexual frustration is expressed through grim humour in the following 'advert':

Des Alleinseins müde, sehnt sich Rittmeister A. D. - noch leidlich erhalten - nach Ehefesseln (möglichst goldenen). Musikalische Damen ohne Anhang mit Klitsche und Kies bevorzugt. Näheres unter 'Hochdruck 80' an das Postamt Stobs.<sup>20</sup>

Serious cases of mental illness had to be treated in the camp hospital. As one of the American inspectors who regularly visited internment camps all over Britain reported in April 1916:



Unfortunately there had been three deaths during the last few days before my visit, which had told very much upon the nerves of the interned soldiers and civilians, as they have so little to think about. [...] Most of the prisoners in the hospital were suffering from nerves, colds, wounds, or tuberculosis.

During the eighteen months up to April 1916, twelve prisoners died. Four doctors were in charge of the infirmary, assisted by twenty-eight German attendants. In cases needing an operation a surgeon came from Edinburgh. On the day of the inspector's visit, there were sixty-five patients in the hospital. The hospital kitchen was staffed by four German cooks.

The healthy prisoners, too, were catered for by their compatriots. Each of the four compounds had a kitchen with ten to twenty German cooks. One of them was a chef and the others his assistants. In camp C there was also a bakehouse which produced bread for the whole camp and employed fourteen bakers, all soldiers and sailors. The flour issued was made by the prisoners 'into the sort of rolls and cakes they like.'<sup>21</sup>

There was also a Board of Justice,

which assists in regulating small matters between the prisoners themselves, so that, if there should be any disagreements of slight nature, these may be brought before this Board of Justice, which frequently is enabled to arrange a settlement by apology or otherwise. These committees are all chosen and run by the interned prisoners themselves.<sup>22</sup>

Work, recreation and education were the only ways to escape boredom. Over 500 of the prisoners were engaged in roadbuilding. Others set up workshops where they pursued their professions such as shoemaking, tailoring, or hairdressing. Examples are Otto Watzlaff in Hut 40, 'Haar-Spezialist, Friseur und Huehneraugen-Operateur'; Wilhelm Driesch in Hut 7, 'Feine Herrenschniderei'; or Gustav Duwe in Hut 27,

‘Uhrmacher und Juwelier; Reparaturen aller Art, einschl. Klemmer und Brillen’. The camp school taught a multitude of subjects, for example shorthand, languages or history. An orchestra and various other instrumental groups existed, two military singing societies, one civilian singing society, a library with English and German books, and a theatre society. Gardening, i. e. laying out flower beds was very popular. By April 1916, there were skittle alleys and equipment for gymnastics. Two tennis courts and a recreation ground were in the making. ‘Sport-Feste’ were organised on a regular basis.

On Christmas 1915, a ‘Grosse Weihnachtsrevue mit Musik (Chor u. Orchester), Gesang und Tanz’ was staged under the title ‘Hallo Stobs!!’. The performers were (quoted sic):

Corps de Ballet: Unter Mitwirkung hervorragender Kuenstler.

Regie: F. Hoffmeyer.

Musik komponiert und arrangiert von E. Beu.

Dramatische Szenen und Text verfasst von H. Beckmann, E. Behrens [...]

Kostueme aus dem Atelier W. Fr. Schulz

Veranstaltet vom Komitee der Civil-Lager mit guetiger Erlaubnis des Kommandanten Lieut.-Colonel Bowman.

Christmas 1916, then, saw the staging of ‘Der Verschwender. Original-Zaubermaerchen in 3 Aufzuegen von Ferd. Raimund. Musik von Konradin Kreutzer’.<sup>23</sup>

The spiritual needs of both Lutherans and Catholics were catered for. Dr C. van Biesen, a Dutch Catholic priest residing in Hawick during the war, held regular services. The situation for Protestants turned out to be more complicated. Until June 1915, regular services were held by C. Planer, who had been the pastor of the German Evangelical Congregation in Edinburgh and was interned in Stobs after the outbreak of war. When he

was released in April 1915, he could not return to Edinburgh as this was a prohibited area cleared of 'enemy aliens'. His congregation had been dispersed. He decided to return to Germany and asked the above-mentioned Gerhard Abraham, the German pastor in Middlesbrough, to continue his work at Stobs. Abraham agreed and came to Stobs probably every two or three weeks. Services were held in the canteen. The organ belonged to the German congregation in Edinburgh and was played by machinist R. Adomat from Hut 63.

More support from outside the camp came from various relief committees: the Y. M. C. A., the Society of Friends Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians and Hungarians in Distress, and the Prisoners of War Relief Agency which was organised by a German chemist living in London, Dr. K. E. Markel. These committees supported internees throughout Britain. The internees in Stobs also received some assistance from those members of the German community in Edinburgh and Glasgow who were not interned because they were female, too old, or naturalised. The German Club in Glasgow provided books from its library for the camp library. Herr Schultzen and Frau Peacock maintained regular contact with the internees and sold some of their handicraft products such as frames or boxes. These items were often purchased by Germans living in Glasgow and Edinburgh who displayed them in their households as memorabilia long after the war.<sup>24</sup>

In the British context, Stobs seems to have been one of the best organised and well attended camps. Albert E. Rosenkranz, who had been the pastor of the German congregation in Liverpool before the war, wrote in 1921 that those of his flock who came to Stobs had no reason to complain about their treatment.<sup>25</sup> Corporal Emil Bahrs, reporting to the German authorities after his release, described his food rations as adequate.<sup>26</sup> The Commandant, Major Bowman, supported the activities of

the German pastors as much as he could within the framework set by the war office.<sup>27</sup> During inspection visits, the internees had the chance to talk to the inspectors individually and bring forward any complaints, but:

Keine der Klagen bezog sich auf die Zustände im Lager oder auf ihre Behandlung oder Beköstigung. Sie betrafen vielmehr in der Hauptsache ihre Gefangensetzung und daß es ihnen unmöglich gewesen sei, ihre Privatangelegenheiten zu ordnen, da man ihnen vor der Internierung nur eine kurze Frist gelassen habe.<sup>28</sup>

Despite these favourable commentaries, however, and despite the range of occupational and recreational facilities, it would be misleading to imagine camp life as being happy. The activities were nothing more than attempts at coming to terms with a difficult situation and trying to avoid insanity in an extremely confined situation.

From a sociological perspective, no internment camp during the First World War has found as perceptive an analysis as *Ruhleben* in Berlin. The Canadian sociologist John D. Ketchum was one of about 4,000 mainly British and Commonwealth civilian internees and later published his study *Ruhleben. A Prison Camp Society*.<sup>29</sup> Ketchum's account helps us to explain some of the prisoners' activities in Stobs - and indeed in other British camps, both during the First and the Second World War. The activities were attempts to lend some purpose to a long and otherwise meaningless period of internment. They pursued clear aims, but of modest dimensions, since they had to be realised within the confines of the barbed wire, e. g. a language had to be learned or a competition had to be won. Such activities structured the prisoners' daily routine which otherwise would have lacked any framework. They had a set beginning and an end, and often required preparation and revision. As Ketchum remarks:

The purposeful activity that followed did more than make camp life interesting, for purpose is the great organizing agent of the personality, establishing priorities among its motives, giving direction and focus to behaviour, and so unifying and stabilizing the self. An aimless life is a disorganized life, and ultimately a demoralized one, for without some goal one way of acting is no better or worse than another. These were of course the chief dangers of a long, meaningless internment, and the series of mental breakdowns showed their reality.

Furthermore, the activities facilitated at least a *mental* escape from imprisonment:

One cannot be consciously a prisoner while playing centre forward on a football team or translating Goethe in class. In so far as the men immersed themselves in the new roles offered them [...] they ceased to feel themselves prisoners.<sup>30</sup>

I will now turn from internment to general displacement. In the course of the war, the whole of the Scottish East Coast was declared a prohibited area. This meant that 'enemy aliens' were not allowed to reside there and were displaced. The mechanics of displacement can be shown by taking Fifeshire as an example. In August 1914 109 enemy aliens were registered. Up to October, all male aliens under forty-five were either interned in Redford or deprived of their permit of residence. Three men in the latter category refused to move away and were imprisoned in Dundee. The policy also applied to women. By October, twenty-one women were left with a permit of residence. Some of them were wives of internees. Eleven were British-born wives of Germans. The others were servants. All seamen landing in the ports of Methil or Burntisland were interned in Redford. By November, of the original 109 aliens, seventeen were left with a permit of residence, thirteen had been interned, seventy-nine had been removed to non-prohibited areas - and possibly interned at a later stage.

Georg Ketterer and his family from Carnoustie, for example, found lodging with 'Mrs McDougal, Govanhill, Glasgow'.<sup>31</sup>

As far as repatriation is concerned, this was first undertaken on a voluntary basis, but later enforced. In June 1915, the Scottish Advisory Committee on Aliens under Lord Dewar and two Scottish MPs was established. The Committee dealt both with applications for release from internment and exemption from repatriation. Virtually all women, children, and elderly men now applied for exemption. About half of the 2000 applications were granted. Towards the end of the war, however, the rules were tightened again; the Advisory Committee was enlarged and all cases were reconsidered. In August 1918, 120 more enemy aliens were either interned or repatriated upon recommendation of the committee.

Amongst those now interned were F. Laurenz from Glasgow, a 64 year old cabinetmaker who had been living in Britain for 46 years, and Louis Hanway from Lanarkshire, a furrier suffering from a heart disease who had left Germany at the age of nine. Both Laurenz and Hanway had British born wives. Amongst those now repatriated were Mrs. Leibfried from Edinburgh, a mother of six British-born children and wife of an interned 'enemy alien'; and Martha Mutzke, a 28 year old domestic servant whose father and brothers were interned. Leibfried and Mutzke had been resident in Britain for 28 years and 15 years respectively.<sup>32</sup>

This information enables us to read the following table which gives an overview of the forced movement of people in Scotland during the course of the war. Numbers for the immediate post-war period - when further repatriations were carried out - could not be obtained. The number of 556 Germans in Scotland as recorded by the 1921 census cannot be directly correlated with the table due to differing registration methods.

Number of 'Enemy Aliens' in Scotland, 1914-1918<sup>33</sup>

	Glasgow	Edinburgh	Scotland
registered August 1914	941	624	3170
moved from prohibited areas	247		
registered by 19. 11. 1914 (incl. internees)	1188		
interned by 19. 11. 1914	412	249	1073
resident 19. 11. 1914	617	232	1390
resident 1. 7. 1917	422	41	770 (March)
resident 1. 8. 1918	366		644

A detailed analysis of Scottish public opinion as reflected through newspaper articles, letters to the editor, speeches, and acts of violence and exclusion in everyday life has shown that the government measures were backed by overwhelming public support.<sup>34</sup> Germanophobia in combination with spy-fever proved to be a fatal mix for the German minority in Scotland. In Glasgow, for example, the self-styled Anti-Alien Movement organised a public meeting in St. Andrew's Hall on 13 June 1916. A crowd of 7000 cheered enthusiastically when speakers such as former liberal Lord Provost Sir Samuel Chisholm declared:

The fabric of our industrial, commercial and social life has been honeycombed by the influence of Germans who contribute nothing to our national prosperity, nothing to the promulgation of those ideals of honour and truth on which our

glorious Empire rests; Germans, whose secret and often, indeed, very unconscious influence is only to lower, coarsen and degrade (Cheers).

Another speaker demanded:

I would sweep these alien enemies out of our country root and branch. As a British ratepayer, who has paid taxes for 40 years, I maintain that we have fed the lazy Germans long enough (Cheers).<sup>35</sup>

Further examples abound. The Standing Joint Committee of County Elgin alerted Secretary for Scotland McKinnon Wood to

the danger to the Country in this crisis owing to the number of aliens still at large in our midst. Serious apprehension is being felt all over the Country by the freedom with which these persons - in many cases believed to be paid spies - can move about without interference [...]. My Committee would strongly urge that [...] steps should be taken without delay to have all alien enemies in the Country, both male and female, either deported or interned.<sup>36</sup>

Just as in England, German-owned shops had their windows smashed and anti-German riots occurred in towns such as Edinburgh and Dumfries.<sup>37</sup> Establishments such as the Royal Restaurant in West Nile Street, Glasgow, posted a notice in their premises that no German or naturalised Briton of German birth would be served because British customers were unwilling to occupy tables along with them.<sup>38</sup> At the glass bottle works of W. King in Firhill, a trade dispute arose because a number of the workmen 'indicated that working alongside the Germans was distasteful to them.' The two German employees were eventually dismissed.<sup>39</sup> The *Scottish Field* asked 'Do Germans possess souls?', and commented: 'Our childrens' children will still look upon Germans as belonging to an accursed race, a race that stinks in the nostrils of every human being who understands the meaning of



honour.<sup>40</sup> The fact that the Scottish experience more or less mirrored the English one questions an integral aspect of Scottish national identity construction, namely the self-definition as a society historically free from racism and xenophobia. Although recent studies have started to question this notion,<sup>41</sup> none has done so through an investigation of the German minority - which arguably serves best to prove the point.

Germanophobia and spy-fever were a central element of the fears and anxieties of British wartime society. The enemy abroad was projected onto the 'enemy in our midst', i.e. the German minority, which, in the public imagination, was now moulded into an army of spies and traitors. Government measures were both a reaction to and a driving-force behind these public manifestations. Their symbolic significance far exceeds their actual effectiveness and rationality. Internment and repatriation have to be seen as a mere reassurance to the British public that the home front was safe. This appears to be all the more true considering that German espionage during the war was badly organised and a rather marginal phenomenon. Not a single German who had lived in Britain before 1914 was involved. No act of sabotage occurred.<sup>42</sup> The political class had their own agenda, namely political survival during wartime. A *laissez-faire* approach simply would not have been acceptable for the electorate. Prime Minister Asquith, for example, did not support personally the anti-alienist demands and wholesale internment. In May 1915, however, he gave way to public perceptions that home secretary McKenna's containment of enemy aliens was too lax and replaced him with Sir John Simon.<sup>43</sup>

It would be misleading, however, to regard the home-front hysteria and its impact on enemy aliens during World War I as a singular historic 'black hole'. It rather has to be seen within a larger historical context. The paradigm of xenophobic terminology did not spring up out of the blue in August 1914 but had developed in the *pre-war* decades.<sup>44</sup> It was now

applied to the ‘enemy in our midst’ in the framework of a socially accepted public discourse. The nationalist right-wing British Empire Union had originally been founded in 1915 as the Anti-German Union and was active up until the mid-1970s.<sup>45</sup> Civilian internment, of course, had its precedent during the Boer War in South Africa and was then carried out again during the Second World War, as various contributions to this volume demonstrate. The patterns and policies of internment that had developed during the First World War were able to prove their longevity only two decades later.

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#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Private papers Frederick McKay.

<sup>2</sup> Scottish Brewing Archive, T 1/6/1, Director’s Minute Book, 4. 9. 1916 (quote); Glasgow University Archives, DC 402/1/2, Protokollbuch Deutscher Verein, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> John C. Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain, 1914-1918* (New York/London: Garland, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> Panikos Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst. Germans in Britain during the First World War* (New York/Oxford: Berg, 1991).

<sup>5</sup> Stefan Manz, *Migranten und Internierte. Deutsche in Glasgow, 1864-1918* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2003), ch. II.3, and generally for more details.

<sup>6</sup> Stefan Manz, Technologietransfer und Spezialistenwanderung. Eine Augsburger Lagerbrauerei in Glasgow, 1889-1959, *Zeitschrift für Unternehmensgeschichte*, 45 (2/2000), pp. 225-247.

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<sup>7</sup> Stefan Manz, 'Wir stehen fest zusammen/ Zu Kaiser und zu Reich!'. Nationalism among Germans in Britain 1871-1918, *German Life and Letters*, 55/4 (2002), pp. 398-415; idem., *Migranten*, ch. IV.

<sup>8</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 12. 9. 1914, 17. 9. 1914, 23. 10. 1914, 24. 10. 1914, 26. 10. 1914; Public Record Office HO 45/10729/255193/45, 20. 10. 1914, Home Office circular to police authorities; Public Record Office HO 45/10729/255193/5, Scottish Office to Chief Constables in Scotland; Johannes Bock, *6 Monate in englischer Gefangenschaft. Erlebnisse eines Bremers* (Bremen: Winter, 1915), S. 20ff.

<sup>9</sup> Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv Freiburg PH2/588, Arno Singewald an Reichskommissar zur Erörterung von Gewalttätigkeiten gegen deutsche Zivilpersonen in Feindeshand, 8. 5. 1916, S. 25.

<sup>10</sup> Bock, *6 Monate*, S. 25.

<sup>11</sup> As footnote 9.

<sup>12</sup> Bock, *6 Monate*, S. 35.

<sup>13</sup> Stefan Manz, New Evidence on Stobs Internment Camp 1914-1919, *Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions*, 2002, pp. 59-69; Judith E. Murray, Stobs Camp 1903-1959, *ibid.*, 1988, pp. 12-25; Julie M. Horne, The German Connection. The Stobs Camp Newspaper 1916-1919, *ibid.*, pp. 26-32; Manz, *Migranten*, S. 278-281.

<sup>14</sup> Sources: Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv Freiburg, RM 3/5402, Report John B. Jackson, 27. 2. 1915, S. 50; RM 3/5579/73f., Report American Embassy/German Division, 26. 10. 1915; Parliamentary Papers, misc. 30 (1916), Report American Embassy/German Division, p. 15; Tower Hamlets Local Library and Archives (London), TH 8662/52, letter Pastor Planer to Pastor Abraham, 24. 4. 1915.

<sup>15</sup> Includes 178 Austrians and two Turks.

<sup>16</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 2. 12. 1914.

<sup>17</sup> *Stobsiade* 1, 5. 9. 1915, Hawick Borders Regional Library, RH 828 R/S.

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<sup>18</sup> Tower Hamlets Local Library and Archives, TH 8662/68, 11. 5. 1915.

<sup>19</sup> *Stobsiade* 1, 5. 9. 1915.

<sup>20</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> Parliamentary Papers, misc. 30 (1916), Report American Embassy/German Division, p. 16.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> Programmes courtesy of Mr. Jake Coltman, Hawick.

<sup>24</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 19. 2. 1915; Tower Hamlets Local Library and Archive, TH 8662/52, 59, 60, 64, 77, 80, letters from pastor Planer to pastor Abraham between 24. 4. 1915 and 18. 6. 1915; Glasgow University Archives, DC 402/1/2, Deutscher Verein Glasgow, Protokollbuch, S. 133-136.

<sup>25</sup> Albert E. Rosenkranz, *Geschichte der Deutschen Evangelischen Gemeinde zu Liverpool* (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1921), S. 211.

<sup>26</sup> Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv Freiburg, PH 2/588, report by Unteroffizier Emil Bahrs.

<sup>27</sup> Tower Hamlets Local Library and Archives, TH 8662/64, Pastor Planer to Pastor Abraham, 7. 5. 1915.

<sup>28</sup> Bundesarchiv Militärarchiv Freiburg, RM3/5579/74.

<sup>29</sup> John D. Ketchum, *Ruhleben. A Prison Camp Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965).

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 208f.

<sup>31</sup> West Register House Edinburgh, HH 31/10/25478/1107, 24. 10. 1914, Chief Constable Fifeshire to Scottish Office; HH 37/1/25478/1372c, 19. 11. 1914, Chief Constable Glasgow to

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Scottish Office; HH 31/10/15478/1060, Circular Home Office to Chief Constables.

<sup>32</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 1. 3. 1917, 16. 7. 1918, 12. 8. 1918, 14. 8. 1918, 24. 8. 1918, 24. 8. 1918.

<sup>33</sup> Sources: West Register House Edinburgh, HH 37/1/1372a, circular Scottish Office to Chief Constables, 12. 11. 1914; *ibid.*, HH 37/1/25478/1372c, Chief Constable Stevenson/Glasgow to Under Secretary for Scotland, 19. 11. 1914; *ibid.*, HH 37/1/25478/895, 2137a, 1444, 2606, 2225; Public Record Office, CAB 1/26, Census of Aliens, 1. 7. 1917, S. 19; *Glasgow Herald*, 1. 3. 1917, 16. 7. 1918, 12. 8. 1918, 14. 8. 1918, 24. 8. 1918.

<sup>34</sup> Stefan Manz, 'Our sworn, subtle, savage, implacable and perfidious foe'. Germanophobia and Spy-fever in Scotland, 1914-1918, *Irish-German Studies*, 1/2004, pp. 28-37.

<sup>35</sup> Strathclyde Regional Archives Glasgow, PA 11/II/4, Enemy Alien Danger.

<sup>36</sup> West Register House Edinburgh, HH 31/10/25478/686, Elgin County Clerk to McKinnon Wood, 6. 10. 1914.

<sup>37</sup> Manz, 'Our sworn...', pp. 33f.

<sup>38</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 13. 5. 1915.

<sup>39</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 5. 6. 1915.

<sup>40</sup> *Scottish Field*, April 1915, June 1915, p. 298; also see September 1916, p. 116; November 1916, p. 224; August 1917, p. 63.

<sup>41</sup> e. g. Henry Maitles, Attitudes to Jewish Immigration in the West of Scotland to 1905, *The Journal of the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland*, 15 (1995), pp. 44-65.

<sup>42</sup> Gerard J. deGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (London/New York: Longman, 1996), pp. 157-60.

<sup>43</sup> Bird, *Control*, p. 92.

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<sup>44</sup> Most recently Robert Winder, *Bloody Foreigners. The Story of Immigration to Britain* (London: Little Brown, 2004); for Scotland see Manz, *Migranten*, Einleitung and ch. V. 1.

<sup>45</sup> Panikos Panayi, *The British Empire Union in the First World War, Immigrants and Minorities*, 8 (1989), pp. 113-128.