

**On Their Majesties' Secret Service:
An Historical Perspective of
British Invasion/Spy Literature,
1871-1918**

A thesis presented by

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Summary

This thesis is concerned with examining British spy literature, a form of literature that began to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century and developed into a clearly recognised form during the Edwardian period (1901-1914). This is done by looking at its origins and evolution from invasion literature and to a lesser extent detective literature up to the end of World War I. A main focus will be on the political arguments imbedded in the text, which mirrored those same debates in wider British society that took place before and during World War I. These debates and topics within the literature will be examined to see what influence, if any, they had on the creation of the intelligence service of MI5 and MI6 and how foreigners were perceived.

In addition there will be chapters that focus on a number of social aspects, to compare the fictional world of literature with the reality and the mind-set of British society during the given time period especially during World War I. This part of the thesis is aimed at demonstrating that the idea of the 'Self and Other' or 'Us and Them', which is expressed in the literature especially during World War I was used as a means of further creating a sense of difference between the British and the Germans, where the former were used to represent civilisation while the latter as portrayed represented barbarism that was a direct threat to civilisation. While in the case of the portrayal of women in wartime occupations it will be shown that literature was written in a manner that belonged to the style of writing and imagery which is found in British propaganda during World War I about the use of women in

the war effort while not contradicting already held social values about the position of women in society.

In conclusion the thesis will argue that spy literature from its evolution from invasion literature with its use of repetition and recurrence, which was also found in political periodicals and debates at the time, was overall ideologically driven by the right-wing elements of British politics to attack the Liberal Party in order to convince a wider public audience towards a certain political and military point of view. This had mixed results, while portraying differences between the British and foreigners especially Germans.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Danny Laurie-Fletcher

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Introduction and Literature Review

This thesis aims to examine a relatively new form of literature; The British spy novel, which began to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century and during the Edwardian period. This form of literature belonged to the thriller genre, a description given to stories that focused on thrilling the reader and which were often cheaply produced in paperback with a target audience aimed at, but not exclusively, a male readership.¹ These became known as ‘shilling shockers’ or in America as dime novels, due to their price. The Edwardian period came after the Victorian development of fiction to cater for a new mass market of readers. An example of this fiction was the Sherlock Holmes stories, followed by a range of other fictional detectives including Sexton Blake. Out of these detective stories came spy thrillers that had at their core simple stories about well defined good and evil characters. In Britain these stories took shape as a cultural response to events and movements outside and within Britain, particularly challenges from Irish republicanism, the Boer War (1899-1902) and the creation of the German Empire at a time of Britain’s relative economic decline. Some of the political responses were the creations of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch (MPSB) at Scotland Yard,² the secret service that developed into the Secret Service Bureau known as MI5 (responsible for internal security and counter-intelligence) and the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS) known as MI6 (responsible for intelligence gathering overseas), and the

¹ There were spies who appeared or were mentioned in historical novels in passing or their activities as a spy were not the main focus of novels. See H. Rider Haggard, *Red Eve*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, New York & Toronto, 1911, passim; Charles Lever, *Charles O’Malley: The Irish Dragoon* [1840], Cassell & Company, London, New York, Toronto & Melbourne, 1909, passim; Stanley J. Weyman, *Under the Red Robe*, Methuen, London, 1894, passim; A. T. Quiller-Couch, ‘The Rider in the Dawn’ [1903], *Two Sides of the Face: Midwinter Tales*, Macmillan, London, 1903, passim.

² When founded in 1883 the Branch was originally named the Irish Special Branch of the Metropolitan Police. This was because its mission was to counteract the Fenian Brotherhood, an Irish nationalist terrorist group.

passing of the Official Secret Services Acts of 1889 and 1911. Priya Satia has pointed out in her study of British spies in Arabia and the cultural responses:

The turn of the century also signalled a new era for Britons at home. The end of the South African War [the Boer War] and of Victoria's reign heralded a new epoch. The incipient rise of the new security state was formalised with the 1909 foundation of the secret service and the 1911 Official Secret Services Act. Mirroring the new appreciation for the need to develop [a] British intelligence system, the spy emerged for the first time as a hero in novels like Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901) and Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903), entwining his cultural and institutional careers from the outset. These developments were part of a new cultural fascination with investigation, also manifest in journalism, social investigation, and police work.³

I hope my study of British spy/invasion literature will contribute to a further understanding of the politics behind the creation of the genre and to a degree contemporary attitudes towards class, the concept of the gentleman, women in relation to war work and sexual relations, as part of the social, cultural and political responses before and during World War I.⁴ This range of issues is found within the text of the novels, which in itself tells much of the ideology of the time. Sharon Ouditt has argued the case in relation to her studies of female writers during World War I:

...it would be all too easy to dismiss Berta Ruck⁵ and Brenda Girvin as simply "no good". Analysis of their writings in terms of the ideologies encoded within a popular literary form ... [and a] range of discourses or subject positions, provide various lines of enquiry that might contribute to a broad analysis of the representation and self-representation of women in this period....⁶

³ Priya Satia, *Spies in Arabia: The Great War and the Cultural Foundations of Britain's Covert Empire in the Middle East*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2008, 17.

⁴ Novels published in 1919 will be included as many were written or first serialised during World War I. For example *Mr. Standfast* was written between July 1917 and July 1918 and then serialised in *Popular Magazine* in January and February 1919. See Andrew Lownie, *John Buchan: The Presbyterian Cavalier* [1995], David R. Godine, Boston, 2003, 141.

⁵ She also published under her married name of Mrs Oliver Onions.

⁶ Sharon Ouditt, *Women Writers of The First World War: An Annotated Bibliography*, Routledge, London & New York, 2000, 3.

Ouditt's remarks are appropriate when discussing writers of spy novels and stories. Overall these novelists belonged to popular and middlebrow writing. Their focus was on entertainment with the use of repetition, spelling out a story without necessarily allowing the reader to interpret the text for themselves. In doing so the novelist was reinforcing prejudices or opinions already held within British society at their time of publication rather than any deep analysis of characters and circumstances. However, there are some that did allow for different interpretation such as the Hannay novels by John Buchan. On the surface, they can be labelled merely as entertaining literature with simple characters and plots but unlike in other works, readers are allowed to have different interpretations on events and some characters. An example is *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1915). In this story, Scudder, the American spy, tells Hannay that Jews are ruling the world through the Germans:

The Jew is everywhere, but you have to go far down the backstairs to find him. Take any big Teutonic business concern. If you have dealings with it the first man you meet is Prince von und Zu Something, an elegant young man who talks Eton-and-Harrow English. But he cuts no ice. If your business is big, you get behind him and find a prognathous Westphalian with a retreating brow and the manners of a hog. He is the German business man [sic] that gives your English papers the shakes. But if you're on the biggest kind of job and are bound to get to the real boss, ten to one you are brought up against a little white-faced Jew in a bath-chair with an eye like a rattlesnake. Yes, Sir, he is the man who is ruling the world just now....⁷

Yet, later in the novel after Hannay has escaped from a group of German conspirators, the character of Sir Walter Bullivant (the head of the British secret service) warns that Hannay that this viewpoint is not necessarily correct, saying that 'He [Scudder] was half

⁷ John Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps* [1915], Thomas Nelson & Sons, Edinburgh, London & Melbourne, n.d., 17.

crank, half genius, but he was wholly honest.’⁸ In varying degrees the reader can read spy novels in more ways than one. One approach is to interpret the use of spies by novelists such as Buchan as an indication of contemporary concerns about foreigners, especially Jews, believed to have infiltrated British society for their own undesirable purposes. Claude Cockburn, the cultural critic, saw this as part of a constructed fictional world by authors who had ‘peopled it with figures of their own devising. The way they ensure or demand that these puppets should behave is inevitably an indication of their attitudes to human behaviour in the “private sector” in their own day.’⁹ Cockburn’s remarks were on bestsellers that had been, for the most part, forgotten decades after their initial success. Buchan is still remembered after his initial success due to the popularity of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and the subsequent 1935 Alfred Hitchcock film based loosely on the novella.¹⁰ Others, such as William Le Queux¹¹ and E. Phillips Oppenheim, both of whom wrote in the spy genre, have disappeared from the public consciousness.¹² Yet, during

⁸ Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, 123.

⁹ Claude Cockburn, *Bestseller: The Books that Everyone Read 1900-1939*, Sidgwick & Jackson, London, 1972, 15.

¹⁰ The enduring popularity of Buchan is evident by the fact Hannay novels are referred to in later spy novels including a number by John le Carré. These include *The Looking Glass War*, which has a quote from *Mr Standfast*, in *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy* has one character reading a Buchan novel and in *The Honourable Schoolboy* and *Smiley’s People*, George Smiley, the hero, uses the pseudonym of Mr. Standfast as a working name that appears on his fake British passport when he travels under the cover of a commercial traveller. The use of the name of Standfast and its cover is a direct reference to Buchan’s *Mr. Standfast*, where Hannay travels under the cover of a commercial traveller selling books. And Magnus Pym, the lead character in *A Perfect Spy*, comments as part of his training that he chased ‘Buchan’s ghost across the moors of Argyll’ is a reference to *The Thirty-Nine Steps*. Furthermore the BBC made a fourth film version of *The Thirty-Nine Steps* in 2008. See John le Carré, *The Looking-Glass War* [1965], Penguin Classics, London, 2011, 19; John le Carré, *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, Sydney, Auckland & Toronto, 1974, 262; John le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, Sydney, Auckland & Toronto, 1977, 179; John le Carré, *Smiley’s People* [1979], Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1980, 156, 208, 240, 244; John le Carré, *A Perfect Spy*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, Sydney, Auckland & Toronto, 1986, 407.

¹¹ According to Le Queux’s birth certificate his surname was actually written as Lequeux. See Chris Patrick & Stephen Baister, *William Le Queux: Master of Mystery*, C. Patrick & S. Baister, Purley (Surrey, England), 2007, 3.

¹² Oppenheim was still remembered enough in the 1970s to be referred to in *The Honourable Schoolboy* by Saul Enderby, Smiley’s successor as head of British secret intelligence, known in the novel as ‘The Circus’,

their lives they were very much part of British popular culture. The novelist Arnold Bennett, once a magazine editor, noted Le Queux's stories were bought for serialisation 'all year round.'¹³ In 1898, Bennett was informed by Lever Tillotson, a representative of the Bolton literary syndicate, that Le Queux earned as much money as H. G. Wells and Thomas Hardy, at the top rate of 12 guineas¹⁴ per thousand words.¹⁵ He continued for a time after his death to belong to popular British culture, being referred to by Graham Greene in his *Ministry of Fear* (1943), where the main character Rowe cries out in a nightmare that 'The World had been remade by William Le Queux.'¹⁶ Peter Cheyney, another spy novelist, in his *Dark Duet* (1942) had a lead character comment: 'This [Hotel Estrada] is the best hotel in Lisbon. It has everything. It has fat blonde German spies all dressed in black velvet gowns hiding behind the palms in the lounges. It only needs William Le Queux here to write a book about it. It's a scream, *n'est-ce pas?*'¹⁷ Clearly during World War II the name of Le Queux was still associated with the world of international intrigue. Today, once popular writers like Le Queux are rarely read, despite the fact that his and others' creations such as Duckworth Drew, Hardross Courage and Peter Ruff were earlier prototypes for later spy-heroes like James Bond. Le Queux is now only of interest to academics and collectors, like Graham Greene, of spy and detective novels.

when he comments that information that has been delivered is 'Like something out of Phillips Oppenheim.' But how many younger readers of spy genre by the 1970s would understand this reference is debatable. See le Carré, *The Honourable Schoolboy*, 217.

¹³ Arnold Bennett, *The Truth About an Author* [1903], Methuen, London, 1914, 104.

¹⁴ A guinea was £1.1.0.

¹⁵ Reginald Pond, *Arnold Bennett: A Biography*, William Heinemann, London, Toronto & Melbourne, 1952, 114. See also Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5*, Allen Lane, London, 2009, 4; David Stafford, 'Conspiracy and Xenophobia: The Popular Spy Novels of William Le Queux', *Europa*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1981), 172; Roger T. Stearn, 'Le Queux, William, (1864-1927)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, vol. 33, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, Oxford & New York, 2004, 411.

¹⁶ Graham Greene, *The Ministry of Fear*, Heinemann, London, 1943, 57.

¹⁷ Peter Cheyney, *Dark Duet* [1942], Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1949, 63.

A common theme of historical interest in many spy novels before and during World War I was the integrity of the British Empire being threatened by the jealousies of other nations. The hero was always on the side of good, inevitably on the British side, and the villain was always on the side of evil; he or she being French, Russian, German, Irish, a cunning money-seeking Jew or some other representative of an ethnic minority whose loyalty to Britain is always questioned. These tales were, in the words of a reviewer, ‘a mild form of intoxicant’ aimed at capturing the imagination of the reader be they an adult or child, usually a male but not always.¹⁸ In doing so, these tales brought out the feeling of British superiority over other peoples through values and deeds. In part this was represented by a gentleman, usually well dressed and clean shaven except perhaps for a well groomed moustache – unless he was in disguise or involved in a war where he may have to get dirty – and who always knew his manners. The hero was presented as the physical representation of British superiority through his masculine and chivalrous virtues. He always overcame overwhelming odds, often escaping from certain death or overcoming impossible odds to save his love (as a reward for success) and to defeat his enemies. By drawing the reader into this fantasy world, the author conveyed his or her viewpoint and counted on the target audience becoming emotionally involved in a game where the existence of the British Empire was at stake. The fantasy world of spy novels and similar types of stories was part of the constructed world of the novelists that was mutually agreed upon with the reader. Though Richard Osborne was writing in the 1950s of his childhood thirty years before, his view is an indication of many of his age and older

¹⁸ Anonymous, ‘Our Booking-Office (By Mr. Punch’s Staff of Learned Clerks)’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 149 (15 Dec. 1915), 500.

who saw spy/thriller novels and their children's story offshoots having a message with appeal to their readership:

The schoolboy wants all his History to be a contest between Good and Bad ... Whether our predilection for taking sides is a good thing or a bad thing, it is greatly encouraged by the authors of thrillers. Still, in my middle age, my first swaggering, quasi-instinctive attitude to all England's problems is that they are soluble, and will be drastically solved. Not by me perhaps, but by someone ... Their [writers of thrillers'] heroes were men who, generally without prayer, faced fearful odds and triumphantly solved their problems—which were often England's problems too. They were baffled, but only in the first chapters and to fight better. No problem was too hard for them (or if it was, it didn't get written about). Having enlisted myself in their teams, I grew up with a feeling that England could always rely on some one person's, or some one team's, brains and bravery to pull it out of its perils. When I was a boy, and after I had grown out of imputing omnipotence to all grown-ups, I transferred my trust to the infallible English heroes of the English thrillers I read. If God came into it, then I felt that God was not only a Christian but, in the ultimate analysis, an English gentleman. He, naturally, took sides too.¹⁹

On the whole this seems true of most spy writers at least up to World War II – and many after the war. Usborne looking back to his childhood reading leads into the various methodical approaches by different scholars in tackling the social meaning in literature. They like Usborne discovered that there were often recurring themes. A significant theme was that the hero was almost always an English (or at least British) gentleman, whereas the villain was usually a foreigner representing the perceived threat from within or externally.

The influence that Usborne felt as a boy is reminiscent of George Orwell's assertion in his essay 'Boys' Weeklies' (1939) that boys' magazines help to shape the mental outlook of their readers. Orwell argued that the timelessness of the characters, especially the

¹⁹ Richard Usborne, *Clubland Heroes: A Nostalgic Study of Some Recurrent Characters in the Romantic Fiction of Dornford Yates, John Buchan and Sapper*, Constable, London, 1953, 14-15.

schoolboys, allowed for a set pattern over the years, even decades, creating expectations of consistent storyline and quality. And the stories are always set in a period when Britain was the world power, to give the illusion of security. In doing so they used stereotypes in the stories to take aim at foreigners as being all the same with the British being superior in all facets of life. As Orwell writes ‘The outlook inculcated by all these papers is that of a rather exceptionally stupid member of the Navy League in the year 1910.’²⁰ Yes, it may be said, but what does it matter? And in any case, what else do you expect?’²¹ Orwell believed it mattered because as he saw it, behind these seemingly harmless stories was a hidden political agenda as the biggest boys’ weeklies publisher Amalgamated Press (with D. C. Thomson) also published a number of Conservative newspapers such as *The Daily Mail* and *The Financial Times*. Orwell believed Amalgamated Press used boys’ weeklies to shape young boys’ minds into their being Conservative supporters as a means to prevent any true challenge to the political and economic status quo, as boys would come to see, as Usborne once did, that God was an English gentleman. So that while these ‘papers exist because of a specialised demand, because boys at certain ages find it necessary to read about Martians, death-rays, grizzly bears and gangsters’, they helped the establishment to maintain its position and control over the population.²²

The sociologist Richard Hoggart in *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) argues the opposite to Orwell. Instead he believed the working-classes were able to differentiate between what was purely entertaining and what was real and that the former did not, overall, influence

²⁰ A lobby group that sought before the war to increase naval expenditure to maintain the two power standard with a membership in 1914 at 100,000. See Catriona Pennell, *A Kingdom United: Popular Responses to the Outbreak of the First World War in Britain and Ireland*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2012, 13.

²¹ George Orwell, ‘Boys’ Weeklies’ [1939], *Critical Essays* [1946], Secker & Warburg, London, 1960, 87.

²² Orwell, ‘Boys’ Weeklies’, 88.

their view or behaviour. Hoggart claims the ‘People know when they are “being got at”, but limit the results upon themselves by relegating most of the persuasions of the world to “Them”. “Oh, they’ll put anything ... in the papers nowadays”, they remark; or “Still, it’s only a book.”’²³ He also claims that popular entertainment is shaped by the demands of the commercial market, which is dominated by the lower-middle and working-classes as part of the democratisation process. Such an observation was made in 1901 by the social theorist and reformist Helen Bosanquet in the liberal *The Contemporary Review*: ‘The people practically dictate what mental food they are prepared to assimilate, and a study of what they will read is really a study of an important part of their minds.’²⁴ Yet the problem with Hoggart’s work, as with Bosanquet’s article, is that it is based on personal experience and anecdotal evidence with little sociological or historically based research to back up his assertions that seems to imply that the working-classes were a uniform group, which in itself is a stereotype.

Raymond Williams’s *The Long Revolution* (1961) followed the idea that the democratisation process as represented by the arts was part of long revolutionary process that started with the Enlightenment and continued with social democracy in the twentieth century as through art ‘...the society expresses its sense of being a society’.²⁵ Williams and others have focused in the main on literature as evidence to support their arguments. Such an approach has been used by Edward W. Said. In *Orientalism* (1978), Said with echoes of Orwell, argues that a text could through its style of language, narrative, images

²³ Richard Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy: Aspects of Working-Class Life, with Special References to Publications and Entertainments* [1957], Chatto & Windus, London, 1959, 270.

²⁴ Helen Bosanquet, ‘Cheap Literature’, *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 29 (May 1901), 671.

²⁵ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* [1961], Pelican, Harmondsworth (England) & Ringwood (Melbourne), 1965, 47.

and characterisations be part of an effort by the author to selectively demonstrate their race's racial and cultural superiority over another. The text and its use of language is not merely what appears on the surface but is in part influenced by the time it was written and the way the writers use their text to shape readers' minds to the author's point of view.²⁶ With this in mind Said argues that Western writers and scholars have created an image of the Orient [Asia and North Africa] as irrational, depraved and childlike while the West is rational, virtuous and adult. Thus the Orient by contrast, is the 'Other' separated from the 'Self' of the Western author and his society by history, civilisation, mentality, learning, art and thinking as a means of explaining something unknown and providing a rationale for imperial control. Said goes on to argue that Orientalism was a fantasy based on Western ideas that perceived a natural difference between the Western 'Self' and the Oriental 'Other'. And those techniques of representation were used to show the superiority of the West over the East. In doing so, it showed more about the West's perception of itself as the 'Self' than it does of the 'Other' as the Orient. Said again used his theory in *Culture and Imperialism* (1988) by looking at British, French and to a lesser degree American literature for references, however small, to Empire to show that Western imperialism and attitudes of superiority were embodied in the literature even if the writers did not realise it.²⁷ The reasoning given was that such attitudes are ingrained in the mental world of Western culture. Homi Bhabha applies this theory to his study of imperialism and argues that a racial stereotype is a mixture of fear and superiority that 'requires, for its successful signification, a continual and repetitive chain of other

²⁶ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* [1978], Penguin Books, London & New York, 1991, 72.

²⁷ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* [1988], Chatto & Windus, London, 1993, passim.

stereotypes.’²⁸ Said equally argues that the stereotypes that he looks at, are part a chain of a ‘repetitious’ tradition dating back centuries that have spread throughout the West.²⁹ However, the use of Empire in novels in the Victorian and Edwardian periods was more focused on the metropolitan. When Empire was the focus of a novel one concern was the message of the self-help ethic: somebody emigrates to the Empire to make a better life or it is a vehicle for a ruined or misunderstood hero to either make a fortune or as a means of transformation and/or redemption. True, when the Briton came into conflict with the native there was usually – but not always – a display of British superiority. This is reflected in Buchan’s first spy novel *The Half-Hearted* (1900), where the hero Lewis Haystoun is reduced to lethargy by associating with the local Scottish landed society. Seemingly rejected in love, Haystoun goes on a secret mission to India seeking to rejuvenate himself, where he finds ‘...The fierce northern exultation which glories in hardships and the forlorn came upon him with such keenness and delight that, as he looked into the night and the black unknown, he felt the joy of a greater kinship....’³⁰ Haystoun ends by dying a heroic death to prevent a Russian invasion, thus redeeming himself in his and other eyes.

Another who follows the Said argument is Milan Voykovic. Voykovic in his thesis, *The Culture of the Thriller in Britain, 1898-1945* (1997) on the writings of Oppenheim, Edgar Wallace and Valentine Williams, takes up Said’s theory to argue that they:

... used the same literary constructions, the same devices and practices of the language of Orientalism to describe their fantasy about Britain and the Empire in

²⁸ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London, 1994, 77.

²⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 58-59.

³⁰ John Buchan, *The Half-Hearted*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1900, 308.

relation to other Europeans who they saw as a threat to the British Self. Furthermore, the authors' image of the virtuous British Self was solidly masculine, hence women, or the essence of femaleness they constructed as femininity, was subordinate to the White masculine heroism that was the basis or [of] Britishness.³¹

I recognise that there is evidence in spy/invasion literature before, during and indeed after World War I there is a sense of 'Self' and an 'Other'. That there were prejudices against the Orient or the East or for that matter any foreigner is marked by stereotypes which are repetitious. My thesis in part looks at a range of stereotypes throughout British spy/invasion literature before and during World War I and will suggest that the Said's theory has deficiencies. As imperial historian, John M. Mackenzie has persuasively demonstrated (by using other art forms than literature) that Westerners or Europeans embraced and incorporated Oriental ideals and art into their own ideals and art. Westerners did not necessarily see these Oriental ideals and art being inferior to Western ideals or that Oriental peoples lacked virtue, dignity or an adult mentality. In fact, the interest in the Middle East was chiefly due to it being the setting of the Bible. Mackenzie argues Said and fellow thinkers like Bhabha do not make 'any attempts to anchor their work in the empirical depths of the imperial experience, [but] tend to generalise in strikingly airy ways.'³² They are always searching through various texts to support their case, revealing their own prejudices and misconstructions of the West, in similar vein to those they accuse in the West of looking for difference to support their prejudices. Indeed, for all the analytical approach by Said and Bhabha to the text, at the core it is a simplistic reading. Another problem is that Said and Bhabha both heavily focus on elite

³¹ Milan Voykovic, *The Culture of the Thriller in Britain, 1898-1945: Authors, Publishers and the First World*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, Sydney, 1997, 18.

³² John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1995, 11.

or at least middlebrow literature in their analyses. For instance *Culture and Imperialism* is on the whole limited, though not exclusively, to British, French and American authors (with some post-colonial writers) like Jane Austen, Charles Dickens, Herman Melville, Gustave Flaubert, Henry James, Joseph Conrad, Rudyard Kipling, E. M. Forster, Albert Camus, and V. S. Naipaul. Some were more popular than others, while others such as T. S. Eliot represented particularly elite culture. As Said admits, ‘Popular culture means absolutely nothing to me except as it surrounds me. I obviously don’t accept all the hideously limited and silly remarks made about it by [German sociologist, philosopher, and musicologist Theodor W.] Adorno, but I must say it doesn’t speak to me in quite the same way that it would to you or to my children. I’m very conservative that way.’³³ To actually comprehend fully the stereotypes there needs to be a look beyond renowned works of literature. This is evident in Voykovic’s work and is further reflected in my own work.

As Michael Denning has argued in *Cover Stories* (1987), textual analysis is not without its use in reconstructing the past as part of historical evidence but this needs to be put alongside other sources of information to place them in their historical contexts.³⁴ This means a need to explain personal experiences, ideology and other documentary evidence including, for this thesis, the use of documents related to the intelligence services. Otherwise there is too little evidence, which creates the situation that historian Peter Laslett called ‘Looking the wrong way through the telescope’.³⁵ This is done when

³³ Quoted in Michael Sprinker & Jennifer Wicke, ‘Interview with Edward Said’, *Edward Said: A Critical Reader* [1992], ed. Michael Sprinker, Blackwell, Oxford & Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1993, 246.

³⁴ Michael Denning, *Cover Stories*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1987, 3.

³⁵ Peter Laslett, ‘The Wrong Way Through the Telescope: A Note on Literary Evidence in Sociology and in Historical Sociology’, *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 27, no. 3 (Sept. 1976), 319, 340.

literature is used as evidence for factual detail rather than mentality, thus giving a distorted view. The historian has to allow for the possibility that authors ‘will exaggerate, colour up and tone down, for aesthetic effect, for subjective, psychological reasons, and must end by suppressing some things and inventing others.’³⁶ Another historian, Gertrude Himmelfarb, who uses novels as evidence in her work, also raised concerns that some historians and by implication other academics and writers are selective in their use of novels, ‘citing as evidence of contemporary attitudes and facts those passages which conform to their [the historian’s] own views and ignoring or dismissing as fictitious those which do not.’³⁷ This thesis will use a telescope that allows for exaggerations by the authors by looking at other historical sources of the period as well as other historians’ work as a measuring stick to the credibility of the fiction.

There has always been a blurring, in some instances deliberate, between fiction and fact on the part of the authors (this is true of writers of non-fiction, including historians) who believed they were essentially expressing the truth, with a political message to be absorbed by the reader. In many Edwardian spy novels such as those by Le Queux, there was within the text a deliberate use of propaganda or commentary in favour of military conscription and an increase of armaments against Germany. Himmelfarb has pointed out that the structure of novels has to be thought about when analysing novels as historical evidence, as when a novel was serialised it encouraged ‘repetition, verbosity, and such stylistic peculiarities as single-sentence or even single-word paragraphs; the predetermined length of each instalment requiring suitably spaced climaxes; the plot

³⁶ Laslett, ‘The Wrong Way Through the Telescope’, 324.

³⁷ Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1984, 404.

adapted to readers' reactions, a new character or dramatic episode introduced when sales began to fall.'³⁸ In the writing there was an assumption that the audience already knew a certain amount as background to the plotline. For instance, Le Queux throughout *The Great War in England in 1897* (1894) referred to naval estimates of 1893, which presumes the audience has been following or at least has some awareness of the political debates of the time.³⁹ On the other hand Oppenheim gave descriptions of places where few of the readers would have ever visited. These included Monte Carlo, expensive hotels such as the Savoy or the Ritz or the interior of government departments and London clubs. The use of these striking locations made a number of his novels seem like travelogues. As literature theorist Kuisma Korhonen writes:

Both [history and fiction] are interested in communicating a certain vision of reality, although writers of fiction may refer to this vision by the use of such figurative devices as the construction of the "fictional world" (events that one cannot necessarily verify or falsify) whereas historians refer to this reality by their constructions of the "real world" (events that one can verify or falsify). However, in one sense both are fiction: the archetypal vision that they imply by their different textual devices and references cannot be verified or falsified – it is, in a way, fiction, something that is added to the world as it is.⁴⁰

It is debatable that history 'cannot be verified or falsified' but both history and fiction do share a common ancestor as the term fiction comes from the Latin word 'fictio' that 'refers to a system of poetic techniques that are used in all literature and, arguably, in all

³⁸ Himmelfarb, *The Idea of Poverty*, 413.

³⁹ William Le Queux, *The Great War in England in 1897* [1894], George Bell & Sons, London & Bombay, 1897, 42, 71.

⁴⁰ Kuisma Korhonen, 'General Introduction: The History/Literature Debate', *Tropes for the Past: Hayden White and the History/Literature Debate*, ed. Kuisma Korhonen, Rodopi, Amsterdam & New York, 2006, 12.

historiography, too.’⁴¹ And though Laslett argues against the use of ‘reflection’, which is understandable as the novels do not necessarily reflect the reality of any given situation, nonetheless they do reflect a certain mentality of a period or a perspective of reality. As a result, spy novels will be used in the context of their reflection of attitudes towards certain political, cultural and social debates of their day.

Moreover, Orwell, Hoggart, and Himmelfarb all mention the central role of repetition, which my thesis readily identifies as a key feature of spy novels. The repetition used in spy/invasion literature applies not just to the idea of the ‘Self’ and ‘Other’, which can be regarded as a mere adaptation of the expression ‘Us and Them’. ‘Us and Them’ derives from the studies of the working-classes (Us) attitudes towards authority (Them) on racial and sectarian attitudes as found in Orwell, Hoggart or, much later, Robert Druce’s *This Our Daily Fictions: An Enquiry into the Multi-Million Bestsellers Status of Enid Blyton and Ian Fleming* (1992).⁴² Druce examines the technique of repetition in Enid Blyton’s and Ian Fleming’s writings, commenting ‘For many readers a large part of the attraction of escape literature of the kind that Enid Blyton and Ian Fleming supplied may lie precisely ... in a repetitiousness which offers instant access to a familiar cast of characters and situations....’⁴³ The ‘repetitiousness’ of Blyton and Fleming refers to techniques such as the continuous use of a phrase to describe recurring characters in the

⁴¹ Korthonen, ‘General Introduction’, 16. See also Karlheinz Stierle, ‘Narrativisation of the World’, trans. Liisa Saariluona, *Tropes for the Past*, 79.

⁴² Hoggart defines ‘Them’ in the working-class world as being part of ‘the world of the bosses, whether those bosses are private individuals or, as is increasingly the case today, public officials.’ However Hoggart does qualify this remark by writing that ‘A general practitioner, if he wins his way by his devotion to his patients, is not, as a general practitioner, one of ‘Them’; he and his wife, as social beings, are. A person may or may not be regarded as one of ‘Them’, according to his behaviour....’ See Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, 62.

⁴³ Robert Druce, *This Day Our Daily Fictions: An Enquiry into the Multi-Million Bestsellers Status of Enid Blyton and Ian Fleming*, Rodopi, Amsterdam & New York, 1992, 114.

same manner in sequential novels. For example James Bond has a ‘cruel’ mouth, his scar on the cheek and ‘a comma of black hair’ over his forehead, as means of instant recognition. In addition, events in every story follow certain set patterns with a long set list of recognisable stereotypical characteristics which, for the reader, guarantees context and consistent quality as part of what Druce calls ‘a succession of brand-names’.⁴⁴ Druce further points out just as that throughout the plots are ‘conveyed in the form of a series of confrontations, so they are structured on and endorse the same dichotomies.’ In the case of Blyton’s work, these confrontations appear as ‘order/disorder, reliability/fecklessness, loyalty/treachery, moral bravery/cowardice, a puritan work-ethic/laziness, self-help/indigence, cleanliness/dirt, Englishness/foreignness, white/non-white, “nice”/“horrid”, “kind”/“nasty”, Us/Them.’⁴⁵ The formula was simple, allowing the story to be read at such a speed that events and particularly errors of fact could be accepted without stopping to question them.⁴⁶ The use of repetition could be used, moreover, as a means of influencing the reader to accept whatever political or social message was being expressed as being the correct one. W. C. Bridgeman, former Conservative Home Secretary and First Lord of the Admiralty,⁴⁷ recalled telling Leo Maxse, the Germanophobic proprietor/editor of *The National Review*⁴⁸ and believer in a Jewish-German world conspiracy, ‘Don’t you think it would be rather a good thing for your

⁴⁴ Druce, *This Day Our Daily Fictions*, 118.

⁴⁵ Druce, *This Day Our Daily Fictions*, 221.

⁴⁶ Druce, *This Day Our Daily Fictions*, 86-87.

⁴⁷ Lord Bridgeman from 1929.

⁴⁸ Maxse’s Germanophobia was so extreme that Lord Newton, former Unionist Minister and a friend of Maxse, recalled that Maxse was convinced that Newton family’s German governess was ‘most dangerous’ because her ‘solitary bicycle rides in the park were of the most suspicious character and nothing would shake this firmly-rooted conviction and although it would have been impossible to suggest any kind of information of the slightest value for the German Government which would have been possible for her to acquire....’ See [Lord] Newton, ‘Maxse as I Knew Him’, *The National Review*, vol. 100, no. 600 (March 1933), 184

readers if you used those words [Mandarin, Mugwump, Tadpole and Tapers] a little less frequently.... “Oh no,” replied Maxse, “the British public never understand a point until it has been put before them *ad nauseam*, and it is absolutely essential to go on saying these things every month, and I must do it, even at the risk of my own reputation.”⁴⁹ This recalls Orwell’s argument that the style of boys’ weeklies was to manipulate young readers’ mindset into supporting conservative forces. Blyton and Fleming were both politically conservative, if not reactionary, individuals, whose opinions on British society emerge clearly in their texts.

Druce is following the literature theorist Karlheinz Stierle’s study of the relationship between the writer and reader in the narration of stories. According to Stierle ‘Such literature is produced with the intention to provoke stereotypes of imagination and emotion’ that make the story seem in the reader’s mind to be part of the real world that brings out emotions in the reader in conformity with their prejudices through recurrences through the story.⁵⁰ Another literature theorist Wolfgang Iser agrees that authors do inform or influence readers by ‘certain instructions’ but notes that readers also brings with them their own individual experiences and prejudices that shape the way they read a text.⁵¹ Furthermore Korthonen goes on elsewhere to say ‘...the author of fiction cannot lie because by defining the text as fiction he or she has stated that the work is not meant

⁴⁹ W. C. Bridgeman, ‘Speech of W. C. Bridgeman: The National Review Jubilee’, *The National Review*, vol. 100, no. 601 (April 1933), 353.

⁵⁰ Karlheinz Stierle, ‘The Reading of Fictional Texts’, trans. Inge Crosman & Thekla Zachrau, *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, eds. Susan R. Suleiman & Inge Crosman, Princeton University Press, Princeton (New Jersey) & Guildford (Surrey, England), 1980, 86.

⁵¹ Wolfgang Iser, *Prospecting: From Reader Response to Literary Anthropology*, The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore & London, 1989, 52.

to be read as referring directly to our world.’⁵² This is questionable. An author can suggest that what they say, even if it is fiction, is essentially the truth as their work is based on fact, thus portraying themselves as an authority in the field or at least not refuting ideas created in the readers’ minds that they are experts. Ian Fleming was seen as an expert on guns, food, wine and travel because those subjects were written about in great detail in the James Bond novels, giving a sense of authenticity, even if in reality Fleming lacked expertise.⁵³ This is also the case with Le Queux, who masqueraded as an expert in espionage and claimed to be a spy with his life under threat from the Germans, all of which he recycled for his novels.⁵⁴ Oppenheim’s suggestion during his writing career that he had developed knowledge of government secrets and world events came to be believed by others.⁵⁵ This was despite the fact MI6 twice rejected Oppenheim’s application for a position in the organisation. Instead Oppenheim had to make do with escorting neutral correspondents on the Western Front and writing novels portraying the world of spies as he imagined.⁵⁶ These writers’ claims of expertise were part of an effort to create a sense amongst public that their works were based on personal experience.

I will examine the methods of Druce and other authors in the study of repetition to form my own analysis on the topic while considering the historical events. Though Druce is a useful starting point of investigation, there are differences between his work and mine.

⁵² Korthonen, ‘General Introduction: The History/Literature Debate’, 16.

⁵³ Druce, *This Day Our Daily Fictions*, 85-87.

⁵⁴ William Le Queux, *Things I Know About Kings, Celebrities and Crooks*, Eveleigh Nash & Gayson, London, 1923, 258, 260-261. See also TNA MEPO 3/245, ‘Metropolitan Police: Office of the Commissioner: Correspondence and Papers, Special Series’, 1914.

⁵⁵ E. Phillips Oppenheim, *The Pool of Memory*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1941, 11, 36-38. See also Anonymous, ‘Mr. E. Phillips Oppenheim: A Famous Novelist’, *The Times of London*, Feb. 4 1946, no. 50367, 6.

⁵⁶ Voykovic, *The Culture of the Thriller in Britain, 1898-1945*, 79, 95.

While Druce gives the personal backgrounds and experiences of Blyton and Fleming, he does not give a full historical account as he is more concerned with the structure of their works. But I bear in mind that it is impossible to read all British spy novels of the period or all other stories or references to spies throughout society. As Raymond Williams points out ‘One can say with confidence, for example, that nobody really knows the nineteenth-century; nobody has read, or could have read, all its examples, over the whole range from printed volumes to penny serials.’⁵⁷ There is what Williams called ‘a selective tradition.’ He goes on to say that ‘To some extent, the selection begins within the period itself; from the whole body of activities, certain things are selected for value and emphasis.’⁵⁸

There are too many to give a full list of books and articles that deal historically with British spy/invasion literature. Many of these are, in effect, works of literature rather than putting British spy literature in its historical context. These works often are surveys of British spy/invasion literature either from its origins, or in the twentieth century, or intermingled with detective fiction as a survey of thrillers. I. F. Clarke’s *Voices Prophesying War* (1967) is arguably the first study to look at and catalogue invasion tales that came into vogue in the late nineteenth century, although Clarke categorises these stories rather than fully analyses them in their social, political and historical contexts. Nonetheless his study is important just for the fact that he has put together a vast range of stories in one book. One such difference between *Voices Prophesying War* and my thesis is that the former includes stories from various countries ranging from Britain to France,

⁵⁷ Williams, *Long Revolution*, 66.

⁵⁸ Williams, *Long Revolution*, 67.

Germany, America and Japan, while my thesis almost exclusively focus on Britain, and within a certain timeframe.

There are more examples of these types of studies. Allan Hepburn's *Intrigue: Espionage and Culture* (2005), which focuses on the change of storylines in British and American thrillers and how this change has occurred over a century. However, Hepburn does not spend much time on discussing their historical context.⁵⁹ Rather he is concerned with the narrative structure of the spy genre. Similarly Jon Thompson's *Fiction, Crime, and Empire* (1993) deals with the plot construction of both the British and American detective and spy stories from the mid-nineteenth century to post World War II to see how different writers progressively 'helped to make respectable what had previously been dismissed as working-class pulp...'⁶⁰ Thompson does this by reading the texts and plotlines as comments on British or American society. One such interpretation views Sherlock Holmes's logic as a signpost to demonstrate European superiority over other races to justify the British Empire.⁶¹ But interpreting the text and its structure in this manner without a full historical context does not reveal other viewpoints, therefore failing to give a wider perspective on a society during a given time period.

Another type of investigation is Anthony Masters's *Literary Agents* (1987), which is typical of a number of books that use spy novels to look at the links between British and American writers and the intelligence services. Their purpose is to see the influence of

⁵⁹ Allan Hepburn, *Intrigue: Espionage and Culture*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 2005, passim.

⁶⁰ Jon Thompson, *Fiction, Crime, and Empire: Clues to Modernity and Postmodernism*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana & Chicago, 1993, 64.

⁶¹ Thompson, *Fiction, Crime, and Empire*, 66-68.

the authors' experiences in secret work on their writings, rather than exploring the historical circumstances that gave rise to the spy/invasion literature or the political and social messages imbedded in the text.⁶² LeRoy L. Panek's *The Special Branch: The British Spy Novel, 1890-1980* (1981), like Bruce Merry's *Anatomy of The Spy Thriller* (1977) and John Atkins's *British Spy Novels* (1984), is a piece of English literary criticism rather than a historical study.⁶³ My thesis is not an exercise in English literary criticism nor is it appropriate for an academic study to indulge in crude comments as does Panek.⁶⁴ It is true that the plot formulas and characterisations were often of poor quality but this does not mean they have nothing to say about the period or do not reflect their contemporary values, attitudes and events. This thesis is a historical study looking at political, social, and cultural attitudes that emerged in response to relative British economic decline during the Late-Victorian and Edwardian eras and World War I as expressed in British spy/invasion literature, regardless of their literary merit.

A number of articles have been written on the spy novel within a historical context by a number of historians including David French, David Stafford, Nicholas Hiley and David Trotter. These have focused on the Edwardian period, or they are focused on a particular aspect of the British spy novel, almost ignoring World War I and the spy scare early in that war. For example Hiley has concentrated upon the similarity between Edwardian spy

⁶² Anthony Masters, *Literary Agents: The Novelist as Spy*, Basil Blackwell, London, 1987, passim.

⁶³ LeRoy L. Panek, *The Special Branch: The British Spy Novel, 1890-1980*, Bowling Green University Popular Press, Bowling Green, Ohio, 1981, passim.

⁶⁴ Typical of Panek's comments are such words as 'twaddle', 'unmitigated twaddle', 'poppycock' and 'unrelieved bilge'. As well he includes literary criticism on Le Queux's writing such as 'His plotting is execrable, his characters are buffoons, and his style is tedious to the extreme.' See Panek, *The Special Branch*, 5, 8, 15, 21, 32.

and pornographic novels.⁶⁵ While Stafford has written articles on Edwardian spy novels, Buchan and Le Queux.⁶⁶ The Le Queux article is significant as there has been little independent information about him bearing in mind that the accuracy of his autobiography is highly dubious with his claims of being a spy.⁶⁷ It is only very recently during the writing of this thesis that Chris Patrick and Stephen Baister have privately published their biography of Le Queux, which is extensive as they fill in many of the biographical details previously not included or missed by earlier writings and which debunks or questions many of Le Queux's assertions.⁶⁸ Before this the only known published biography was one written by Norman St. Barbe Sladen, the nephew of Le Queux's literary agent and friend, Douglas Sladen, and it basically follows Le Queux's autobiography with some criticism such as of his carelessness with money resulting in bankruptcy.⁶⁹ David Stafford has produced a book: *The Silent Game* (1988), with a historical perspective on the spy novel such as political and social attitudes and values, as part of textual analysis alongside other sources of information, to place the novels and authors within their historical context. But like others' work on the subject, his is an overview of the spy novel since its creation up to the time he was writing. As Stafford concedes, '...this excursion visits only what I consider to be the major and most significant sites. For those who prefer different ones, there are other tours on the

⁶⁵ Nicholas Hiley, 'Decoding German Spies, British Spy Fiction, 1908-1918', *Spy Fiction, Spy Films, and Real Intelligence*, ed. Wesley K. Wark, London & Portland (Oregon), Frank Cass, 1991, passim.

⁶⁶ David Stafford, 'Spies and the Gentleman: The Birth of the British Spy Novel, 1893-1914', *Victorian Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (Summer 1981), passim; Stafford, 'Conspiracy and Xenophobia', passim; David Stafford, 'John Buchan's Tales of Espionage: A Popular Archive of British History', *Canadian Journal of History*, vol. 18, (1 April 1983), passim.

⁶⁷ An example of a false or contradictory claim made by Le Queux in his autobiography is the assertion that he assisted with the 'Jack the Ripper' case while working for *The Globe*. But this is false as he claimed to have started working for *The Globe* in 1891, three years after Jack the Ripper. See Le Queux, *Things I Know About Kings, Celebrities and Crooks*, 165.

⁶⁸ Patrick & Baister, *William Le Queux*, 3, 10, 19-23, 27-29, 32, 34, 36, 72-83.

⁶⁹ See N. St. Barbe Sladen, *The Real Le Queux: The Official Biography of William Le Queux*, Nicholson & Watson, London, 1938, passim.

market.’⁷⁰ My thesis seeks to be one of these different tours where I hope to discover sites missed by previous tours such as how women in wartime occupations are represented in British spy literature during World War I.

There are as well a number of books which do not directly relate to the subject but by their nature touch on it. One amongst many is A. J. A. Morris’s *The Scaremongers* (1984), which looks at the conservative and radical right-wing press’s efforts to shape government policy towards Germany. As part of his study, Morris gives attention to ‘the Spy Scare’ during 1908 and 1909 and the way the press used this to mount an argument for an aggressive anti-German foreign policy. This was part of a wider national debate on ‘national efficiency’, involving conscription, naval armaments, economic policy, health, and immigration. Morris’s argument looks at the effects the media had on government policy by looking at media magnates, editors, journalists and the politicians. His earlier *Radicalism Against War* (1972) looks at those who took the opposite stance in the national debates of the Edwardian period. Morris argues that right-wing journalism and spy stories had little, if any, effect on political action towards Germany as the politicians like Sir Edward Grey (Liberal Foreign Secretary between 1905 and 1916), and R. B. Haldane (Liberal War Secretary between 1905 and 1911), had come to their own conclusions.⁷¹

The target audience for this literature was created during the nineteenth century with a growth in prosperity and literacy. The increase of prosperity can be measured by the

⁷⁰ David Stafford, *The Silent Game: The Real World of Imaginary Spies*, Viking, London, 1988, vii.

⁷¹ The War Secretary was the minister in charge of the War Office, which was responsible for the administration of the Army.

increase of average wages by 40 percent from 1860 to 1875. Coinciding with this relative prosperity was a rise in literacy. In 1839, 66.3 percent of men and 50.5 percent of women were able to sign their own names on a marriage register by 1893 the literacy rate had further improved to 95 percent of men and 94.3 percent of women.⁷² This combined with technological advancements like the improvements in printing presses, the development of railways that improved the speed at which newspapers were delivered by sending special parcels to the newsagents by paid carriage, and the removal of the stamp tax on advertisement in news periodicals in 1855 and paper duty in 1861 led to a growth in the number of newspapers, with the appearance of sixteen new provincial papers, and weekly papers like *The Manchester Guardian* and *The Scotsman* becoming dailies.⁷³ This trend continued into the twentieth century. The rate of newspapers read per day by the public increased from a half million in 1900 to two million in 1914.⁷⁴

However, what the working-classes read was not necessarily what their social superiors such as founders of the Sunday Schools had hoped. The long hours of work and confined

⁷² These statistics need to be qualified. They are based only on people signing their own name on a marriage register as demonstrating a person has achieved full literacy. They may differ from region to region. This is exemplified in Florence, Lady Bell's social survey of Middlesbrough ironworks. She surveyed two hundred husbands' and wives' reading and found seventeen women and eight men said they could not read. See Lady Florence Bell, *At the Works: A Study of a Manufacturing Town*, 3rd impression, Edward Arnold, London, 1907, 146-162; J. W. Golby & A. W. Purdue, *Civilisation of the Crowd: Popular Culture in England, 1750-1900*, Batsford Academic & Educational, London, 1984, 170. See also Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 187.

⁷³ Richard D. Altick, *English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* [1957], 2nd impression, Phoenix Books, Chicago & London, 1963, 306. See also W. Hamish Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market, 1850-1914*, MacMillan Press, Basingstoke & London, 1981, 228; Philip Gardner, 'Literacy, Learning and Education', *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, ed. Chris Williams, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford & Malden (Massachusetts), 2004, 374; George Riddell, *More Pages from My Diary 1908-1914*, Country Life, London, 1934, 71; W. Hamish Fraser, 'Scotsman (1817-)', general eds. Laurel Brake & Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, Academia Press & The British Library, Ghent (Belgium) & London, 2009, 562; Leora Bersohn, 'Manchester Guardian (1821)', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 394.

⁷⁴ Colin Watson, *Snobbery with Violence: Crime Stories and Their Audience*, Eyre & Spottiswoode, London, 1971, 28.

living space, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, allowed little opportunity for most working-class people for the private leisure of reading. Sunday as a day of rest was the most likely time available for reading for pleasure. For those who did not read the Bible, reading lay in the Sunday newspapers. The most popular were the *Weekly Dispatch* (1801), *Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper* (1850) and *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* (1842) that had a combined circulation in 1861 of 170,000 rising to over one million in the 1890s.⁷⁵ These newspapers focused on entertainment, reporting sensational police-court stories, murder trials and the scandals of the rich and powerful, with lurid fiction and the later addition of sport. An example of the sensational news stories reported in these newspapers is found in one issue of *Lloyd's* which included 'The Emperor Napoleon [III] on Assassination; Fearful Stabbing Case Through Jealousy; Terrible Scene at an Execution; Cannibalism at Liverpool; The Great Seizure of Indecent Prints; A Man Roasted to Death; A Cruel Husband and an Adulterous Wife.'⁷⁶ This sensationalism and titillation of early popular newspapers was transferred to popular fiction and the early British spy/invasion stories. *The Daily Mail*, founded in 1896, was one newspaper where sensationalism and spy/invasion stories met. *The Daily Mail's* owner Alfred Harmsworth along with C. Arthur Pearson and other newspaper magnates were involved in the expansion of cheap gossip and women's magazines in the 1880s and 1890s such as *Tit-Bits* (1881), *Answers to Correspondents* (1888), *Pearson's Weekly* (1890) and *Forget-Me-Not* (1891), and children magazines including *Comic Cuts*, *Union Jack*, *Pluck Library* and *Boy's Friend*, to cater for the increase in income and leisure time of the working and lower-middle-classes. During Queen Victoria's reign an estimated

⁷⁵ Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, 72.

⁷⁶ Quoted in Golby & Purdue, *Civilisation of the Crowd*, 133.

50,000 newspapers and periodicals had been published in Britain.⁷⁷ An example of these magazines' popularity was that *Tit-Bits* had a circulation of more than 300,000 in 1882 and later reached 500,000 and *Forget-Me-Not* and *Answers to Correspondents* sold 141,000 and 335,000 respectively in July 1894.⁷⁸ *The Daily Mail* took advantage of this new and increased market with the use of technology, and the newspaper was designed purposely for the working and lower-middle-classes by being priced at one halfpenny, making it affordable, in contrast to *The Times* priced at three pence. *The Daily Mail* placed its emphasis on sport, the Royal family, social gossip and the Empire with its new popularity, as a way of selling copies and advertisement space. In addition, *The Daily Mail* as part of so-called 'new journalism' used interviews, photographs, typographical features and bold headlines to break up the pages and allowed for more space to be given over to advertisements for consumer goods, to increase revenue.⁷⁹ But it copied the front page of the prestigious *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph* with the same title typesetting, advertisements on its front cover, and quality paper to give the appearance of

⁷⁷ Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel, 1875-1914*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1989, 36.

⁷⁸ Reginald Pound & Geoffrey Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, Cassel, London, 1959, 165, 171. See also Dennis Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1992, 435, 563; Zsuzsanna Varga, 'Tit-Bits (1891-1984)', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 630.

⁷⁹ Jamie Camplin, *The Rise of the Plutocrats: Wealth and Power in Edwardian England*, Constable, London, 1978, 82-83. See also David Thompson, *England in the Nineteenth Century (1815-1914)*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1961, 176; Golby & Purdue, *Civilisation of the Crowd*, 179; Eric Hopkins, *A Social History of the English Working Classes, 1815-1945*, 7th impression, Edward Arnold, London & Sydney, 1979, 117; Martin Pugh, *State and Society: British Political and Social History, 1870-1992*, E. Arnold, London & New York, 1994, 71; James D. Startt, 'Good Journalism in the Era of the New Journalism: The British Press, 1902-1914', *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. Joel H. Wiener, Greenwood Press, New York, Westport (Connecticut) & London, 1988, 278-279; J. Lee Thompson, *Politicians, the Press, the Papers and Propaganda: Lord Northcliffe and the Great War 1914-1919*, The Kent State University Press, Kent (Ohio) & London, 1999, 2-3; Joel H. Wiener, 'How New was the New Journalism?', *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. Joel H. Wiener, Greenwood Press, New York, Westport (Connecticut) & London, 1988, 51.

newsworthy respectability, despite the cheapness of price.⁸⁰ By 1900 *The Daily Mail* circulation was over 700,000 and by 1910 this had risen to 900,000.⁸¹ This was in stark contrast to *The Times* and its evening Liberal equivalent, *The Westminster Gazette*. In 1910 their circulations were 35,000 and 20,000 respectively.⁸² Such success was to bring Harmsworth influence within political circles gaining thirty-nine percent of total circulations of the morning newspapers, forty-five percent of the evening newspapers, and 11.8 percent of the Sunday newspapers, enabling him to reach the peerage as Viscount Northcliffe.⁸³

As part of Northcliffe's format, fiction stories were included, to entertain readers much in the same way the older periodicals like *Blackwood's Magazine* and *Fraser's Magazine* had serialised novels. But unlike the latter publications, *The Daily Mail* followed in the footsteps of earlier popular newspapers creating stories to make the news rather than

⁸⁰ Matthew Engel, *Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1996, 58. See also Frederick Willis, *Peace and Dripping Toast*, Phoenix House, London, 1950, 75.

⁸¹ Neal Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People: The British General Elections of 1910*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo, London & Basingstoke, 1972, 300. See also Engel, *Tickle the Public*, 54, 64; Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, 74; James D. Startt, *Journalists for Empire: The Imperial Debate in the Edwardian Stately Press, 1903-1913*, Greenwood Press, New York, Westport (Connecticut) & London, 1991, 10; Oliver Woods & James Bishop, *The Story of the Times*, Michael Joseph, London, 1983, 184; Claire Kaczmarek, 'Daily Mail (1896-)', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 157.

⁸² Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People*, 300. See also Stephen K. Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Twentieth Century*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1984, 1; Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England, 1855-1914*, Croom Helm, London, 1976, 166; Startt, *Journalists for Empire*, 25; John Richard Wood, 'Westminster Gazette (1893-1928)', *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 672.

⁸³ In 1910 the other two large groups were the Liberal Morning Leader Group with 15.5 percent and the Unionist Arthur Pearson with 14.4 percent of daily morning newspapers, with Northcliffe controlling 68.9 percent (total circulation 3,625,000). The breakdown of daily evening papers was Morning Leader Group with 34.5 percent; Northcliffe with 31.3 percent; Pearson with 16.9 percent (a total circulation of 947,000). The Sunday newspapers ownership division was different: Sir Henry Dalziel, a Unionist MP, controlled 30.7 percent; George Riddell, a close friend of David Lloyd George controlled 22.9 percent; radical Frank Lloyd had 15.3 percent; Northcliffe 11.8 percent (a total circulation 6,525,000). See Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England*, 132-133; John M. McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War: Ownership and Circulation', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 17, no. 3 (July 1982), 466-467; Thompson, *Politicians, the Press, the Papers and Propaganda*, 2-3.

leaving the reporting to journalists. In 1905, Northcliffe, at various times an anti-German campaigner, commissioned Le Queux to write a story, *The Invasion of 1910*, about a fictitious German invasion. It was to be serialised in *The Daily Mail* between March and July 1906, in much the same way Le Queux had done earlier for *Answers* (another Northcliffe publication). Le Queux collaborated with the national hero, Field Marshal Lord ‘Bobs’ Roberts, who was the second President of the National Service League (NSL – pressure group for conscription) and H. W. Wilson, a naval expert, founding member of the Navy League⁸⁴ and the chief naval writer and assistant editor for *The Daily Mail*. The aim of the story was to persuade readers to favour the cause of conscription or at least rifle training for males. Roberts recommended the most likely route for an invading army but Northcliffe objected to the route as it went through too many small villages. As a result the route was changed in the story to have the German army march through larger towns and cities such as Sheffield and Chelmsford to aid in making a name for the newspaper by stimulating the interest of readers in those unfortunate towns and cities.⁸⁵ As part of the publicity, sandwich board men dressed in blue Prussian uniforms with spiked helmets advertised the story.⁸⁶ This publicity drew so much attention that both

⁸⁴ Wilson was the honorary editor of the League’s magazine from 1895-1908 and had co-written with Lord Charles Beresford (1846-1919), *Nelson and his Time* (1898) which argued the need for naval supremacy to maintain Britain’s global position. See A. J. A. Morris, ‘Wilson, Herbert Wrigley, (1866-1940)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, vol. 59, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, Oxford & New York, 2004, 569. See also Anne Summers, ‘The Character of Edwardian Nationalism: Three Popular Leagues’, *Nationalist and Racialist Movements in Britain and Germany Before 1914*, eds. Paul Kennedy & Anthony Nicholls, Macmillan Press, Oxford, 1981, 78.

⁸⁵ Christopher Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, Guild Publishing, London, 1985, 38-39. See also I. F. Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War: Future War 1763-1984*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1966, 145; David French, ‘Spy Fever in Britain, 1900-1914’, *The Historical Journal*, vol. 21, no. 2 (June 1978), 356.

⁸⁶ Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 145. See also Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War*, Allen Lane, London, 1977, 11; Paul M. Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914*, George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston & Sydney, 1980, 362; Philip Knightley, *The Second Oldest Profession: The Spy as Bureaucrat, Patriot, Fantasist and Whore* [1986], Andre

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Howard Vincent, the prominent Unionist⁸⁷ MP for Sheffield Central and former head of the Criminal Investigation Department at Scotland Yard, and H. O. Arnold-Forster, the Unionist MP for Croydon and former War Secretary, questioned the legality of the wearing of German uniforms.⁸⁸ Le Queux himself welcomed the public attention paid to his stories. As the book editor, Sir John Hammerton noted, Le Queux ‘... must have spent a considerable part of each day in sending out newsy par[agraph]s about himself and his new books, and somehow one never took this amiss from him, he was so entertaining a person, so naively interested in himself, and a best seller withal.’⁸⁹ Le Queux’s reputation rested on more than his claims of being a spy. Hammerton provides a clue here as to why so many followed Le Queux’s writings with their appeal to readers’ imagination, finding like Hammerton, the author’s self-belief or self-promotion simply to be dismissed in its extravagance. In addition, he used the same technique as popular newspapers by giving horrific descriptions to arrest the interest of readers, such as having babies impaled by German bayonets, the deliberate bombing of houses, civilians gunned down, women attacked and raped, all resulting in the British fighting a guerrilla war.⁹⁰ This sensationalism with its political and military message served to grab readers’ attention as Le Queux fully intended. He claimed in a letter to Roberts that *The Invasion of 1910* would be a ‘dramatic forecast of what is meant

Deutsch, London, 1987, 16; Roger T. Stearn, ‘The Mysterious Mr Le Queux: War Novelist, Defence Publicist and Counterspy’, *Soldiers of the Queen*, vol. 70 (Sept. 1992), 14.

⁸⁷ The term Unionist or Unionist Party is used for the period between 1892 and 1912 for the Conservative and Liberal Unionist parties. Later the name was changed to the Conservative and Unionist Party (CUP) becoming known as the Conservative Party or informally the ‘Tory Party’. In this thesis, in line with contemporary terminology, MPs, members and supporters of either the Conservative Party or the Liberal Unionist Party will be called Unionists or Unionist Party. However, sometimes where necessary Conservative or Radical right-wing will be used to distinguish between Conservative and Liberal Unionist where there may be political differences.

⁸⁸ *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, First Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 157, 14 May 1906, cols 187-188.

⁸⁹ J. A. Hammerton, *Books and Myself: Memoirs of an Editor*, MacDonald, London, 1944, 164.

⁹⁰ Stearn, ‘The Mysterious Mr Le Queux’, 8.

to happen in the case of an invasion and it will no doubt have the effect of awaking the public to a sense of their unsecurity [sic].'⁹¹ In scaring the population it was hoped that *The Daily Mail* would bring pressure to bear on politicians for the introduction of national service. While this did not happen, when the story was published in a full-length novel form in 1906 it sold over one million copies and added to debate.⁹²

Le Queux cultivated an image of being an unpaid secret agent (claiming at one stage to have been a member of a fictional voluntary secret service founded by Lord Roberts) travelling throughout Europe and the Middle East, with a price on his head in Germany, and he boasted of having important friends, especially royalty, including Victor Emmanuel III of Italy, Prince Peter Karageorgevitch of Serbia and ex-Crown Princess Louisa of Saxony.⁹³ Le Queux had the hallmarks of fellow novelist Allen Upward's mysterious A. V., a professional spy for hire, and an unnamed French ambassador, both of whom are friends of powerful political figures with inside knowledge of government secrets, who through their tales reveal the sensational truth behind world events.⁹⁴ This is

⁹¹ NAM Roberts Papers R47/42, 29/7/1905.

⁹² Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 122.

⁹³ Princess Louisa, originally a member of the Tuscan branch of the Habsburgs, was a popular figure in Saxony, who gained widespread publicity in Europe when she fled to Switzerland from Saxony in response to what she saw as cruel treatment she received from the Saxon royal family and their use of spies to watch her movements. Judging by certain statements such as that 'I do not think there is any possibility of the "great invasion" taking place for some time. The Emperor knows that the financial state of Germany is not favourable at the moment for war, and he is also fully aware that, even if the English army leaves a great deal to be desired, the navy is unspoilt, and England, even in her partial decadence, still remains the Mistress of the Seas', Louisa's autobiography was written for a British readership with also sections that likely have the hallmark of sensationalist literature with the appearance of an all powerful German secret police and government spies. Because of Louisa's sensationalist story it is of that Le Queux wanted readers of that likely his own autobiography to associate him with the Princess. William Le Queux, *Things I Know About Kings, Celebrities and Crooks*, 238. See also Stafford, 'Conspiracy and Xenophobia', 168; Louisa of Tuscany, *My Own Story*, London, G. Bell & Sons, 1911, 167-171, 186, 203, 266.

⁹⁴ A. V. [Allen Upward], 'Underground History: The Revelations of an International Spy: The Telegram Which Began the Boer War', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 85 (Jan. 1903), 10-20; A. V., 'The Blowing up of the *Maine*', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 86 (Feb. 1903), 130-139; A. V., 'The Mystery of Captain Dreyfus', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 87 (March 1903), 248-260; A. V., 'What was Behind

evident in Le Queux's autobiography, where he makes a series of sensational claims without any evidence including that documents had been stolen from his house which were to be found in 'the archives of the Secret Service in Berlin!'⁹⁵ His created image as a spy-journalist at the centre of history-making events was written large in his novels with him repeatedly styled as the hero, as a means of suggesting his fiction was based on fact. One hero was Captain Jack Jardine from *The Man from Downing Street* (1904), who describes himself as 'A cosmopolitan from my birth—my mother having been French and my father English—I was just as much at home in the Boulevard des Italiens, or the Corso, as in Piccadilly, while the Wilhelmstrasse and the Newski were to me just as familiar as our own curved Regent Street.'⁹⁶ Jardine, who is a friend of the Italian King, is a variation of the same character, namely Le Queux himself, which appears in all his spy novels. Another example of Le Queux's cultivated image is the novel *Spies of the Kaiser* (1909), first serialised in the *British Weekly* that was owned by the anti-German publishing entrepreneur D. C. Thomson. The novel throughout tries to suggest it is based on Le Queux's own investigations into the German spy network, which he claims is in place to steal various British military plans in preparation for war. Despite Le Queux's efforts to the contrary, his claims seem absurd such as the German weapons in the story that include exploding Christmas bonbons.⁹⁷ Le Queux would continue this pattern into World War I in letters he wrote to the police or in his newspaper articles such as 'with the aid of the Royal Naval Air Service ... I have spent the last twenty hours in an armoured

the Tsar's Peace Rescript', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 88 (April 1903), 365-376; A. V., 'Who Really Killed King Humbert of Italy', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 89 (May 1903), 487-496; A. V., 'The Peril of Norway', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 15, no. 90 (June 1903), 594-603.

⁹⁵ Le Queux, *Things I Know About Kings, Celebrities and Crooks*, 67, 244.

⁹⁶ William Le Queux, *The Man from Downing Street: A Mystery* [1904], Hurst & Blackett, London, n.d., 12.

⁹⁷ William Le Queux, *Spies of the Kaiser: Plotting the Downfall of England* [1909], Frank Cass, London & Portland, 1996, 219.

motor-car, together with an expert Signaller and apparatus on the Surrey Hills.’⁹⁸ He witnessed ‘messages nightly flashed from the Kent coast to London: we have, in return, acknowledged them, and asked them to repeat them and they have repeated them to us!’ Furthermore he claimed to have heard in a Soho German Café in Tottenham Court Road, talk about spying which appeared in the Sunday newspaper *The People* under the headline ‘Hotbeds of Alien Enemies and Spies in the Heart of the Metropolis: The Scandal of the Alien Enemy and Spy in Our Midst’.⁹⁹ These were both repeated in his series of short stories called *Spy Hunter* to give the appearance of expertise.¹⁰⁰

Le Queux’s exaggerated claims and stories were aimed at the commercial market first developed in the nineteenth century and he would continue to blend ‘fact’ with fiction throughout his career. Le Queux’s journalism was aimed at this same market. An example of Le Queux’s journalism was *German Spies in England* (1915). The work has the same style as his novels with the repetitious argument of *Spies of the Kaiser* that virtually all German immigrants belong to a decades old spy network as part of an invasion conspiracy. Reminiscent of cheap gossip magazines or sixpenny reprints of novels, the commercial nature of *German Spies* is clearly evident with advertisements for *Dr. J Collis Browne’s Chlorodyne*, *Fry’s Cocoa*, and *Whiteley’s* department stores.¹⁰¹ The book was a great success going through eight editions with some 40,000 copies

⁹⁸ TNA MEPO 3/243, 24 Feb. 1915.

⁹⁹ TNA MEPO 3/243 ‘Hotbeds of Alien Enemies and Spies in the Heart of the Metropolis: The Scandal of the Alien Enemy and Spy in Our Midst: Home Office Turn a Blind Eye to Treason-mongers and Traitors’, *The People*, 28 Feb. 1915.

¹⁰⁰ William Le Queux, *The Spy Hunter: Setting Forth Certain Statements of Harry Nettlefield, ex Marconi operator, who was Engaged in the Exciting Work of Hunting Down German spies in Great Britain*, C. Arthur Pearson, London, 1916, 43, 57.

¹⁰¹ Henry Seton Merriman’s *The Sowers* is an example of this type of reprinted six penny novel with advertisements which is a measurement of the selling capacity of an author. See Henry Seton Merriman, *The Sowers* [1896], George Newnes, London, n.d., passim.

printed between February 17 and May 12, 1915, selling at a shilling, the same price as most of his novels.¹⁰² The price is an indication – *German Spies* was aimed at the same audience as the shilling shockers.¹⁰³ Le Queux's mass production of sensational literature (he wrote over a hundred novels) with their simple style of repetition was part of the continuation of the growth of cheap literature in the Victorian period.

The cheap commercial varieties of novels were bestsellers of their time. Buchan's *The Thirty-Nine Steps* sold 33,000 in its first three months and its sequel *Greenmantle* (1916), at 6/- sold over 34,426 in its first six months, against E. M. Forster's higher brow *A Room with a View* (1908) which sold only 2,312 in its first year.¹⁰⁴ In 1918 a cheaper 2/6 edition of *Greenmantle* sold out. Combined sales of the 6/- and 2/6 editions reached 50,409 copies. The 2/6 edition sold 85,000 copies in three years and the follow-up *Mr Standfast* (1919)¹⁰⁵ 56,000 in two years.¹⁰⁶ Despite Buchan's popularity his numbers were small compared to Hall Caine, who wrote *The Eternal City* (1901) that sold over one million copies, and novels of Charles Garvice sold seven million copies between 1899 and 1914. In 1914 alone Garvice's book sales were 1,750,000.¹⁰⁷ These sales figures demonstrated an indication of the growth in popular literature as well as the increase of the buying power of a wider section of the British society. What could be

¹⁰² MEPO 3/243, 20 Feb. 1915.

¹⁰³ During the war the price rose from one to two shillings.

¹⁰⁴ Kate MacDonald, *The Fiction of John Buchan with Particular Reference to the Richard Hannay Novels*, unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, 1991, 20. See also Janet Adam Smith, *John Buchan: A Biography*, 2nd ed., Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1985, 294-295; Hew Strachan, 'John Buchan and the First World War', *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps*, ed. Kate Macdonald, Pickering & Chatto, London & Brookfield (Vermont), 2009, 78.

¹⁰⁵ The novel was written between July 1917 and June 1918.

¹⁰⁶ MacDonald, *The Fiction of John Buchan with Particular Reference to the Richard Hannay Novels*, 20.

¹⁰⁷ Joseph A. McAleer, *Popular Reading and Publishing in Britain 1914-1950*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1992, 32. See also Philip Waller, 'Garvice, Charles Andrew,' *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, vol. 21, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, Oxford & New York, 2004, 411.

bought for a penny shows the growth of literacy and incomes. A penny in the 1840s could purchase a 250 word broadside; by the 1860s, a 7,000 word serial or fifty-page songbook; twenty years later a 20,000 word novel and from 1896, with the appearance of Newnes' Penny Library of Famous Books, unabridged versions of classic works.¹⁰⁸ In part costs had been reduced. In 1830 fewer than 600 journeymen bookbinders worked in London; by 1862 their numbers had more than doubled to 1,545 and by 1861 it was 7,754, by which time there was also binding machinery in place.¹⁰⁹ At the start of the century there was not a machine for cutting the edges of the gathered sections; in 1828 a rolling machine to press the blocks was developed. By the end of the century the process of binding resulted in a folding machine that did 12,000 sixteen page sections an hour and a sewing machine that did 3,000 sections an hour while a gathering machine brought together the sections, producing 7,800 book-blocks an hour. In addition another machine for gluing books reduced the cost as it was manned by a single person instead of the previous five people involved in the process.¹¹⁰ By the 1920s and 1930s there were 180 to 200 new novels a week, an increase from the 8 to 10 novels at the time when Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) was published.¹¹¹ The number of books published annually increased from 2,600 in the 1850s to 6,004 in 1901 and to 12,379 in 1913.¹¹² During World War I, in a time of rising production costs and paper shortage, publications including leaflets and pamphlets were estimated by Publishers' Circular at 10,665

¹⁰⁸ David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, New York, & Melbourne, 1989, 211.

¹⁰⁹ Judith Flanders, *Consuming Passions: Leisure and Pleasure in Victorian Britain*, HarperCollins, London, 2006, 182.

¹¹⁰ Flanders, *Consuming Passions*, 182-183.

¹¹¹ Watson, *Snobbery with Violence*, 29.

¹¹² Williams, *The Long Revolution*, 191.

volumes in 1915.¹¹³ The increase of the volume of books is testament to the fifteen-fold increase in full-time writers during the nineteenth century.¹¹⁴ All are pointers to the development of a mass commercial market in readership.

In the early stages of these developments, the readership of novels, at least for new books, was more limited to an upper and upper-middle-class audience. In 1858 the novelist Wilkie Collins wrote of ‘The Unknown Public’ of three million readers beyond the realm of middle-class publishing.¹¹⁵ This public did not subscribe to cultured journals, book-clubs, circulating libraries, or buy books from well renowned publishers. They instead consumed ‘penny novel journals’ that included stories for amusement, rather than to be informed, which were purchased from tobacconists and newsagents. Though Collins does not use the word repetitious, he found in his survey of five journals, that they used the same plot and characters without copying each other, suggesting the writers had the same literary sources.¹¹⁶ The same observation was made by the writer Edward Salmon in the 1880s when he commented ‘The same dish is served up again and again; and the surprising thing is that the readers do not tire of the ceaseless record of wrong-doing on the part of the wealthy which forms the staple of these nonsensical, if not nauseating, stories.’¹¹⁷ Nonetheless Collins and others writers of his class believed with an increase in education, the lower classes’ reading tastes would change for the better. Collins believed this because when *The Count of Monte Cristo* (1844) was serialised in a

¹¹³ Anonymous, ‘Notes’, *Athenaeum: A Journal of Politics, Literature, Science and the Arts*, no. 4601 (Jan. 1916), 7.

¹¹⁴ Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914*, 214.

¹¹⁵ [Wilkie Collins], ‘The Unknown Public’, *Household Words: A Weekly Journal*, vol. 18, no. 439, (21 Aug. 1851), 417-418.

¹¹⁶ [Collins], ‘The Unknown Public’, 221.

¹¹⁷ Edward G. Salmon, ‘What the Working Classes Read’, *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 20, no. 113 (July 1886), 113.

penny journal the circulation fell, as the readership could not understand foreign names, customs or words such as *Mademoiselle* meant Miss.¹¹⁸

Another publication with the same class (though far from exclusive) of readership as the penny journal was the penny dreadful.¹¹⁹ A number from the educated classes were highly suspicious of the penny dreadful, believing this literature was morally corrupting (unlike stories in the journals which according to Collins had ‘no wickedness’) because often the heroes were criminals such as Sweeney Todd, Dick Turpin and Jack Sheppard, or they carried gothic or adventure tales like *Varney the Vampire* in periodicals such as *The Boys of England*, *Young Men of Great Britain*, and *The Blue Dwarf*.¹²⁰ They focused on titillation through bloody violence, crime and romance, through action without any allusion to moral comment or teaching. In addition women often appeared in illustrations in a sexually appealing manner to capture a potential buyer’s attention as part of the violence and excitement in the dreadfuls’ formula. As E. S. Turner wrote:

The ‘penny dreadfuls’ had occasionally offered a heroine whose bosom, in stress of motion or emotion, had escaped from captivity, or on whose bare back a playful pirate was proposing to brand his mark. In early magazines of the Brett type [E. J. Brett was a publisher of sensational boys’ adventure periodicals], matrons with generously proportioned and lightly clad torsos were no rarity, either as symbolic figures like Britannia or Marianne, or as Boadicean-style heroines. Even James Henderson’s *Young Folks*¹²¹ regaled its readers with a front-page picture showing Queen Mab appearing before the dazzled hero clad only in a wisp of gossamer.¹²²

¹¹⁸ [Collins], ‘The Unknown Public’, 222.

¹¹⁹ Also known as ‘Penny Bloods’ or ‘Penny Awfuls’.

¹²⁰ [Collins], ‘The Unknown Public’, 221.

¹²¹ A children’s periodical that first serialised Robert Louis Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* in 1881.

¹²² E. S. Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys: The Story of Sweeney Todd, Deadwood Dick, Sexton Blake, Billy Bunter, Dick Barton, et al.*, revised edition, Michael Joseph, London, 1957, 112-113.

These themes, if in a more restrained manner, were to be found later in many spy novels which either investigated a crime such as an invasion plot, or a romance between the hero and the heroine, who is a damsel in distress. Just as spy novels were popular, so were the penny dreadfuls. Publisher E. J. Brett's *Boys of England* and *Young Men of Great Britain*, aimed at boys, were among the largest sellers with 250,000 and 150,000 per year respectively.¹²³ Charles Dickens recollected that as a schoolboy reading one resulting in 'making myself unspeakably miserable, and frightening my very wits out of my head', but he thought them good value 'considering that there was an illustration to every number in which there was always a pool of blood, and at least one body.'¹²⁴ Also Edward Lloyd, the publisher of penny dreadfuls and *Lloyd's Weekly*, would road-test stories on his servants or machine boys at the printing press to see if the publications captured their imagination and therefore would be successful.¹²⁵

However, those amongst the more educated classes expressed a fear of the lack of morality in the dreadfuls, believing they encouraged unethical behaviour. This opinion is expressed in the journalist and novelist James Greenwood's account in *St Pauls Magazine* of Bill and Charley, two lower-working-class Clerkenwell brothers from a single parent home tempted into stealing in order to read a dreadful that was displayed in a shop window:

¹²³ Kelly Boyd, *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855-1940*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills & New York, 2003, 34. See also Patrick A. Dunae, 'New Grub Street for Boys', *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Robinson, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1989, 25; Kevin Carpenter, *Penny Dreadfuls and Comics: English Periodicals for Children from Victorian Times to the Present Day*, Victoria & Albert Museum, London, 1983, 12.

¹²⁴ John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens* [1872], vol. I, James R. Osgood & Company, Boston, 1875, vi.

¹²⁵ Thomas Frost, *Forty Years' Recollections: Literary and Political* [1880], Garland Publishing, London & New York, 1986, 89-90. See also Louis James, *Fiction for the Working Man, 1830-1859: A Study of the Literature Produced for the Working Classes in Early Victorian Urban England*, Oxford University Press, London, 1963, 46.

My brother Bill was a bit older than me, and he used to have to stay at home and mind my young brother and sister, while father was out jobbing about at the docks and them places. We didn't have no mother ... [Bill] used to lay wait for me, carrying my young sister over his shoulder, when I came out of school at dinner time, and gammon me over to come along with him to a shop at the corner of Rosamond Street in Clerkenwell, where there used to be a whole lot of penny numbers in the window. They was all of a row, Wildfire Jack, the Boy Highwayman, Dick Turpin, and ever so many others—just the first page, don't you know, and the picture. Well, I liked it too, and I used to go along o' Bill and read to him all the reading on the front pages, and look at the pictures until—'specially on Mondays when there was altogether a new lot—Bill would get so worked up with the aggravatin' little bits, which always left off where you wanted to turn over and see what was on the next leaf, that he was very nigh off his head about it.¹²⁶

Bill was illiterate and in order to be able to purchase the papers, so that his brother Charley would be able to read them to him, he started stealing items to raise the money. In the end both brothers stole in order to buy dreadfuls. Greenwood is suggesting that the lack of perceived morality in the dreadfuls or, as he termed them, 'dangerous weeds of literature', encouraged criminal behaviour such as stealing.¹²⁷ Thus according to Greenwood and others' thinking these stories were in part responsible for criminality amongst the lower classes. There are other examples of this thinking: Francis Hitchman commented 'The story is always the same. An errand boy or an office lad is caught in the act of robbing his master ... In his [the boy's] desk are found sundry numbers of these romances of the road, a cheap revolver, a small stock of cartridges, and a black mask.'¹²⁸ And George R. Humphrey claimed 'The effect of this [the reading of dreadfuls] is seen in the exalted opinions the young people entertain of themselves, even to the disuse of ordinary politeness. Out of ten boys who applied for work, only one said "Please" or

¹²⁶ James Greenwood, 'Penny Awfuls', *St Pauls Magazine*, vol. 12, no. 66 (Feb. 1873), 165-166.

¹²⁷ Greenwood, 'Penny Awfuls', 161.

¹²⁸ [Hitchman], 'Penny Novels', 154.

“Thank you.”¹²⁹ These criticisms, particularly Greenwood’s, have presentiments of Orwell’s concern, if aimed in a different direction. The result was that many upper and upper-middle-class publishers discouraged the printing of popular literature. In fact this reaction gave rise to the appearance of periodicals like *Boys’ Own Papers* (BOP), *Chums* and others that Orwell objected to. These periodicals were designed to reinforce accepted values and virtues as opposed to the perceived vices in the dreadfuls and other cheap periodicals.

However, there were also economic reasons for criticism, one being that if there was too much cheap popular literature, the market for high literature books would cease to exist. As author Charles Lever wrote in 1846 ‘our cheap literature ... and our copious writing – like our low priced cotton and our cheap pen knives – will ultimately disparage our wares, both at home and abroad.’¹³⁰ The other economic reason was the triple-decker volume book. This was convenient for circulating libraries. These libraries such as Mudie’s Select Library, founded in 1843 by Charles Mudie, could restrict an individual subscriber to only one volume at a time, which was out of the reach of the lower classes. The arrangement lasted until the 1870s, when publishers started to issue cheaper later editions earlier than before.

A factor in this shift towards cheaper editions was Mudie’s greatest rival, W. H. Smith. He had started his bookstall at Euston train station in 1848, later founding in 1860 his own circulating library carrying his name W. H. Smith. His libraries were placed at train

¹²⁹ George R. Humphrey, ‘The Reading of the Working Classes’, *The Nineteenth Century*, vol. 33, no. 194 (April 1893), 692-693.

¹³⁰ Quoted in John Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers*, The Athlone Press, London, 1976, 74-75.

stations to catch the eyes of commuters by offering cheaper two shilling books. These books were often in a single volume and often written to entertain, with the bookstalls expanding from an estimated thirty in 1850 to between five and six hundred twenty years later.¹³¹ The trend for books focusing on sensationalism to entertain a reader during a journey on a train was noticed in 1863 by theologian H. L. Mansel:

A class of literature has grown up around us ... playing no inconsiderable part in moulding the minds and forming the habits and tastes of its generation; and doing so principally, we had almost said exclusively, by 'preaching to the nerves' Excitement, and excitement alone seems to be the great end at which they aim ... A commercial atmosphere floats around works of this class, redolent of the manufactory and the shop. The public want novels, and novels must be made—so many yards of printed stuff, sensation pattern, to be ready by the beginning of the season ... Various causes have been at work to produce this phenomenon of our literature. Three principal ones may be named as having had a large share in it—periodicals, circulating libraries, and railway bookstalls.¹³²

Mansel concluded bitterly 'Unhappily there is too much evidence that the public appetite can occasionally descend from trash to garbage.'¹³³ His remarks could have been easily directed towards the lower classes as due to the cost they were not able to access books through the circulating libraries. Instead they accessed literature in periodicals that serialised stories, such as *Mysteries of London* by George W. M. Reynolds that sold an estimated 40,000 copies a week in the 1840s, which focused on sensationalism with bloody murders much like his newspapers.¹³⁴ As the railways expanded and fares were reduced these periodicals were bought by the lower classes increasingly. Publisher George Routledge took advantage by producing the first of his 'Railway Library' of

¹³¹ Flanders, *Consuming Passions*, 190-191. See also Keating, *Haunted Study*, 23; Voykovic, *The Culture of the Thriller in Britain, 1898-1945*, 32.

¹³² [H. L. Mansel], 'Sensation Novels', *Quarterly Review*, vol. 113, no. 226 (April 1863), 482-483.

¹³³ [Mansel], 'Sensation Novels', 486.

¹³⁴ Sutherland, *Victorian Novelists and Publishers*, 41.

cheap reprinted books in ‘Yellowbacks’ and paperbacks. Yellowbacks were bound in straw boards covered in a glazed paper, which created the colour.¹³⁵ The front cover carried a colour illustration related to the text, and the spine had a design or picture with the back cover carrying advertisements to increase profits. These sold for two shillings by the 1850s.¹³⁶ The books’ design was repeated through to the twentieth century. As a result of this competition, by the 1890s the three-decker novel was disappearing to be replaced by a single six-shilling volume, followed by even cheaper editions and the development of the ‘shilling shocker’.¹³⁷

But not all people had easy access to books. Eventually the poorly funded public libraries (first founded in the 1850s) as sources of free reading materials were able to challenge circulating libraries.¹³⁸ These libraries were subscription free, but were slow growing until the end of 1912 when there were 559 library authorities throughout Britain.¹³⁹ Though education standards and literacy rates rose during the course of the nineteenth century up to World War I, taste in literature altered little.

It also should be noted there is a blurring between detective and spy literature. As the spy heroes often have to investigate or detect foreign spies or a conspiracy, as a result they are in effect acting as detectives. *The Riddle of the Sands* alludes to this when Carruthers

¹³⁵ Yellowbacks included some non-fiction books and ranged from high brow to low brow novels, but low brow novels were the main staple.

¹³⁶ Altick, *English Common Reader*, 299. See also Himmelfarb, *The Ideal of Poverty*, 415; Williams *The Long Revolution*, 190.

¹³⁷ Voykovic, *The Culture of the Thriller in Britain, 1898-1945*, 161-182.

¹³⁸ Alec Ellis, *Public Libraries and the First World War*, Ffymon Press, Wirral, 1975, 17, 67.

¹³⁹ Voykovic, *The Culture of the Thriller in Britain, 1898-1945*, 41-42.

makes the comment ‘I’m not cut out for a Sherlock Holmes....’¹⁴⁰ and ‘I figured to myself [being] one of those romantic gentlemen that one reads of in sixpenny magazines, with a Kodak in his tie-pin, a sketch-book in the lining of his coat, and a selection of disguises in his hand luggage. Little disposed for merriment as I was, I could not help smiling, too.’¹⁴¹ And finally when Davies justifies spying in order to discover the truth about the British traitor Dollman, he claims “‘...I’m not such an ass as to thirst for revenge and all that, like some chap in a shilling shocker....’”¹⁴² Even Sherlock Holmes at one stage describes himself and Watson as ‘spies.’¹⁴³ Indeed, Holmes himself was occasionally called upon to find missing secret treaties or to battle secret societies, and he uses a network of children as informants and spies and in *His Last Bow* (1917) he acts as a spy to foil the German preparations for World War I.¹⁴⁴ Furthermore Holmes’s imitator Sexton Blake before the war fought the Kaiser as a spy as well as working for him, even rejecting the Kaiser’s offer to be the head of the German secret service.¹⁴⁵ Meanwhile fictional spy like Allen Upward’s unnamed French Ambassador at times acted as a detective or spy which involved detective work depending on circumstances at various

¹⁴⁰ Erskine Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands: A Record of Secret Service* [1903], Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1995, 70.

¹⁴¹ Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 77.

¹⁴² Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 80.

¹⁴³ A. Conan Doyle, ‘The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: The Red-Headed League’, *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 2, no. 8 (Aug. 1891), 189.

¹⁴⁴ A. Conan Doyle, ‘The Adventures of Sherlock Holmes: The Five Orange Pips’, *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 11 (Nov. 1891), 481-491; Conan Doyle, ‘The Adventure of the Naval Treaty’, *The Strand Magazine*, vol. 6, no. 34 (Oct. 1893), 392-403, 459-468; Conan Doyle, ‘Reminiscences of Mr. Sherlock Holmes (From the Diaries of his Friend – John Watson, M. D.): The Bruce-Partington Plans’, *The Strand Magazine*, vol. 36, no. 216 (Dec. 1908), 689-705; Conan Doyle [1904], ‘The Adventure of the Second Stain’, *The Strand Magazine*, vol. 28, no. 168 (Dec. 1904), 603-617; Conan Doyle, ‘His Last Bow: The War Service of Sherlock Holmes’, *The Strand Magazine*, vol. 54, no. 321 (Sept. 1917), 227-236; Conan Doyle, *The Valley of Death* [1915], John Murray, London, 1951, passim; Conan Doyle, *The Hounds of the Baskervilles* [1902], Puffin, London, 2011, 53-55.

¹⁴⁵ Turner, *Boys Will Be Boys*, 129.

European courts.¹⁴⁶ Little wonder the reading public could not always distinguish between the spy and the detective. For instance Baden-Powell labelled Mr Lurgan, the agent and trainer of spies for the Indian Intelligence Service in *Kim*, as ‘a kind of detective among the natives’.¹⁴⁷ Therefore it is unsurprising that many novelists such as Oppenheim and Le Queux wrote both spy and detective novels as both belong to the category of the shilling shocker. Even those novelists who did focus on detective or adventure novels made excursions into the spy novel. G. K. Chesterton, famous for his Father Brown detective novels, in his only spy novel *The Man Who Was Thursday* (1908), has a detective as the hero on the trail of anarchist terrorists. Moreover as the MPSB dealt with terrorist groups (particularly Fenians and Anarchist organisations), often a police officer or officers from Scotland Yard appeared in novels including Joseph Conrad’s *The Secret Agent* (1908) and Victor Bridges’s *A Rogue by Compulsion* (1915). For the purpose of this thesis a novel will be classified as a spy novel on the merit that it simply involves spies or spying or a plot to invade Britain. Therefore I strongly disagree with Stafford’s assertion ‘...*Kim* hardly qualifies as a spy novel. It is, as Kipling himself acknowledged, a plotless and picaresque novel, a magical evocation of youth and Kipling’s beloved India. It was a spiritual godfather rather than a true begetter of the new

¹⁴⁶ Allen Upward, ‘Secrets of the Courts of Europe: The Confidences of an ex-ambassador elicited by Allen Upward: A Stolen King’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 3 (Jan. 1896), 45-56; Upward, ‘The Honour of an Empress’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 13 (Feb. 1896), 166-176; Upward, ‘The Sultan’s Foot’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 19 (March 1896), 276-288; Upward, ‘The True Story of Prince Bismarck’s Fall’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 29 (April 1896), 425-435; Upward, ‘“Prince Citron”’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 37 (May 1896), 544-555; Upward, ‘A Royal Freemason’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 43 (June 1896), 645-656; Upward, ‘A Scandal at the Elysée’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 4 (July 1896), 72-82; Upward, ‘The Ghost of the Winter Palace’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 13 (Aug. 1896), 188-200; Upward, ‘The Tomb in the Vatican’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 21 (Sept. 1896), 319-331; Upward, ‘The White Thread’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 28 (Oct. 1896), 415-426; Upward, ‘The Perfidy of Monsieur Disraeli’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 39 (Nov. 1896), 573-584; Upward, ‘Madame The Ambassadors’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 49 (Dec. 1896), 736-748.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* [1908], ed. Elleke Boehmer, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2005, 15.

genre.’¹⁴⁸ MI5 certainly believed *Kim* was a spy novel as evident by an early MI5 memorandum, that comments that the novel provides ‘some very good examples of the ways’ in which coded messages work between spies.¹⁴⁹ And as *Kim* has spying in it, therefore it belongs to the genre, even if it has to be noted that spying is not the focal point of the story. Such an argument given by Stafford would then apply to *The Riddle of the Sands* as there are actually few mentions of spies or espionage. Rather the story is about two amateurs who stumble across an invasion plot and through detective work discover how the invasion will be carried out.

To broaden the scope of the thesis, items outside novels that have a focal point related to spying or the invasion of Britain, such as plays, references in other art forms, articles, newspaper reports, parliamentary speeches and questions, and the development of the intelligence services will be included. When looking at the development of the intelligence services it should be noted this thesis is not a complete study of them as organisations.

Perception through book reviews will be limited as there are few contemporary reviews of the novels, even for the more famous ones. This does not mean the novels were not popular, but many literature reviews or other journals and newspapers saw them as not having enough literary merit to be worthy of review. When these novels were reviewed it could be negative as shown by *The Athenaeum*’s flippant review of Guy Thorne’s *Cruiser on Wheels* (1915):¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Stafford, *The Silent Game*, 6.

¹⁴⁹ TNA KV1/4 ‘Branch Memoranda: Intelligence Methods in Peace Time’.

¹⁵⁰ He also published under the name of C. Ranger-Gull.

He [Thorne] has a hero who incurs the paternal wrath and forfeits his allowance learns to drive a taximeter detects a German spy and is then appointed to the chauffership-in-chief of a marvellous armoured car that can do card tricks, wait at tables, and exterminate battalions at twopence the dozen. Hairbreadth escape and mighty deeds follow one another in kinematic [sic] graphical regularity and profusion, but, as the hero tells the story in the first person, we know after a glance that all will end well in gas and gaiters, so to speak, crowded with V.C.'s and marriage bells.¹⁵¹

There were some exceptions to this rule such as a review of Oppenheim's *Mr. Grex of Monte Carlo* (1915), which appeared in the Labour political journal *The New Statesman* calling it a 'vivid melodrama, by an accomplished hand.'¹⁵² The majority of spy novels were not reviewed. As Bosanquet noted, writers of cheap literature 'are not amongst those which appear in the *Athenaeum* and *Spectator*, and have an unfamiliar sound.'¹⁵³ Later, Kate MacDonald, a John Buchan expert, wrote 'Catherine Cookson and Barbara Taylor Bradford are rarely reviewed, yet are never off the bookstand shelves.'¹⁵⁴ *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and to a lesser degree *Greenmantle*, for example, had limited reviews even after their initial success. Buchan's biographers, Janet Adam Smith, Andrew Lownie and Kate MacDonald, have compiled lists of reviews which reveal that only a small number of journals reviewed the novels.¹⁵⁵ Granted they do miss reviews by *Punch*, *The British Journal of Nursing*, and *The Spectator* (of which Buchan had been a staff member), nonetheless reviews of the novels are few.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵¹ Anonymous, 'War Novels', *The Athenaeum: A Journal of Politics, Literature, Science and the Arts*, no. 4575 (3 July 1915), 10.

¹⁵² Gerald Gould, 'Book Reviews', *The New Statesman: A Weekly Review of Politics and Literature*, vol. 6, no. 134 (30 Oct. 1915), 90-91.

¹⁵³ Bosanquet, 'Cheap Literature', 672.

¹⁵⁴ MacDonald, *The Fiction of John Buchan with Particular Reference to the Richard Hannay Novels*, 32.

¹⁵⁵ Lownie, *John Buchan: The Presbyterian Cavalier*, 119, 138, 141, 318.

¹⁵⁶ Anonymous, 'Our Booking-Office (By Mr. Punch's Staff of Learned Clerks)', *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 149, 15 Nov. 1915, 355. See also H. H. 'Book of the Week: "Green mantle"', *The British Journal of Nursing within which is incorporated the Nursing Record*, no. 1569 (April 27 1918), vol. 60,

In fact, *Punch*, a comparatively widely read middle-class satirical journal, did review many popular novels during the war and published a poem in praise of Buchan as a new Sir Walter Scott [see Appendix 1].¹⁵⁷ This can be taken as a measure of Buchan's popularity. There are other pieces of evidence. A young subaltern, Christian Creswell Carver, who was in France from 1915 until his death in early 1918, wrote in a July 1917 letter to his younger brother of the type of books he had been reading, 'I have been enjoying some of John Buchan's books. I recommend *Salute to Adventures* [1915], *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and *Greenmantle*, if you have not read them. I have just read *The Riddle of the Sands* again too.'¹⁵⁸ However, Carver was not typical of soldiers as he had one list for every book and novel read and another for those he wanted, and in all he had sent to him seventy-six novels.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless Buchan by his entertaining style did reach a wide audience. He enjoyed hearing of *The Thirty-Nine Steps*'s success with soldiers, with his friends constantly reporting how much in demand it was in the trenches, clearing stations, and hospitals. Indeed, one of his motivations in writing *Greenmantle* was simply to entertain the troops.¹⁶⁰ The type of literature that was read, if any, by troops was for entertainment in the mould of Buchan, not the type that criticised the war, contrary to historian Paul Fussell's claim that H. G. Wells's *Mr Britling Sees It Through* (1916) was

300; Anonymous, 'Fiction: The Thirty-Nine Steps', *The Spectator: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology*, vol. 115, no. 4,558 (6 Nov. 1915), 630; Anonymous, 'Fiction: The Greenmantle', *The Spectator*, vol. 117, no. 4,610 (4 Nov. 1916), 555-556; Anonymous, 'Fiction: Mr. Standfast', *The Spectator*, vol. 123, no. 4,750 (12 July 1919), 55.

¹⁵⁷ [C. L. Graves], 'To John Buchan, Author of "Greenmantle," "The Thirty-Nine Steps," "The Power House" and other ingenious and delectable romances.', *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 151, 21 July 1916, 332.

¹⁵⁸ Quoted in MacDonald, *The Fiction of John Buchan with Particular Reference to the Richard Hannay Novels*, 26.

¹⁵⁹ MacDonald, *The Fiction of John Buchan with Particular Reference to the Richard Hannay Novels*, 26.

¹⁶⁰ Adam Smith, *John Buchan*, 206-207.

extremely popular, once the men discovered it described the Army as ‘stupidly led.’¹⁶¹

As writer and soldier Stephen Graham later recalled:

I was at pains to find out who had read *Mr. Britling Sees it Through*. Not one could I find, and though that clever novel was so astonishingly popular it was not so because the working man was reading it. It was not providing the working man with a voice about the war and life. Hall Caine is read, and I once heard a superior [class of] recruit speak of his writing as good healthy literature. But even Hall Caine is too intellectual at times. Our ardent writers such as [John] Masfield, Chesterton, Conrad, and [Arnold] Bennett find their readers among what Russian revolutionary soldiers and workmen call indiscriminately *the bourgeois*, but not among the rank and file. I canvassed a room one day and found that only three in it had heard of H. G. Wells, and one thought he wrote for *John Bull* [a sensationalist Sunday tabloid newspaper] and had a “flashy style.” The name of [George] Bernard Shaw was better known because of the greater number of newspaper remarks concerning him.¹⁶²

Graham goes on to claim ‘What the men do read is Florence Warden and Charles Garvice, and books with such titles as “The Temptress,” “Red Rube’s Revenge”, “The Lost Diamonds”—gaudy adventure stories ... All prefer, however, to look at pictures rather than read...’¹⁶³ Book reviews did not reflect this situation. Due to the limited number of book reviews before and during the war, they will only be used in this thesis when relevant rather than as a measuring stick of popular reception to spy/invasion novels.

Apart from the novels themselves a range of other primary materials such as reminiscences, journalistic accounts, and government documents, particularly in relation to the intelligence services will be used. These include *The Times* journalist Michael

¹⁶¹ Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1975, 157.

¹⁶² Stephen Graham, *A Private in the Guards*, Macmillan, London, 1919, 195.

¹⁶³ Graham, *A Private in the Guards*, 196.

MacDonagh's war diary *In London during the Great War* (1935) and Reverend Andrew Clark's diary *Echoes of the Great War*. Both are written with an audience in mind rather than for personal reflection.¹⁶⁴ Clark's diary is particularly useful with its reference to spy scares and gives further evidence to the type of rumours that went around about spies. But as with MacDonagh's diary, it was written for the public, raising the question of self-censorship when talking about acquaintances. For instance there is little reference to MacDonagh's employer Northcliffe or the workings of *The Times*, though he does continuously criticise what he calls the 'die-hards', groups of individuals or organisations such as the BEU, who were in favour of absolute internment or expulsion of naturalised and non-naturalised enemy aliens, and believers in an extensive German spy network.¹⁶⁵ This can be seen in part as a veiled criticism of Northcliffe. As such these diaries could be labelled journals recording social history during a time of war.

Another important primary source is archival documents, especially those involving the intelligence services. These are particularly useful when dealing with the involvement of women in the secret services as the documents describe the increase of their numbers during the war and the work they did. But there are problems. The MI5 documents are far from being complete, as some are still under restriction. In 1956 a number were destroyed to make room in the secret service archives, thus not providing a full picture.¹⁶⁶ In the case of the Admiralty Record Office, the normal process of archival management was for

¹⁶⁴ In the case of Clark, his diary was solely focused on the effects of the war in his parish of Great Leighs in Essex, as a historical record to be read by historians. Clark does not write on personal matters not related to war such as his wife's death. See Andrew Clark, *Echoes of the Great War: The Diary of the Reverend Andrew Clark 1914-1919*, ed. James Munson, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1985, 69, 164.

¹⁶⁵ MacDonagh, *In London during the Great War*, 32-33, 35, 151, 299-301, 309.

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue/displaycataloguedetails.asp?CATLN=6&CATID=8455944&j=1>. Access 29 May 2011.

the Admiralty to destroy some 93 percent of its files fifteen years after their creation and to review the remaining 7 percent after a further spell of twenty-five years. At this point it was customary for the number of surviving files to be reduced to 2 percent, which was made available to researchers through deposits in the National Archives.¹⁶⁷ In 1994 the historian Richard Thurlow has commented:

It is estimated that 98 per cent of Public Records are routinely shredded or destroyed. This means in effect that decisions have to be taken in various government departments about the priority of relevant information with regard to release. When such decisions have been taken, the files are weeded by officials or retired civil servants, to make them manageable for storage purposes. As there is no way of knowing the degree of historical expertise of the weeders, the suspicion must remain that at least some valuable information is lost through such a process.¹⁶⁸

The main use of archival documents is to focus upon the situation of women in intelligence services as most studies have focused on the running of MI5, MI6 and the Naval Intelligence Department (NID), particularly the decrypting unit Room 40, the capture and trial of German spies, and real life British spies, rather than women working as clerks. The documents will be used in comparing women clerks to the portrayal of women in spy literature to see if attitudes towards women are similarly expressed in fiction as in real life.

Where appropriate, various journals will be used to reflect political opinion in relation to fears about invasions and spies. In the time period being examined nearly all journals, to various degrees, were aligned to a political party. Indeed, some were mouthpieces for or

¹⁶⁷ Matthew S. Seligmann, *Spies in Uniform: British Military and Naval Intelligence on the Eve of the First World War*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2006, 22.

¹⁶⁸ Richard Thurlow, *The Secret State: British Internal Security in the Twentieth Century*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford & Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1994, 11.

owned by a political party or MPs. For instance in 1912 *The Daily Express* received Unionist subsidies from Max Aitken,¹⁶⁹ who had the year before invested £25,000 in the newspaper, to save it from shutting down.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile *The Westminster Gazette's* sale in December 1907 was organised by the Liberal Party to ensure it maintain its Liberal viewpoint.¹⁷¹ Thus journals, even if they did not have a wide circulation, are able to provide snapshots of political views on spy/invasion literature and related issues. The political links between journals, especially newspapers, are seen by those sitting in Parliament. In 1900 there were forty-eight proprietors, editors, and journalists sitting in Parliament. Their number hit a peak of sixty-two in 1906 and by December 1910 the number was still fifty-four.¹⁷² In addition there were a number of proprietors, editors and newspaper managers, who received a peerage for their political support, including Northcliffe, his brother Harold Harmsworth, George Riddell, H. J. Dalziel, Ronald McNeill, Davison Dalziel, and Max Aitken. Readership was not as large as later in the twentieth century but it was still substantial. As mentioned before *The Daily Mail* had the largest newspaper daily circulation but other dailies that had large circulation for the period included the biggest selling Liberal newspaper *The Daily News*, which from 1909 to August 1914 had a circulation of nearly 400,000¹⁷³ and *The Daily Telegraph* which in 1908 had a circulation over 200,000.¹⁷⁴ After Northcliffe bought *The Times* and lowered its price to one penny in March 1914 its circulation was an average of 145,000 until

¹⁶⁹ Later Lord Beaverbrook.

¹⁷⁰ McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War', 464. See also A. J. P. Taylor, *Beaverbrook*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth (England), 1974, 85, 110, 132, 141; Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, 70.

¹⁷¹ Riddell, *More Pages from My Diary 1908-1914*, 14.

¹⁷² Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England*, 294-295.

¹⁷³ Koss, *Fleet Street Radical*, 66.

¹⁷⁴ Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Twentieth Century*, 93. See also Startt, *Journalists for Empire*, 25.

August 1914.¹⁷⁵ While regional newspapers' circulation such as the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* with a circulation of 37,000 was small, these were influential in their particular regions.¹⁷⁶ But circulation numbers did not necessarily reflect political influence: *The Times*, *The Westminster Gazette* and *The Observer*, which had a circulation of 20,000 in 1906, were influential because they were read by the social and political elites. In addition they were subscribed to by London Clubs in the heart of London which was known as 'Clubland' where the politically and socially powerful met on a social level.¹⁷⁷ This was also true of weekly political journals such as the radical *The Nation* that was expensively priced at 6d, it was aimed at a politically aware upper and upper-middle-class readership and had in 1909 a circulation of around 5,000 with 2,100 being direct subscribers.¹⁷⁸ At this time the radical right-wing *The National Review* had a circulation of around 7,000, which was typical of political weekly journals.¹⁷⁹ An exception was the moderate Unionist *The Spectator* with a 20,000 circulation.¹⁸⁰ During World War I circulation for journals rose: *The Times*'s jumped to 278,000 on the day Britain declared war on Germany and 318,000 in September 1914 before falling back to under 200,000 in October 1914, then to an average 184,000 in 1916 and 37,000 in 1917.¹⁸¹ *The Daily Express* started at a circulation of 295,485 in 1914 rising to 372,840 in 1915 and reached

¹⁷⁵ Richard Bourne, *Lords of Fleet Street: The Harmsworth Dynasty*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1990, 38-39. See also Woods & Bishop, *The Story of The Times*, 211.

¹⁷⁶ Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Twentieth Century*, 76.

¹⁷⁷ Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Twentieth Century*, 35.

¹⁷⁸ Alfred F. Havighurst, *Radical Journalist: H. W. Massingham (1860-1924)*, Cambridge University Press, London & New York, 1974, 154. See also McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War', 475.

¹⁷⁹ John A. Hutcheson, Jr., *Leopold Maxse and the National Review, 1893-1914: Right-Wing Politics and Journalism in the Edwardian Era*, Garland Publishing, New York & London, 1989, 37.

¹⁸⁰ McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War', 475.

¹⁸¹ McEwen, 'The National Press during the First World War', 482. See also Woods & Bishop, *The Story of The Times*, 212.

a peak in 1918 at 578,832.¹⁸² *The Daily Mail* rose from 945,919 to 1,105,214 in 1915 and peaked in 1916 at 1,172,245. However, war was costly because advertisement revenue dropped, the infrastructure of war correspondents was expensive, ink and paper became scarce and expensive, and as a consequence in early 1917 the price of *The Daily Mail* was raised to one penny resulting in a decline in circulation from 973,434 to 938,211 in 1918.¹⁸³ Nevertheless, whatever the circulation of the journals, these are rich sources to reflect various political opinions during the time period, even if they did not necessarily affect the political views of readers, as noted by Geoffrey Brady, a stockbroker, who remembered that during his Edwardian childhood his father, a former Stockport cotton mill owner, despite his own Unionist politics, read *The Manchester Guardian* because *The Times* ‘hardly circulated up there [Stockport] and if you took any intelligent interest in affairs at all you took the *Guardian*.’¹⁸⁴

Also to be used as secondary material are general accounts of the period, biographies and more specialised pieces related to espionage and various themes to be covered in the thesis. There are far too many to be named without sounding like a library catalogue. However, one of the secondary sources to be used is Tammy Proctor’s *Female Intelligence* (2003).¹⁸⁵ Proctor is particularly useful as she looks at the use of women in the intelligence services and the portrayal of women during World War I. As mentioned,

¹⁸² McEwen, ‘The National Press during the First World War’, 482.

¹⁸³ Dominik Geppert, “‘The foul-visaged anti-Christ of journalism’? The Popular Press between Warmongering and International Cooperation’, *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity*, eds. Dominik Geppert & Robert Gerwarth, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, 380. See also McEwen, ‘The National Press During the First World War’, 482; H. A. Taylor, *Robert Donald: Being the Authorized Biography of Sir Robert Donald, G.B.E., L.L.D., Journalist, Editor and Friend of Statesmen*, Stanley Paul, London, n.d., 95-96.

¹⁸⁴ Quoted in Thea Thompson, *Edwardian Childhoods*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & Boston, 1981, 131.

¹⁸⁵ Tammy M. Proctor, *On My Honour: Guides and Scouts in Interwar Britain*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 2002, *passim*.

women in the intelligence services have not often been closely studied as women overall were restricted to working as clerks rather than spies. However, the largest expansion in the intelligence in wartime was in clerical work, especially in the registry of MI5 or in postal censorship. The use of women as clerks in intelligence mirrored the growth of female clerks in wider society before the war. Proctor's work with government archives is extremely useful as a building block for Chapter Four, when comparing the representation of women in fiction to the reality.

Another useful secondary source on the British intelligence services is Christopher Andrew's *The Defence of the Realm* (2009), which is the authorised history of MI5 and his earlier *The Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community* (1985).¹⁸⁶ As Andrew has had access to the Services Archives that has documents not accessible to the public of which a number relate to my thesis, and these exclusive materials will be used alongside those that I have accessed from public archives.

As already mentioned earlier there have been articles by David French, David Stafford, Nicholas Hiley and David Trotter. As stated before, Stafford's articles on Le Queux, especially 'Conspiracy and Xenophobia', provide much needed background. This is due to Le Queux, himself, not being a reliable source of information. Also the article demonstrates the interconnection between Le Queux's spy novels and British society. Similar David French's 'Spy Fever in Britain' and Stafford's 'Spies and Gentlemen' show the link between what was written in Edwardian spy novels and what was written in

¹⁸⁶ Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 4, 13-15, 18-19, 23, 38-39, 46-47. See also Andrew, *The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 35, 52-53, 56-57, 59-60, 63, 68.

the press and politics of the day that gave rise to the intelligence services.¹⁸⁷ David Trotter's 'The Politics of Adventure in Early British Spy Novels' is similar to those papers, looking at the political statements that are imbedded within the text of the novels.¹⁸⁸ Unlike these other papers I will be dedicating a substantial section to World War I, which often is left out by historians, who are more concerned with the Edwardian spy scares as part of the perceived build-up to war or only make passing references to spy scares during World War I.

This thesis contains five major chapters: each of these will discuss a certain theme found in British spy literature before and during World War I. The analysis will make a conscious effort to give a range of political perspectives about the literature and topics surrounding the literature but several themes are more prominent such as a genuine belief in an extensive German spy network. Each of the chapters will not be based on one particular writer, though in a number of cases some writers like Le Queux, Buchan and Oppenheim, due to their prolificacy, fame, or notoriety may dominate. At the end of each chapter there will be concluding remarks to link together the chapters.

The first chapter is on the spy/invasion literature before World War I and its relationship to political developments, military and defence debates, the campaign for military conscription lead by Lord Roberts with support from Northcliffe and the Edwardian spy scare. The scare focused upon German immigrants as (or at least as potential) spies which in turn helped to provide the environment for the foundation of the intelligence services

¹⁸⁷ French, 'Spy Fever in Britain, 1900-1915', passim.

¹⁸⁸ David Trotter, 'The Politics of Adventure in Early British Spy Novels', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 5, no. 4, (Oct. 1990), passim.

of MI5 and MI6. Le Queux's stories with reports in newspapers of spies roaming the countryside were in part used as evidence to the sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence inquiries in 1908 and 1909. The chapter will point out the similarities between spy/invasion literature and the statements used in support of national service, the perceived spy threat and the creation of organisations like the Boy Scouts and the Legion of Frontiersmen. There will also be a discussion of those who argued against the existence of any threat, or satirised scaremongers.

The next chapter examines the continuation of certain themes from the Victorian and Edwardian times into World War I. The chapter begins with the new spy scare that revisited ideas such as German waiters being spies that began in response to Britain's declaration of war on Germany. It ends with the analysis of the conspiracy theory of the 'Hidden Hand' as expressed in certain sections of the media and organisations such as the British Empire Union (BEU) as a simple means of explaining why there was a war and why it had not been quickly concluded.¹⁸⁹

The third chapter focuses on the concept or ideal of the gentleman in the literature. This chapter starts with an overview of the change in the meaning of a gentleman and attitudes in regards to disguises and spies in response to the perceived need for greater security. Secondly it shows how the British were portrayed as gentlemen representing civilisation in a civilised society of good. This is in direct contrast to the Germans, who portrayal was of evil barbarians threatening to take over the world.

¹⁸⁹ Before 1917 this was the Anti-German League. In the thesis it will be referred to as the British Empire Union for convenience as it is historically better remembered under that name.

Chapter Four is dedicated to the appearance and portrayal of women in wartime occupations. A select number of novels will be examined: *A V.A.D. in Salonika* (1917), *Munition Mary* (1918), *Mr Standfast* and to a lesser degree *The Spy in Black*. Other literature will be referred to where relevant but the main focus is these novels as they portray women in certain war occupations of munitions worker, nurse and spy. These positions appeared widely in newspapers or novels during the war, either in propaganda calling for more workers or in flights of fancy.¹⁹⁰ Each of the occupations in the novels will be compared to the reality during the war. The comparison is to give a sense of how far the portrayal of each heroine was upholding traditional values of women being the moral compass of society or was part of a challenge to the status quo. In the chapter there will be included the damsel in distress as a continuation of a traditional role in spy literature. This role was a way of demonstrating the hero's masculinity and the need for women to be protected from the dangers of the world.

Chapter Five is devoted to women and sexuality. In part this subject is a continuation from the previous theme as it continues to discuss and examine the traditional role of women. But the chapter will show that female expression of sexuality was acceptable as long as it was within social standards, which is revealed in World War I spy/invasion literature. The historical context and circumstances during the war such as 'Khaki fever', the creation of legislation such as the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) are discussed.

¹⁹⁰ Rebecca West, 'The Woman Worker: Good Points of the Factory System', *The Daily News and Leader*, 19 Nov. 1915, 4; Anonymous, 'Women in Factories: Wonderful Results in First Weeks: Men Outdone: Output and Earnings Compared', *The Daily News and Leader*, 3 Dec. 1915, 1-2; Anonymous, 'Huge Leeds Shells: What Yorkshire is Doing: Women in Khaki: Great Variety of Output', *The Daily News and Leader*, 12 Nov. 1915, 5; Anonymous, 'Workshops in Wartime: Munition Centres' Huge Effort: Birmingham: 10 Acres of Machines in one Building', *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Nov. 1915, 5; Anonymous, 'Women Munition Workers: Successful Results of the New Order: Turning the Tables on the Enemy', *The Daily News and Leader*, 16 Nov. 1915, 5.

The focus on female (and to a lesser extent male) sexuality allows further discussion of the concept of 'Us and Them' or 'Self and Other' in the form of Britain representing civilisation and Germany barbarism. But underlying this simple image portrayed in spy/invasion literature it will be argued there was a sense of moral decline in British society.

Throughout these various chapters there is a continuous theme of race, and as such there is no separate race chapter. However, the topic will be referred to throughout as often the text of the spy novels, especially those dealing with World War I, made comparisons between the characteristics of the British as compared to those of Germans. And race was a particular issue in the Edwardian period when it came to the concern of the decline of British power and the medical failure rate of volunteers for the Boer War, which was the motivating force behind the National Service League, the Boy Scouts and other like-thinking organisations in their endeavours, seeing Britain being involved in a Darwinian struggle with other nations.

It is hoped my thesis will be able to illustrate the political and social origins of the British spy/invasion literature while looking at the maintaining and changing of certain views and attitudes towards the ideal of the gentleman, class, and women that can be found in British spy/invasion fiction during Victorian and Edwardian times and World War I.

Chapter I

Foreign Agents, Invaders, Government Responses and Novels

This chapter discusses the relations between pre-World War I British invasion/spy literature and British politics and military ideas and the consequent effects. The key feature in these elements lay in what Druce sees as the use of recurrence or in Stierle's words 'the intention to provoke stereotypes of imagination and emotion.'¹⁹¹ This was not just limited to novels but included newspapers, especially tabloids, as they used certain recurring themes found in invasion/spy literature. Thus unsubstantiated, even absurd, rumours were reported as news especially if they reinforced already held popular prejudices. Certainly, the way in which *The Daily Mail* used recurring themes reported as news was often akin to a sensational novel aimed at entertaining the public as a means to sell copies. In 1913 F. W. Hirst, the editor of the classical liberal *Economist*, realised this to be the case, seeing that popular newspapers (in part due to commercial pressures) used a repetitive style to produce sensational reports at the quickest possible speed to grab readers' attention and reinforce their prejudices.¹⁹²

The various invasion/spy scares had been informed by real historical events including the Norman Conquest, the Spanish Armada and especially the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, when Napoleon Bonaparte had become a mythical figure used to scare children into behaving and poems [see Appendix 2] were written about a potential French invasion. These themes were regularly revisited in British literature such as *The Infamous*

¹⁹¹ Stierle, 'The Reading of Fictional Texts', 86.

¹⁹² F. W. Hirst, *The Six Panics and Other Essays*, Methuen, London, 1913, 149.

John Friend.¹⁹³ As Britain's world position was challenged, particularly by Germany, many believed that Germans would use spies to prepare the groundwork for invasion. This saw an intensification of these types of scares.¹⁹⁴ The result, in part, was the creation of the intelligence services and legislation such as the Official Secret Acts of 1889 and 1911. The anxiety had already been felt with General William Francis Butler writing *The Invasion of England* where he blamed urbanisation and industrialisation with its pollution causing weakening of the physical health of the British population.¹⁹⁵ This was seemingly confirmed during the Boer War by the rejection rate of 40 to 60 percent of army volunteers (it was suggested that of 11,000 would-be volunteers in Manchester, 8,000 of them were turned away due to physical defects) this was due to malnourishment and poor living conditions. The war's military setbacks led to an intensification in the search from all sections of politics for so-called 'national efficiency' and the foundation of the Inter- Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904) that sought to

¹⁹³ See Simon Bainbridge, *British Poetry and the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2003, 72-75, 99-101, 116-117; Thomas Hardy, *The Dynasts: An Epic-Drama of the War with Napoleon* [1904 – 1908], vols 2, MacMillan & Co. Ltd, London, 1962, 144-147, 168-170, 332; F. B. Wheeler & A. M. Broadley, *Napoleon and the Invasion of England: The Story of the Great Terror*, vol. 1, John Lane the Bodley Head, London, 1908, xxxii, 17-20, 132-134, 197-200, 222-223, 241, 250-255; Wheeler & Broadley, *Napoleon and the Invasion of England*, vol. 2, 277-317; Anonymous, 'Bonaparte May Pass This Way' [n.d.], A. M. Broadley & R. G. Bartelot, *The Three Dorset Captains at Trafalgar: Thomas Masterman Hardy, Charles Bullen, Henry Digby*, John Murray, London, 1906, 148; R. D. Blackmore, *Springhaven: A Tale of the Great War* [1887], S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, 1894, 260, 283, 286, 330, 335; Mrs M. R. Garnett, *The Infamous John Friend* [1909], Jonathan Cape, London, 1959, passim; Baroness Orczy, *The Scarlet Pimpernel* [1905], Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1944, 24-25, 40, 69, 77, 82, 86, 88-89, 112, 125, 153, 167, 175, 182, 191, 199, 215; Baroness Orczy, *I Will Reply: A Romance* [1906], Greening & Co., London, 1910, 125, 145; Baroness Orczy, *Elusive Pimpernel: A Romance*, Hutchinson, London, 1908, 27-28, 30; Baroness Orczy, *Eldorado: A Romance of the Scarlet Pimpernel* [1913], Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1956, 8, 10, 15, 21, 24, 26, 40, 67, 81, 86, 91, 116, 129, 132, 147, 176, 178; May Wynne, *A Spy for Napoleon: A Romance*, Jarrold & Sons, London, 1917, passim.

¹⁹⁴ French and Russians were also portrayed in this manner. See Horace Francis Lester, 'The Taking of Dover (Translated from the French) [1888]', ed. I. F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914: Fictions of Future Warfare and of Battles Still-to-come*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1995, 116, 124, 136; Louis Tracy, *The Invaders: A Story of Britain's Peril*, George Bell & Sons, London & Bombay, 1901, Passim.

¹⁹⁵ William Francis Butler, 'The Invasion of England' [1882], ed. I. F. Clarke, *British Future Fiction: The Next Great War*, vol. 6, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2001, 248.

improve the range of social and welfare interventions to improve the general health of the population.¹⁹⁶

The search for efficiency was not only directed at producing better living conditions or a better breed of British people but also to improve the education of society and efficiency of government and the armed forces to be able to compete with the other great powers. Many, including former imperialist Liberal Prime Minister Lord Rosebery, saw a Social-Darwinist struggle of the battle of the fittest competing for domination, claiming ‘The facts are patent. Feeble races are being wiped off the earth and the few, great incipient species arm themselves against each other ... Now, with the whole earth occupied and the movements of expansion continuing, she [Britain] will have to fight to the death against successive rivals.’¹⁹⁷

This broad-ranging desire was shared by people of diverse political allegiances, symbolised by a short-lived group called the ‘Coefficients’.¹⁹⁸ They believed that the

¹⁹⁶ R. J. Q. Adams & Philip P. Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain, 1900-18*, MacMillan, London & Houndsmills (England), 1987, 6. See also Rowena Hammal, ‘How Long Before the Sunset?: British Attitudes to War, 1871-1914’, *History Today*, vol. 68, no. 12 (Dec. 2010), 31; John M. Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & Dover (New Hampshire), 1986, 229; Vanessa Heggie, ‘Lies, Damn Lies, and Manchester’s Recruiting Statistics: Degeneration as an “Urban Legend” in Victorian and Edwardian Britain’, *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, vol. 63, no. 2 (April 2008), 178, 181, 185, 188; Arnold White, *Efficiency and Empire* [1901], Harvester Press, Brighton, 1973, 102-103.

¹⁹⁷ Quoted in Jonathan David Caverley, *The Development of Character: The Gentleman Spies of Erskine Childers and John Buchan*, Unpublished Honours Thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 1995, 17.

¹⁹⁸ The Coefficients included the Fabian intellectuals Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, politicians Sir Edward Grey, R. B. Haldane, Lord Milner, economist W. A. S. Hewins (the director of the London School of Economics), Leo Maxse, mathematician and radical philosopher Bertrand Russell, journalist Leo Amery, *The Times* military correspondent Lieutenant-Colonel Charles à Court Repington, H. G. Wells, newspaper editor J. L. Garvin, Lieutenant (later Commander) Carlyon Bellairs, political-geographer Halford Mackinder, New Zealand politician and historian Pember Reeves, and businessman Sir Clinton Dawkins (private secretary to Sir Alfred Milner in South Africa). See D. P. Crook, *Benjamin Kidd: Portrait of a Social Darwinist*, Cambridge University Press, London & New York, 1984, 222; W. Michael Ryan,

British elite had developed habits of smugness, lethargy, and complacency, which needed to be altered. Meanwhile others, like Lord Roberts, saw compulsory military training or active service as the answer in the face of military developments. In addition, during the Edwardian period there was an increase in industrial strikes, as well as the political clash between the reformist Liberal government and the Unionist dominated House of Lords, political divisions (in both parties) over free trade and a fear of an Irish civil war between Nationalists and Unionists. All these, in one way or another, contributed to the creation of a spy scare in the years of 1908 and 1909.

George Dangerfield memorably summed up Edwardian Britain's political situation as constituting 'The strange death of liberal England'.¹⁹⁹ A generation later, another historian, Samuel Hynes, claimed 'The Edwardian invasion scare was primarily a Tory [Unionist] creation and most of the literary treatments of the theme carry obvious Tory political sentiments....'²⁰⁰ Hynes calls this 'Tory Pessimism', part of what he terms as 'the Edwardian turn of mind'. It was symbolised by the so-called Diehards, a group of Unionist lords, who, against their own leadership, voted against the Parliament Act (1911) that reduced the powers of the House of Lords after it had rejected the socially progressive budget of 1909. Many of these lords, such as Lord Crawford, Lord Leith of Fyvie, Lord Lovat, Lord Meath,²⁰¹ Lord Milner and Lord Roberts, were notable members of various pressure groups such as the NSL, the Boy Scouts, the Legion of Frontiersmen

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles à Court Repington: A Study in the Interaction of Personality, the Press, and Power, Garland Publishing, New York & London, 1987, 49-50.

¹⁹⁹ George Dangerfield, *The Strange Death of Liberal England* [1935], Fitzroy Press, London, 1965, passim.

²⁰⁰ Samuel Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford, 1968, 43.

²⁰¹ Lord Meath founded the Lads Drill Association that aimed to ensure physical fitness amongst boys and was incorporated into the NSL. See Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914*, 375.

and anti-Alien organisations such as the BEU.²⁰² The Diehards had a collective disdain for Parliamentary institutions, party machines and professional politicians. On a social level they had low regard for industrialisation seeing it as resulting in masses of people being driven into the ‘unnatural’ environment of big cities, creating class resentment, social distress and fostering the spread of material greed, pacifism, cosmopolitanism, and urban diseases.²⁰³ But the mood of ‘Tory Pessimism’ went beyond the Unionist Party and its supporters. True, the fear of invasion and spies was more prevalent on the right of politics, as political scientist Neal Blewett demonstrated in his survey of party speeches during the general election of January 1910. Nearly every Unionist campaign address mentioned defence matters compared to just over half of Liberal addresses and less than a fifth of Labour addresses, which reveals that Unionists were far more concerned about invasion.²⁰⁴ However, there were a number of non-Unionists who shared this same concern. One was the socialist writer, Robert Blatchford, who used to lie awake at night repeating to himself; ‘My God! This horror [war with Germany] is marching steadily upon us and our people will not believe it.’²⁰⁵ In 1909, he was hired by Northcliffe through Kennedy Jones, the managing director of *The Daily Mail*, to write on the German threat in a series of ten articles.²⁰⁶ Another non-Unionist who feared the possibility of an

²⁰² Originally named the Anti-German League.

²⁰³ Geoffrey Searle, ‘The “Revolt from the Right”’, *Nationalist and Racist Movements in Britain and Germany before 1914*, eds. Paul Kennedy & Anthony Nicholls, Macmillan Press, Oxford, 1981, 30-34.

²⁰⁴ Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People*, 317.

²⁰⁵ Robert Blatchford, *My Eighty Years*, Cassell & Company, London, 1931, 5.

²⁰⁶ Morris, *Radicalism Against War*, 210-211. See also Robert Blatchford, ‘The German Peril’, *The Quarterly Review*, no. 416, vol. 209 (July 1908), 264-298; Robert Blatchford, ‘The Danger of War: A Challenge to Labour Leaders’, *The Clarion*, 7 Aug. 1908, 1; Robert Blatchford, ‘Germany: The Case for the Scaremongers’, *The Clarion*, 21 Aug. 1908, 5; Robert Blatchford, ‘Armageddon and After’, *The Clarion*, no. 937, 5 Nov. 1908, 1; Robert Blatchford, ‘An Insult to the Army and Navy’, *The Clarion*, no. 947, 19 Nov. 1909, 1. Though Blatchford firmly believed that Germany intended to go to war with Britain, he did as editor of the socialist *The Clarion* publish articles by those from the Labour Party and other socialist groups, who overall did not share his viewpoint towards Germany. See R. B. Suthers, ‘Improbability of War’, *The Clarion*, no. 940, 26 Nov. 1908, 5.

invasion was the Liberal journalist W. T. Stead. Stead worried during the Boer War that France, with the consent of Germany, would conduct a military raid on Britain.²⁰⁷ In the Late-Victorian and Edwardian periods, a cultural response to such fears was invasion/spy literature.

The ‘invasion tale’ was one of the first cultural responses to the German military success in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871) that first gave rise to concern with the possibility of German invasion and new debate about defence policy. The most famous of these was *The Battle of Dorking* (1871) by Colonel George Tomkyns Chesney.²⁰⁸ He had sent the story’s outline to *Blackwood’s* on 8 February 1871, only eleven days after the Franco-Prussian armistice, and it was published in that May. The story is a fictional account of a successful German invasion of Britain as recalled by a British veteran to his grandchildren. The invasion happens when most of the Royal Navy, together with the regular army, is called upon to deal with problems across the globe which coincides with a secret device that destroys the Channel Fleet, exposing Britain to attack.²⁰⁹ When the invasion takes place the German army is machinelike in its efficiency while the defenders are completely disorganised and without supplies, resulting in a humiliating defeat. This was a cautionary tale, warning that there was amongst politicians a false sense of security from depending too much on the Royal Navy for protection. The story carried regret for the weakening of aristocratic political power after the introduction of the Second Reform Act (1867). To Chesney, politicians, especially Liberals and Radicals, had become

²⁰⁷ [W. T. Stead], ‘Our Real National Peril: The Opened Door for a French Raid on London’, *War against War*, vol. 10, no. 19 (22 Dec. 1899), 148.

²⁰⁸ A veteran of the Indian Mutiny, he later became a Lieutenant-General, and later still, Unionist MP for Oxford from 1892 to 1895.

²⁰⁹ George Tomkyns Chesney, *The Battle of Dorking* [1871], Grant Richards, London, 1914, 29-30.

populists as a consequence of the widening of the electoral franchise. Therefore, to Chesney's thinking, politicians, in appealing to a wider electorate, had reduced funding for the armed forces, especially the army, to pay for other items demanded by voters. Chesney and others saw such action as the government abandoning its prime responsibility, that being the defence of Britain. Chesney's criticism is expressed through the narrator's voice:

Such a defeat [France's] had never happened before in the world; and with this proof before us ... a cry was raised that the army ought to be reorganised, and our defences strengthened against the enormous power of sudden attacks which it was seen other nations were able to put forth. But our Government had come into office on a cry of retrenchment as the price of allegiance. This party [Liberal] always decried military establishments as part of a fixed policy for reducing the influence of the Crown and the aristocracy. They could not understand that the times had altogether changed, that the Crown had no real power, and that the Government merely existed at the pleasure of the House of Commons, and that even parliamentary-rule was beginning to give way to mob-law ... The fleet and the Channel, they said, were sufficient protection. So the army reform was put off for some more convenient reason, and the militia and volunteers too were left untrained as before, because to call them out for drill would "interfere with the industry of the country."²¹⁰

The story, with its political message, had an impact as within a month of being published in *Blackwood's*, it had been reprinted eight times and music hall songs had been written on the subject of *Dorking*.²¹¹ In October of that year, a sixpenny edition of the story was released at a rate of 80,000 copies a month.²¹² While it was celebrated by conservative

²¹⁰ Chesney, *The Battle of Dorking*, 21-22.

²¹¹ Howard Roy Moon, *The Invasion of the United Kingdom: Public Controversy and Official Planning 1888-1918*, unpublished PhD thesis, University College London, London, 1968, 12. See also I. F. Clarke, 'Introduction: The Paper Warriors and their Fights of Fantasy', ed. I. F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914: Fictions of Future Warfare and of Battles Still-to-come*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1995, 15.

²¹² Cecil Degrotte Eby, *The Road to Armageddon: The Martial Spirit in English Popular Literature, 1870-1914*, Duke University Press, Durham (North Carolina) & London, 1987, 13. See also Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 35.

elements in politics, others were critical. Liberal Prime Minister William Gladstone was reported to say in a speech at the Whitby Working Man's Liberal Association that *Dorking* had caused needless anxiety and that 'such productions made them [the British] look alarmists in the eyes of the world, and the practical result was the spending still more of the people's money.'²¹³ *Punch* was also critical of the scenario, thinking the British would put up a far better fight than depicted in *Dorking*, as it expressed in the last two stanzas in its poem, *The Battle of Dorking* (see "Blackwood" for May) [see Appendix 3]:

The "Battle of Dorking" he calls his fight—'tis clear he's no game chicken—
 In fact, I believe, that fighting fowls your Dorkings never are—
 Though they take kindly to cramming and when roasted are portly pretty
 picking—
 But *this* Dorking bird seems to be cross between Dung-hill Cock and *Canard*.

War-Office and Admiralty may have their share of bungle and blunder;
 But JOHN BULL is not yet the brainless ass as that *Blackwood's* prophet would
 make him;
 We may grudge the cost of our Army's strength, and of our Navy's thunder,
 But if the British Lion's asleep, 'twill prove no joke to wake him.²¹⁴

In addition there appeared in the immediate aftermath stories such as *Der Ruhm; or The Wreck of German Unity* (1871), *What Happened after the Battle of Dorking* (1871), *After the Battle of Dorking* (1871), *The Battle of the Ironclads* (1871), and *The Second Armada* (written for *The Times*), written to counter *Dorking*, where invasion ends in a German defeat.²¹⁵ There was a story such as *Suggested Invasion of England by the Germans*

²¹³ Anonymous, 'Mr. Gladstone at Whitby', *The Times of London*, no. 27159, 4 Sept. 1871, 12.

²¹⁴ Anonymous, 'The Battle of Dorking (see "Blackwood" for May)', *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 70, 20 May 1871, 207.

²¹⁵ See Anonymous, 'Der Ruhm; or The Wreck of German Unity: The Narrative of a Brandenburger Hauptmann' [1871], ed. I. F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914: Fictions of Future Warfare and of Battles Still-to-come*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1995, 77-94; [Abraham

(1871) that did support *Dorking's* hypothesis. More coolly the historian Edward Augustus Freeman commented that the response to the Franco-Prussian War was 'one of those curious fits of panic which seemed ever and anon to seize upon the English nation, and which, after exciting everybody for a while, died away and are forgotten.'²¹⁶

But this fit of panic would continue. In the early 1880s the fear of the possibility of invasion was great enough to prevent a proposal to build a Channel tunnel.²¹⁷ Furthermore, in the next fifteen years, after *Dorking*, in the world of fiction there were at least eighteen short stories or novels of invasion published, with the invading army either being German, French, or Russian, depending who was seen as Britain's major threat. The fictional outcome varied. Some repeated *Dorking's* British defeat, while others

Hayward], 'The Second Armada: A Chapter of a Future History', *The Times of London*, 22 June 1871, no. 27096, 5; Anonymous, 'What happened after the Battle of Dorking; or, The Victory of Tunbridge Wells' [1871], *The Battle of Dorking Controversy; A Collection of Pamphlets with an Introduction by Asa Briggs*, Cornmarket Reprints, London, 1972; Anonymous, 'After the Battle of Dorking' [1871], *The Battle of Dorking Controversy*; Anonymous, 'The Battle of the Ironclads' [1871], *The Battle of Dorking Controversy*; Anonymous, 'The Suggested Invasion of England by the Germans' [1871], *The Battle of Dorking Controversy*.

²¹⁶ Edward A. Freeman, 'The Panic and its Lessons', *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. 24, no. 139 (May 1871), 1.

²¹⁷ As result of the Channel tunnel debate there were a number of sensational novels published including *How John Bull Lost London; or The Capture of the Channel Tunnel* (1882); *The Surprise of the Channel Tunnel* (1883); and *The Capture of London* (1887). Novelist and poet Thomas Hardy's wife was so scared of the possibility that a Channel tunnel would result in a French invasion she had a packed a suitcase ready in case the Hardys had to flee their home. Also a petition opposing the construction collected the signatures of Lord Tennyson, poet Robert Browning, Cardinal John Henry Newman, the Archbishop of Canterbury, along with ten Earls, seventeen Admirals, and fifty-nine Generals. Thomas Hardy satirised the concern of the Channel Tunnel with his short story 'A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four', a tale told by Solomon Selby, an old shepherd, about an encounter at a secluded cove where he believed he saw Napoleon with French soldiers scouting a possible landing site for an invasion. However, it was not Napoleon but rather a group of French smugglers at work. See Thomas Hardy, 'A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four' [1882], *Wessex Tales* [1888], Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 2009, 32-39. See also Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 21. The debate about a Channel tunnel would be revisited a number of times including in early 1914: Edward Noel, 'The Channel Tunnel: Foodstuffs In Time Of War', *The Times of London*, no. 40419, 13 Jan. 1914, 12; O. S. [Sir Owen Seaman], 'The Great Tunnel Question: Horrible Results Anticipated: May Entail the Need of an Actual Army: Threatened Appeal to the Manhood of England', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 132, 9 Jan. 1907, 20 [see Appendix 4]; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'Danger!: Being the Log of Captain John Sirlus' [1914], ed. Charles G. Waugh & Martin H. Greenberg, Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale & Edwardsville, 1983, 139; Anonymous, 'Sir A. Conan Doyle as Prophet: The Submarine "Blockade" Foretold', *The Daily News and Leader*, 19 Feb. 1915, 3.

ended in a British victory.²¹⁸ But most repeated the underlying accusation that the ruling elite had become apathetic or politicians, especially Liberals, had become populists and thus had failed to prepare the country for the possibility of a sudden invasion.²¹⁹ This idea became known as the ‘Bolt from the Blue’. It was supported by army leaders including Field-Marshal Sir Garnet Wolseley, General William Francis Butler, and their political allies.²²⁰ The opposing view was held by naval leaders including Admiral Sir John Fisher²²¹ and their political allies, who became known collectively as the ‘Blue Water’ school.²²² They believed the Royal Navy’s overwhelming superiority²²³ was the only true line of defence, as without the command of the seas, Britain could be starved as a result of naval blockade rather than being invaded.²²⁴ They too produced their own stories

²¹⁸ The lasting effect of *The Battle of Dorking* was that it was reissued in September 1914 by publisher and novelist Grant Richards and was still being discussed in November 1914 when Irish playwright George Bernard Shaw labelled it as example of part of long tradition of English militarist ideas that matched or surpassed German militarist ideas. See Ford Madox Hueffer, ‘Mr. Bernard Shaw and Mr. Wells: A Rejoinder’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 Dec. 1914, 4; Arnold Bennett, “‘Nonsense About Belgium’: According to Bernard Shaw”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 18 Nov. 1914, 4; G. Bernard Shaw, ‘The Shaw Manifesto: “G. B. S. Replies to Mr. Arnold Bennett”’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 19 Nov. 1914, 4; William Archer, ‘The Battle of Dorking’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 20 Nov. 1914, 4; R. B. Cunninghame Graham, ‘The Shaw Manifesto: Mr. R. B. Cunninghame Graham and “Paper Bullets”’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 20 Nov. 1914, 4; E. Raymond Streat, ‘The Shaw Manifesto’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Nov. 1914, 4; Grant Richards, “‘The Battle of Dorking’”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Nov. 1914, 4; Silas K. Hocking, ‘Bernard Shaw’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Nov. 1914, 4.

²¹⁹ A typical example was Posteritas’s *The Siege of London* with the comments that ‘the Liberals had never distinguished themselves for their logic...’ See Posteritas, *The Siege of London* [1884], Wyman & Sons, London, 1885, 19.

²²⁰ Later Lord Wolseley.

²²¹ Later Lord Fisher.

²²² Known as the ‘Blue Funk School’ by its opponents or, as was termed by Repington, the ‘Black Treachery School’. See [Charles à Court Repington], ‘German Naval Policy’, *The Times of London*, no. 38434, 10 Sept. 1907, 6.

²²³ This involved the two-power standard, a strategy aimed at having the Royal Navy equal in seize to the next two largest navies in the world. By 1909 Germany and the United States of America had replaced France and Russia in possessing the two next largest navies and as a result the Admiralty, viewing the USA as a friendly power, thus unofficially changed to a standard of equality with Germany plus sixty percent. See Rhodri Williams, *Defending the Empire: The Conservative Party and British Defence Policy 1899-1915*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1991, 160.

²²⁴ Not all who supported the ‘Blue Water’ school believed in naval expansion. One such person was A. G. Gardiner, the editor of *The Daily News*, who opposed continual naval expansion on the grounds that it would simply encourage more countries to expand their own navies, leading to an increasing naval arms race. See Koss, *Fleet Street Radical*, 114.

arguing the case in favour of the 'Blue Water' school. One of these stories was Charles Gleig's *When All Men Starve* (1898), which was set during a future war between the British and Boers, where Germany takes advantage by attacking Britain. The novel argues in favour of Free Trade. It suggest that Britain is dependent upon sea lanes to provide its food, which the Royal Navy plays the crucial role in maintaining, and which both major parties have neglected. But Gleig sees the Unionists as by far the worst of the two believing they have become overly influenced by jingoism. This has caused Britain to get involved in needless imperial conflicts such as the one in the story that results in not only a humiliating British defeat but mass starvation and bloody revolution.²²⁵ This invasion debate would continue to increase as advocates on both sides made their appeals through newspapers and novels into the Edwardian era up to and beyond the outbreak of World War I.²²⁶

One of the last of these stories was *When William Came* (1913) by Saki.²²⁷ Saki held the view that Germany was the prime example of industrial and military efficiency. Therefore Britain needed to follow the German example to maintain its position in the

²²⁵ Charles Gleig, *When All Men Starve: Showing how England Hazarded her Naval Supremacy, and the Horrors which Followed the Interruption of Her Food Supply*, John Lane, London & New York, 1898, passim.

²²⁶ Even novels that do not seem to be part of the debate were actually shaped by them. H. G. Wells's *The War of the Worlds* (1898) is one such novel. It is telling that both the Martian and foreign human invaders observe their enemies for a lengthy period of time as part of a long planned invasion. Therefore it was perhaps not an accident that the novel's first Martian landing takes place near Dorking, which hints that *The War of the Worlds* was indeed part of the long line of invasion stories inspired by *The Battle of Dorking*. See H. G. Wells, *The War of the Worlds* [1898], New American Library, New York, 1998, passim.

²²⁷ Saki was the penname for Hector Hugh Munro. He came to prominence as a satirical writer with his *The Westminster Alice* (1900) that was first serialised in *The Westminster Gazette*. The story used the characters from *Alice in Wonderland* and *Alice Through the Looking-Glass* to attack both the government and military including Lord Roberts, who was portrayed as Humpty Dumpty, for being naturally inefficient which resulted in the failures of the Boer War. See Saki, *The Westminster Alice*, Westminster Gazette, London, 1902, 44.

world or be supplanted by Germany.²²⁸ Saki, just like Chesney, blamed British moral and economic decline through the increased democratisation of British politics resulting in populism. As he comments: ‘... They [the middle and working-classes] had to choose between the vote-mongers and the so-called scare-mongers, and their verdict was for the vote-mongers ... And now they are bitter; they are being punished, and punishment is not a thing that they have been schooled to bear.’²²⁹ Saki goes on to portray the elite actually accepting the successful German invasion and occupation as their lives do not change, while the German army does not force compulsory service because the British are seen as being unfit. Instead, at the end of the novella, the first sign of resistance comes from the Boy Scouts, who refuse to march in a parade before the victorious German princes. Saki sees the youth in the Boys Scouts as a source of future hope, as they were being trained to protect Britain and be self-reliant through efficiency. Indeed, in 1911, one of the reasons Baden-Powell gave for the founding of the Scouts was to counteract what he saw as the physical and moral deterioration in the nation’s youth resulting from ‘free feeding [school meals] and old age pensions, strike pay, cheap beer and indiscriminate charity [which] do not make for the hardening of the nation or the building up of a self-reliant, energetic manhood.’²³⁰

When William Came was typical of most invasion stories with its political overtones commenting upon Britain’s apparent apathy at the prospect of a looming general European war and foreign invasion. The most famous Edwardian spy novel, *The Riddle*

²²⁸ Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 80.

²²⁹ Saki, *When William Came: A Story of London under the Hohenzollerns* [1913], Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1997, 125.

²³⁰ Quoted in John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movement, 1883-1940*, Croom Helm, London, 1977, 57. See also [Mills Evans], *The Decline and Fall of the British Empire*, 13.

of the Sands, is one such story. Though Childers at the time was associated with the Liberal Party, nonetheless as a member of military pressure groups including the NSL he shared these organisations' position in defence matters.²³¹ He wrote his novel to get his message that Britain was vulnerable to attack out to the widest audience possible. The basic plot has two enterprising amateur sailors stumbling across a German naval conspiracy. The conspiracy involves the preparations for a future invading army to land on the English east coast by carrying soldiers on barges (Napoleon's invasion scheme in 1801-1803 was centred on barges) from the German Friesian coast, thus catching the British unaware as their home naval bases were then on the English south coast facing France.²³² As Childers wrote to his close friend the historian Basil Williams, 'It's a yachting story, with a purpose, suggested by a cruise I once took in German waters. I discovered a scheme of invasion directed against England....'²³³ He used his experience as an amateur yachtsman to argue the case that Britain was vulnerable to a surprise attack. Throughout the text Childers makes a number of political and naval points. The most pressing is that naval superiority is decisive, a fact Childers had judged to have been forgotten by Britain. The inspiration for this idea comes from the American naval officer and historian Captain Alfred Mahan.²³⁴ Mahan was famous for his naval theories as

²³¹ Childers had once sought to be a Liberal candidate for Parliament before withdrawing and his uncle Hugh Childers had been a senior Liberal cabinet minister under Gladstone.

²³² General Sir William Francis Butler in his story 'The Invasion of England', used barges as a means to carry floating bridges to aid a German invasion of Britain. See Butler, 'The Invasion of England', 113.

²³³ Quoted in Andrew Boyle, *The Riddle of Erskine Childers*, Hutchinson, London, 1977, 108. See also Alan Judd, *The Quest for C: Sir Mansfield Cumming and the Founding of the British Secret Service*, HarperCollins Publishers, Hammersmith, 1999, 34.

²³⁴ Mahan was a popular figure amongst British advocates of increased naval spending and an imperial federation as evident by a 1904 dinner of the Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee that was held in his honour. Those in attendance included many British military, navy and political notables and journalists including Arnold White, the imperial historian and *The Morning Post* naval correspondent H. Spencer Wilkinson, Lieutenant Carlyon Bellairs, Sir Edward Grey and Maxse, who commissioned Mahan to write articles for *The National Review*. At the dinner Mahan spoke in favour of imperial federation, seeing it as a

expressed in *The Life of Nelson* (1897) and especially *The Influence of Sea Power* (1890) that argued naval superiority through national efficiency is decisive in deciding world power as the seas were the roads of global communication.²³⁵ Mahan himself is referred to a number of times in the novel.²³⁶ The truthfulness of his theory is symbolically revealed when the character of Carruthers looks at Davies's bookshelf full of naval books and notices that next to Mahan's books is a book written by a British naval lieutenant. In this officer's book is his photograph that reveals the author is in fact Dollman, the brains behind the German plot.²³⁷ Furthermore, Childers, through the words of Davies (who is Childers's alter ego) endorses Mahan's theory when he says 'It's all out of Mahan and those fellows [other naval writers]. Well, the Germans have got a small fleet at present, but it's a thundering good one, and they're building hard....'²³⁸ The final line in this statement is stressing that Germany's naval programme is a direct challenge to Britain's global position and that the German naval planning is a sign of their national efficiency, as evident in other fields such as education and science – all efforts Britain should emulate, if it was to maintain its position.²³⁹ To further emphasise British complacency,

possible mechanism with the United States of America in securing world peace. See Anonymous, 'Dinner to Captain Mahan', *The Times of London*, 7 July 1904, no. 37440, 10.

²³⁵ A. T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History 1660-1783* [1890], Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1918, 11, 40-42, 45, 47-48, 50-51, 68, 84-85, 101, 109, 127-128, 156, 174, 190, 194, 224, 237, 240, 259, 265, 312-313, 317, 332, 336, 413, 435-436, 442, 445, 495, 506, 525, 532, 536.

²³⁶ *The Riddle of the Sands* is not the only novel where Mahan is mentioned or appears. Mahan and his *The Influence of Sea Power* is mentioned and praised in William Laird Clowes's *The Captain of the "Mary Rose": A Tale of Tomorrow*. And Mahan also appears in *The Final War* by Louis Tracy, the former editor of Northcliffe's *The Evening News* and shareholder in *The Daily Mail* and journalist for *The Daily Mail*. In this novel Mahan is kidnapped by the invading Franco-German-Russian army causing America to intervene on the British side. See William L. Clowes, *The Captain of the "Mary Rose": A Tale of Tomorrow* [1894], Routledge/Thoemmes Press, London, 1998, 135, 285; Louis Tracy, *The Final War: A Story of the Great Betrayal*, George Bell & Sons, London & Bombay, 1898.

²³⁷ Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 46-47, 74.

²³⁸ Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 74.

²³⁹ Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, the German State Secretary for the Navy from 1897 to 1916, had read Mahan and believed the doctrine of the 'Blue Water School' was correct in that a contested sea was extremely dangerous for an invading army to cross successfully. See Moon, *The Invasion of the United Kingdom*, 663.

Davies makes comment on the inefficiency of the Royal Navy and therefore the nation. One example is that Davies finds the British Admiralty charts of the Friesian coast are hopelessly outdated because they have failed to take into account the shifting sands. And it is he, Davies (as did Childers in real life), who uses his own abilities to correct these maps. Another display of his abilities is that Davies by reading his charts is able to navigate in the fog and the night in a lifeboat across the shifting sands to the location where the Germans are discussing their invasion plot. Davies, despite his clear nautical talents in charting and general seamanship, has so far failed to pass the naval examinations. The implication is clear that though examinations are important, Britain is failing to recognise individual talents which do not necessarily appear obvious through examination or theories but which are demonstrated through practical skills. In this thinking, there are echoes of Sherlock Holmes. Holmes is no policeman and has no formal training, but through his own endeavours and skills, honed through training and self-reliance, has achieved success beyond the professional, despite personal failings such as an addiction to cocaine and social rudeness. Davies's failings are less extreme but include lack of confidence (explaining his failure in exams) and acute shyness, but his talents shine throughout the novel.

Part of the argument in the novel is that Britain needs to follow Germany's example of national efficiency, if it is to counter German growth, otherwise as in the words of the famous 1896 pamphlet *Made in Germany* by Ernest E. Williams, 'The industrial supremacy of Great Britain [that] has been long an axiomatic commonplace' would turn

‘into a myth....’²⁴⁰ A part of the push for national efficiency was to make either military service or rifle training compulsory for the male population following the continental European example. Childers, because he had been alarmed by what he had experienced during his military service in the Boer War, was part of this push as he concludes in *The Riddle of the Sands*’s postscript: ‘Is it not becoming patent that the time has come for the training of all Englishmen systematically either for the sea or for the rifle?’²⁴¹

When the novel was published its initial impact was slight. Indeed, the publisher had little faith, believing the plot was implausible, resulting in only a small print-run.²⁴² Furthermore *The Times Literary Supplement* was critical: believing ‘The book must stand not as a novel, but as a sketch in naval geography with adventures, incomprehensible to the landsman....’²⁴³ Childers would have been disappointed that the novel would be viewed as incomprehensible to non-yachtsmen. The maps were guides for readers to understand the locations, the nature of the shifting sands and to alert them to the perceived German threat. Despite this, there was praise from some. *The Spectator* was full of admiration, calling it ‘a romance with a solid groundwork of facts, and it is a book with a purpose. It bears on the face of it such a stamp of extreme possibility that we are seriously facing ... [A]s a sensational novel the story stands in most favourable contrast to the wildly improbable tales which so often pass under the category.’²⁴⁴ In January

²⁴⁰ Ernest E. Williams, *Made in Germany* [1896], ed. Austen Albu, Harvester Press, Brighton, 1973, 1. See also Ernest E. Williams, ‘The Economic Revolution in Germany’, *The National Review*, vol. 35, no. 210 (Aug. 1900), 922-935.

²⁴¹ Childers, *Riddle of the Sands*, 268.

²⁴² Paul Kennedy, ‘Saturday Review: Riddle of the Sands’, *The Times of London*, no. 60816, 3 Jan. 1981, 7.

²⁴³ Anonymous, ‘Fiction: The Riddle of the Sands’, *The Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 1, no. 32 (14 Aug. 1903), 242.

²⁴⁴ Anonymous, ‘Novels: A Naval Volunteer’, *The Spectator: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology*, vol. 91, no. 3918 (1 Aug. 1903), 174-175.

1904, on the publishing of the third edition *The Westminster Gazette* commented: ‘It [the novel] is meant to secure our national safety. Mr Childers is no panic monger; he does not instil suspicion or hatred of Germany, but simply accepts statements repeatedly and deliberately made by German authorities, and indicates how the danger might be met.’²⁴⁵ Childers became some sort of celebrity in high society; for instance, he was sought out by Rosebery, who believed the invasion scheme was real.²⁴⁶ Also, the book was banned in Germany and the next time Childers sailed to the Baltic Sea, he was watched by German spies.²⁴⁷ Childers would continue to write on military matters, condemning what he saw as Britain’s inadequate military readiness. Indeed, he gained a ringing endorsement from Lord Roberts for the non-fiction *War and the Arme Blanche* (1910), and *The German Influence on British Cavalry* (1911), both of which called for the cavalry to dispense with sabres and lances and to take up rifles to become mounted riflemen.²⁴⁸ Despite Lord Roberts’s endorsements it was *The Riddle of the Sands* with its style of language, narrative, images and characterisations that had more impact on strategic and popular thinking rather than Childers’s dry military texts.

This was evident in 1903 when Lord Selborne, the then First Sea Lord, though he had ‘merely glanced at it [*The Riddle of the Sands*]’, was struck by the number of people impressed by it, including Sir William White, Director of Naval Construction from 1885-

²⁴⁵ Quoted in Leonard Piper, *Dangerous Waters: The Life and Death of Erskine Childers*, Hambledon & London, London & New York, 2003, 76.

²⁴⁶ Eby, *The Road to Armageddon* 29. See also Piper, *Dangerous Waters*, 76.

²⁴⁷ Kennedy, ‘Saturday Review: Riddle of the Sands’, 7.

²⁴⁸ Childers argued that ‘... every great war from the nineteenth century to the recent war in the Far East [the Russo-Japanese War] with the solitary exception of the American Civil War has produced a confession of comparative failure of the cavalries employed.’ See Erskine Childers, *War and the Arme Blanche*, Edward Arnold, London, 1910, 8-9. See also Erskine Childers, *German Influence on British Cavalry*, Edward Arnold, London, 1911, passim.

1902. As a result Selborne called for Prince Louis of Battenberg, then the Director of Naval Intelligence (DNI), to get an officer to examine the possibility of the invasion scenario as detailed by Childers.²⁴⁹ Battenberg, who had not been convinced by what he had been told of the scenario, nonetheless read the novel. But he was still unimpressed, writing to Selborne that he was ‘astounded to hear about Sir W. White, but my view remains unshaken.’²⁵⁰ Elsewhere Battenberg commented ‘as a novel, it is excellent, as a war plan it is rubbish ... The Hydrographer [Department] concur with me.’²⁵¹ The Naval Intelligence Department (NID) concluded that it was impossible such an invasion could occur because of the shifting sands.²⁵²

Nonetheless, in 1910, despite Childers’s invasion theories being debunked, Royal Marines Captain Bernard Trench with his friend Lieutenant Vivien Brandon of the Admiralty Hydrographic Department were sent in a yacht on a spying mission to the northern and eastern Friesian Islands and Kiel to study the naval facilities there. But they were captured with notes and other documents on them.²⁵³ They were both put on trial and when asked if they had read *The Riddle of the Sands*, both admitted doing so with

²⁴⁹ William Waldegrave Palmer Selborne, *The Crisis of British Power: The Imperial and Naval Paper of the Second Earl of Selborne, 1895-1910*, ed. D. George Boyce, The Historians’ Press, London, 1990, 174.

²⁵⁰ Selborne, *The Crisis of British Power*, 175.

²⁵¹ Quoted in Mark Kerr, *Prince Louis of Battenberg: Admiral of the Fleet*, Longmans, Green, & co., London, 1934, 176.

²⁵² Indeed, Captain (later Admiral) Philip Dumas, the naval attaché to Berlin, reported Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz had told him an invasion from Emden (and other ports including Hamburg and Wilhelmshaven) would be impossible to keep secret because of the large British communities in the town. See G. P. Gooch & H. V. Temperley (eds.), *British Documents on the Origins of the War 1898-1914: Anglo-German Tension; Armaments and Negotiation, 1907-1912*, vol. 6, His Majesty’s Stationery Office, London, 1930, 116.

²⁵³ *Punch* reacted to their capture with a cartoon called ‘I, Spy!’ portraying ‘John Bull’ and a German as tourist-spies with cameras and maps bumping into each other, while looking hypocritically shocked and pointing a finger at each other saying ‘Peep-Bo! I see you!’ See A. T. Smith, ‘A Leaf from a German Officer’s Diary’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 139, 12 Oct. 1910, 259.



“ I SPY ! ”

BOTH (together). “ PEEP-BO ! I SEE YOU ! ”

The *Punch* cartoon above makes a point of the hypocrisy of the British and German complaints about espionage while each are spying on each other. The second *Punch* cartoon below mocks the incompetence of Helm that lead to his arrest.

Source: Raven-Hill, 'I Spy!', *Punch*, vol. 139, 1910, 183.

Brandon having read it thrice, which was met with laughter.²⁵⁴ But Trench and Brandon were not the only British conducting spying along the German coast. Gordon Sheppard, a British army officer and friend of Childers, who had taught him how to sail, from 1911 up to World War I while sailing along the German coast collected military information, which he passed on to the NID. Despite arousing suspicions especially when in the company of Childers, he was not caught red-handed by the Germans.²⁵⁵

It was little wonder that Childers, having talked to like-minded politicians and naval officers, claimed they had given him ‘most remarkable confirmation’ of his ideas. He told Basil Williams, ‘... there is no doubt that my method of invasion – in general principle – had been worked out by the Germans’.²⁵⁶ Childers was partly right: in 1896, the German Admiralty Staff had worked on plans for the possibility of landing an army on the east coast of England, but several years later abandoned it as being too impractical.²⁵⁷

It was not just novelists, like Childers, who saw the potential in invasion or spy stories to make political statements in the hope of shaping political and defence thinking. Northcliffe, as with Le Queux, combined political and commercial interests for his own benefit. Northcliffe shared with Childers and Le Queux the view that Britain was

²⁵⁴ [J. E. Mackenzie], ‘British Officers on Trial at Leipzig: First Day of Proceedings’, *The Times of London*, no. 39462, 9 Dec. 1910, 9.

²⁵⁵ Piper, *Dangerous Waters*, 116-118.

²⁵⁶ Quoted in Boyle, *The Riddle of Erskine Childers*, 113.

²⁵⁷ The thinking behind the German plans was that the British home fleet was then only a reserve one with second-class ships. The nearest first-class British fleet was in Gibraltar, at least fifteen days away (as mentioned in Le Queux’s *The Great War*). The Germans, as imaged by Childers, had experimented with transporting soldiers on barges being pulled by tugboats but this was found to be too difficult because barges were relatively small and thus had insignificant carrying capacity. Thus barges were rejected in favour of steamships. But when questions were raised as to how troops could be transported without being noticed by Lloyds or others’ agents engaged in shipping as well as the practicality of dealing with the shifting sands, the plan was abandoned in 1903. By that stage in March 1903, two months before the publishing of *The Riddle of the Sands*, the British Admiralty announced plans for a naval base at Rosyth (Scotland) in the North Sea. See Kennedy, ‘Saturday Review: The Riddle of the Sands’, 7.

vulnerable to invasion and used fiction to convey this political message to readers, with the added benefit of selling newspapers. One of Northcliffe's first efforts was in 1895, when as Alfred Harmsworth, he ran as one of the two Unionist candidates for the two member constituency of Portsmouth during the general election. For the campaign, he bought *The Evening Mail* (Portsmouth) and commissioned Beckles Wilson (a replacement for Le Queux who was ill), a freelance Canadian journalist, in collaboration with Sir William Laird Clowes, a leading naval historian and advocate of a larger Royal Navy, to write an invasion story to be serialised in the newspaper.²⁵⁸ The fear that Portsmouth, the headquarters of the Royal Navy's Channel Fleet, could be attacked was nothing new. In 1852 there was a pamphlet entitled *The Peril of Portsmouth*, which argued for better protection from a naval attack.²⁵⁹ Northcliffe's story, called *The Siege of Portsmouth*, was following this tradition by being a plank in his election campaign that called for an increase in defence spending. *The Siege of Portsmouth* serialisation began on 17 June 1895 and continued every day for three weeks to create news headlines for Northcliffe and his campaign.²⁶⁰ Northcliffe directed Wilson to identify by name certain Portsmouth personalities, who might be relied on in a war emergency and seen to 'live up to the highest patriotic principles', while dockers, whose votes were vital to the election

²⁵⁸ Clowes had written *The Great Naval War of 1887*, a tale in which the Royal Navy fails to prevent an invasion. While in his *The Captain of "the Mary Rose"*, the Royal Navy with its inefficiencies is saved in a war with France by the efforts of a new powerful private warship The Mary Rose. Another project he was involved in was *The Great War of 1892*, in which he collaborated with Rear Admiral Philip H. Colomb, General Frederick Maurice and Captain F. N. Maude. Here the Royal Navy guards the English Channel while the fighting takes place on the European continent. It went into two editions in Britain and five in Germany. He also wrote a number of articles under the pen name of Nauticus. See S. E. Fryer & Roger Morris, 'Clowes, Sir William Laird, (1856-1905)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, vol. 12, Oxford & New York, 2004, 70. See also Moon, *The Invasion of the United Kingdom*, 101-102, 114.

²⁵⁹ James Ferguson, *The Peril of Portsmouth; or French Fleets and English Forts*, John Murray, London, 1852, passim.

²⁶⁰ Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 109. See also Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 182; Cate Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War*, Allen Lane, London, 1977, 7.

outcome, were to be shown as heroically dealing with war conditions.²⁶¹ To ensure that the ‘right people’, explicitly Unionists, were mentioned, Wilson studied the Portsmouth directory, ticking off names from the lists of members of the local political parties. In contrast Liberal figures were attacked, one of them being the future Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, then the War Secretary.²⁶² He is portrayed as escaping from a lynch mob and his house being sacked and burned as retribution for his incompetence in not providing an adequate army to repel an invader.²⁶³

The serial was advertised to the public on hoardings in the town and alongside roads in the style of political placards. Large posters showed a bayonet charge by waves of foreign soldiers identifiable as German, Russian and French. In the background there was the Portsmouth Town Hall crumbling, with civilians dying under shellfire. To add to this arresting publicity, Wilson was also commissioned to write a patriotic song. It was to be sung by a young woman at the Empire Music Hall, Portsmouth, during the entire length of the election campaign. Kennedy Jones hired twenty boys with free tickets to sing along to the song and then to demand repeat encores.²⁶⁴ Northcliffe’s election campaign is what J. A. Hobson, then a radical liberal journalist and critic of imperialism, described as part of ‘inverted patriotism whereby the love of one’s own nation is transformed into the hatred of another nation, and the fierce craving to destroy the individual members of that other nation.’²⁶⁵ The reason for Northcliffe’s use of the music-hall was that it was a mass form of popular entertainment and often housed a social event that crossed class

²⁶¹ Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 182.

²⁶² Bannerman-Campbell was Prime Minister between 1905 and 1908.

²⁶³ Moon, *The Invasion of the United Kingdom*, 116.

²⁶⁴ Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 183.

²⁶⁵ J. A. Hobson, *The Psychology of Jingoism*, Grant Richards, London, 1901, 1.

differences – if divided by seating arrangement. Thus Northcliffe, in combination with his newspaper, was attempting to harness the popular culture of the music-hall, trying to appeal to the widest audience possible by going beyond the traditional supporter base of the Unionist Party to people such as dockers to shift their votes away from the Liberal Party.

Despite Northcliffe's substantial efforts with *The Siege of Portsmouth*, selling five editions as a book in the first month of publication and a total of twenty-six editions altogether, and him gaining more votes than the previous winners of the Portsmouth seats, he ended finishing third. This result did not reflect the national outcome, which saw a Unionist victory.²⁶⁶ Partly the reason for his defeat was that Northcliffe was a poor public speaker and it was as if the voting public, in the words of Richard Hoggart, knew that they were 'being got at' or had voted on other issues, or else Northcliffe's campaign had the counter-effect of rallying those opposed to him to get out to vote as in 1895 there was not a serious threat of warfare.²⁶⁷

Despite Northcliffe's failure, he had set the pattern of the invasion theme to be used as a media tool. Maxse and other public figures would follow the same pattern of warning of the perceived German threat. Over the years Northcliffe had cultivated fellow political travellers. Earlier in 1894, he had hired Le Queux for a serialised story called *The Poison Bullet*, 'to promote the public interest in the idea of a larger Navy.' This story came about after an alliance treaty of that year between France and Russia, which was marked by the visit of the Russian Fleet to Toulon. The tale has Russia and France invading Britain.

²⁶⁶ Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 65. See also Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 152.

²⁶⁷ Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy*, 270.

After a three week run, the serial's focus changed from storytelling to action, after Northcliffe's brother Harold Harmsworth²⁶⁸ complained 'The instalments do not contain enough war scenes. I should cut down to a minimum the hero and heroine's part and give plenty of battles, naval and land. So far, three long instalments have appeared and the only execution done is the bombardment of Newhaven and Brighton.'²⁶⁹ Very soon thereafter came instalments headed 'The Battle of Beachy Head', and 'The Massacre of Eastbourne'. Later Birmingham and Manchester were attacked. The final book version of *The Poison Bullet*, which was changed to *The Great War in England of 1897*, which in the chapter called 'The Massacre of Eastbourne', described the way 'English homes were desecrated, ruined, and burned. Babes were murdered before the eyes of their parents, many being impaled by gleaming Russian bayonets; fathers were shot down in the presence of their wives and children, and sons were treated in a similar manner.'²⁷⁰ The stress on having violence featured in the story is reminiscent of Penny Dreadfuls with their emphasis on gratuitous violence to maintain the targeted audience's attention. Furthermore, Harold Harmsworth's editorial interference was due to commercial needs, to increase circulation was not only a means to maximise the number of readers for financial profit but to expose more people to the underlining political message. Just as Childers used Mahan as expert opinion to reinforce his message, so did Northcliffe with

²⁶⁸ Harold was not then aligned to the Unionist Party and two brothers, Sir Cecil Harmsworth and Sir Leicester Harmsworth were Liberal MPs, Sir Cecil first for Droitwich and then Luton and Sir Leicester was first MP for Caithnesshire and then Caithnesshire and Sutherland. There was another brother, Sir Hildebrand Harmsworth who helped Cecil establish *The New Liberal Review*. Furthermore not all of Northcliffe's newspapers were Unionist. In July 1910 Alexander Oliphant-Murray, the Master of Elibank and the Liberal Party Whip, reported to Harold that *The Glasgow Daily Record* 'is doing splendidly ... He [Northcliffe] is sending reporters and special editions to constituencies where we are not strong, and is generally doing his utmost to carry out his obligations.' See Blewett, *The Peers, the Parties and the People*, 302.

²⁶⁹ Quoted in Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 151.

²⁷⁰ Le Queux, *The Great War in England in 1897*, 66.

different experts. Le Queux used quotations from speeches or statements made by leading authorities, including several retired admirals and generals, that were inserted into the text. One who was quoted was Lieutenant-General Sir Archibald Alison, from a *Blackwood's* article in December 1893. In the article he had written about the likelihood of a European conflict:

No one can look carefully into the present state of Europe without feeling convinced that it cannot last long in its present condition. Every country is maintaining an armed force out all proportion to its resources and population, and the consequent strain upon its monetary system and its industrial population is ever increasing, and must sooner or later become unbearable.²⁷¹

However, this article was manipulated to suit Le Queux and Northcliffe's own argument, which brings into question other quotations used in the story. Alison was not commenting on an invasion of Britain, rather as to the likelihood of a general continental war breaking out between the then newly allied France and Russia against the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. Moreover in the article, Alison writes 'It may be assumed that England will remain neutral so long as her interests are not directly threatened.'²⁷² What Le Queux was doing by using 'expert opinion', manipulated or not, was trying to convince readers the given scenario is a likely one and that his argument was correct. Another technique employed to convince readers, which was later used in *The Siege of Portsmouth*, is the portrayal of Unionist figures as being heroic in the story. One of these is Lord Charles Beresford, who like Lord Roberts was a national hero from

²⁷¹ Le Queux, *The Great War in England in 1897*, 71. See also A. Alison, 'Armed Europe: Now Coming Events Cast Their Shadows Before', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 154, no. 938 (Dec. 1893), 754.

²⁷² Alison, 'Armed Europe', 763.

colonial wars.²⁷³ He with other imperial figures often appeared in boys' adventure stories, especially those under Northcliffe's control that reinforced the image of him and other imperial heroes as being brave while under fire.²⁷⁴ Beresford utilised this fame to get elected to Parliament a number of times between 1874 and 1916, using it as a platform to warn of his fear of the possibility of invasion, and he held public meetings and lectures at Public Schools where he vigorously pushed for greater expenditure on the Royal Navy.²⁷⁵ Therefore it was no accident that Beresford is mentioned in both *The Siege of Portsmouth* and *1897*. The use of his name in these stories was to draw the attention of the reader back to the political message of increasing and improving the armed forces.²⁷⁶

The Unionist case of *1897* is further highlighted by socialists and anarchists celebrating the invasion, seeing it as an opening for revolution resulting in rioting and chaos at Trafalgar Square. This incident is written to remind the reader that in 1886 and 1887 striking trade unionist protests at Trafalgar Square ended in rioting. Thus suggesting in no

²⁷³ He first became a national hero after his command of the gunboat the HMS Condor under the guns of Fort Marabout during the Battle of Alexandria (1882) and then three years later in The Sudan, when in command of the steamer 'The Safieh', which under fire passed through the Madhi's Dervish batteries to rescue Sir Charles Wilson's advance force to Khartoum. These actions are what made Beresford a national hero, which he and others exploited for political purpose and to sell commercial items. Captain Frank Shaw, a naval writer for boys, remembered being taken as a child, dressed in his sailor suit, to Hamilton's Diorama, to see a re-enactment of the bombardment of Alexandria with especial attention given to the HMS Condor. Furthermore the rescue of Wilson with Beresford at the centre of action was one of eight imperial panoramic scenes from 1885 to 1901 that were displayed at Madame Tussaud's museum. See Frank H. Shaw, *Seas of Memory*, Oldbourne, London, 1958, 15; Robert H. MacDonald, *The Language of Empire: Myths and Metaphors of Popular Imperialism, 1880-1918*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1994, 94-96.

²⁷⁴ John Springhall, "'Healthy Papers for Manly Boys': Imperialism and Race in the Harmsworth's Halfpenny Boys' Papers of the 1890s and 1900s", ed. Jeffrey Robinson, *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1989, 114.

²⁷⁵ Geoffrey Bennett, *Charlie B: A Biography of Admiral Lord Charles Beresford of Metemeh and Curraghmore*, Peter Dawney, London, 1968, passim. See also Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism*, 375.

²⁷⁶ Another example of a novel that praises Beresford's right-wing politics is Shiel's *Yellow Danger*. In the novel Beresford is praised for his warnings about the 'Yellow Peril'. See Matthew P. Shiel, *The Yellow Danger* [1898], Routledge/Thoemmes Press, London, 1998, 108, 233, 238.

uncertain terms that the political left and its leadership is not patriotic and therefore cannot be relied upon to serve the best interest of the general public including the working-classes. The story concludes, after the British rally with help from the Empire and Germany, with the French and Russians surrendering at Dorking, prompting the reader's mind back to Chesney's earlier tale and its political message warning of the consequence of being unprepared for invasion.²⁷⁷

Such a story gained the approval of a number of Field-Marschals²⁷⁸ with Lord Roberts writing to Northcliffe: 'I entirely concur with you in thinking it most desirable to bring home to the British public in every possible way the dangers to which the nation is exposed unless it maintains a Navy and Army sufficiently strong and well organised to meet the defensive requirements of the Empire.'²⁷⁹ Roberts, when serving Commander-in-Chief of the British Army between 1901 and 1904, had advocated national service and was a member of the NSL.²⁸⁰ In 1905, after warning of the threat of invasion, he resigned from his official positions to become the NSL's president using his seat in the Lords to

²⁷⁷ After *The Poison Bullet*, invasion stories regularly appeared in Northcliffe's boys' periodicals such as 'Britain in Arms' in *Pluck* in 1897; 'The Story of how Great Britain fought the world in 1899', where France and Russia attempt an invasion of Britain; the Captain Strange series about a modern day British privateer that fights the French; the 1903 serial 'The World at Stake' in *Boy's World*, where a German spy steals a British design of a giant airship for the military enabling the Germans to build airships themselves, which are used to invade Britain. Nonetheless, the British are able to fight back and win. There was a sequel 'A Fight for Empire' in which the Germans are joined by the Russians to attack the British in India but again the British are victorious. See Michael Paris, *Warrior Nation: Images of War in British Popular Culture, 1850-2000*, Reaktion Books, London, 2000, 189.

²⁷⁸ These included Wolseley and Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught, the third son of Queen Victoria.

²⁷⁹ Quoted in Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 182.

²⁸⁰ Initially the Unionist Party especially the leadership overall did not support this position. It was only in the final years before World War I that this stance gradually shifted but it was not settled upon when war broke out. As Roberts commented to Maxse, 'It is most unfortunate that not a single man on the Front [Unionist] Opposition Bench seems to care one straw about Home Defence.' Quoted in Williams, *Defending the Empire*, 75.

openly campaign for the introduction of compulsory military training.²⁸¹ The NSL had been founded in 1902 with an influential and prominent membership that included Le Queux, Maxse, Wolseley, Beresford, Kipling,²⁸² Lord Curzon,²⁸³ Lord Derby, and Lord Argyll.²⁸⁴ Its goal was to have compulsory military drills in schools for boys and military service for young men pass into law.²⁸⁵ By 1905 the membership, which was overwhelmingly Unionist, numbered 4,000 but initially under Roberts's leadership it rose to 91,142 by 1910-11 and in 1914 it claimed to have a membership of 220,000.²⁸⁶ Roberts also shifted the NSL's focus to a compromised position of having annual compulsory military training for boys and young men as a first step towards compulsory service, although many members still wanted immediate compulsory military service for young male adults as was the case in Germany, France, Switzerland and other European countries.²⁸⁷ Meanwhile others organised or joined private rifle groups.²⁸⁸ Kipling started

²⁸¹ Roberts had a conflict of interest. He was a director of both Cammel Laird (a Birkenhead shipbuilder) and the Coventry Ordnance Works. See A. J. Anthony Morris, *Radicalism Against War 1906-1914: The Advocacy of Peace and Retrenchment*, Longman, London, 1972, 160-161.

²⁸² Kipling used his writings to argue in favour of rifle training such as *The Army of a Dream* (1905), in which Kipling has boys dreaming that rifle training has been introduced and Furthermore he was active in opening rifle ranges and speaking in favour of rifle clubs. He opened a rifle range built by Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woollen System Company Limited for its employees. See Rudyard Kipling, *The Army of a Dream*, Macmillan, London, 1905, passim; Anonymous, 'Mr. Rudyard Kipling's Vigorous Indictment', *The Times of London*, no. 36837, 4 Aug. 1902, 6.

²⁸³ Viceroy of India between 1899 and 1905 and Foreign Secretary from 1919 to 1924.

²⁸⁴ A son-in-law of Queen Victoria.

²⁸⁵ The membership of the NSL was overwhelmingly Unionist in its political sympathies. This is evident by the NSL's claim that of all the MPs who in 1910 were sympathetic to its cause only three were Liberals while the rest that numbered over hundred were Unionist. See Adams, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain*, 11. See also Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism*, 371; Moon, *The Invasion of the United Kingdom*, 198; Patrick & Baister, *William Le Queux*, 54; Williams, *Defending the Empire*, 184, 217.

²⁸⁶ Despite the large membership in 1914 the NSL still lacked working-class membership. Hammal, 'How Long Before the Sunset?', 32. See also Kennedy, *The Rise of Anglo-German Antagonism*, 371; MacKenzie, *Empire and Propaganda*, 155; Summers, 'The Character of Edwardian Nationalism', 70; Pennell, *A Kingdom United*, 13.

²⁸⁷ An example of this thinking see G. C. Coulton, 'The Swiss Army—Its Lessons for England', *The National Review*, vol. 35, no. 208 (July 1900), 839-859.

²⁸⁸ Such as A. T. Smith, a cartoonist for *Punch* and other publications, who was a founding member and historian of the Chipstead and District Rifle Club in 1906. Smith was later to achieve the rank of Major

a rifle club at his local Sussex village, which was drilled by coastguard officers and armed with Lee-Enfield rifles and later with a working machine gun that was used in the Boer War.²⁸⁹ St. Loe Strachey, the editor of *The Spectator*, was heavily involved in the Surrey Rifle Club, and organised a personal guerrilla unit (the Reserve of Veterans, later called the National Reserve) that would become activated in an invasion.²⁹⁰ His friend, Arthur Conan Doyle, did likewise. Conan Doyle, who had written historical novels²⁹¹ with spies and invasion in the background, bought his own weapons and ammunition and built a miniature range for his own group of commandoes called the Undershaw Rifle Club with members styling themselves on colonial and commando troops from the Boer War, and early in World War I he wrote letters encouraging men to join a national reserve.²⁹² Elsewhere rifle and other styles of military training were introduced in many public schools or rifle ranges were founded by companies for their employees to train.²⁹³

during World War I. See Mark Bryant, *Dictionary of Twentieth-Century British Cartoonists and Caricaturists*, Ashgate, Aldershot (England) & Brookfield (Vermont), 2000, 209.

²⁸⁹ Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 161.

²⁹⁰ Amy Strachey, *St. Loe Strachey: His Life and Papers*, Gollancz, London, 129-130, 240-241.

²⁹¹ See Arthur Conan Doyle, *Uncle Bernac: A Memory of the Empire* [1897], John Murray, London, 1951; Arthur Conan Doyle, *Micah Clarke: His Statement as Made to his Three Grandchildren Joseph, Gerva, and Rueben during the Hard Winter of 1734* [1889], John Murray, London, 1950, 277; Arthur Conan Doyle, *Adventures of Gerard* [1903], John Murray, London, Reading & Farnham, 1959, passim; Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Exploits of Brigadier Gerard* [1896], John Murray, London 1961, passim; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Great Shadow' [1892], *The Complete Napoleonic Stories* [1956], John Murray, London, 1967, passim; Conan Doyle, 'Danger!', 119-143.

²⁹² Conan Doyle wrote a military analysis of the Boer War and advocated rifle training for the male population. When World War I broke out Conan Doyle encouraged in letters to newspapers for men to join a national reserve. See Arthur Conan Doyle 'Civilian National Reserve: Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and the New Force', *The Daily News and Leader*, 13 Aug. 1914, 4; Conan Doyle, 'Civilian National Reserve', *The Daily Chronicle*, 15 Aug. 1914, 2; Conan Doyle, 'Our Latent Forces', *The Times of London*, no. 40598, 9 Aug. 1914, 9; Conan Doyle, 'Civilian National Reserve', *The Times of London*, no. 40609, 19 Aug. 1914, 7; Conan Doyle, 'Civilian Volunteer Reserves', *The Times of London*, no. 40686, 4 Nov. 1914, 9; Conan Doyle, 'Recruiting And Publicity', *The Times of London*, no. 40700, 18 Nov. 1914, 9; Conan Doyle, 'Volunteer Training Corps', *The Times of London*, no. 407015, 3 Dec. 1914, 9. See also Martin Booth, *The Doctor, the Detective and Arthur Conan Doyle: A Biography of Arthur Conan Doyle*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1997, 238; trans. Pierre Nordon, *Conan Doyle*, Frances Partridge, John Murray, London, 1966, 54-55; A. Conan Doyle, *The Great Boer War*, George Bell & Sons, London & Bombay, 1900, 515-516.

²⁹³ By 1910, over 150 schools and some twenty universities and colleges had their own Officer Training Corps. These later were a source for the recruiting of young officers to serve in the army during World War I. An example of a company building a rifle range for employees to practice was the London and North-

The goal of the NSL and such men as Conan Doyle was found in the political message of *1897*.

While the focus of the NSL and others remained the same, the perceived potential invader changed. In both *The Siege of Portsmouth* and *1897* there were various foreign enemies but they were not always Germans. In fact Germans could appear heroic such as in E. Hill-Mitchelson's play *The French Spy* (1890).²⁹⁴ Some portrayals like Louis Tracy's *The Final War* (1898) saw France, Russia and Germany equally as Britain's enemies.²⁹⁵ Indeed, H. W. Wilson, Le Queux's collaborator on *1910*, warned in 1899 of the possibility of a French invasion as 'We know that at the first favourable moment France will fly at our throats.'²⁹⁶ However, Wilson was not consistent in his view of Britain's possible enemy as less than a year later, he claimed that '... [the] German secret service funds, are responsible, in part at least, for the German-Americans' meetings to denounce England....'²⁹⁷

There were exceptions to this inconsistent thinking. There were some who saw Germany as Britain's enemy. Maxse was one and through his *The National Review* consistently attacked Germany in editorials and articles, seeing Germany as an 'octopus' with its

Western Railway at Manchester, which opened in February 1909 its own miniature rifle range. See Anonymous, 'Railway Rifle Range: Shooting for Amusement and Defence', *The Manchester Guardian*, 29 Jan. 1909, 9.

²⁹⁴ See Catherine Haill, *Fun without Vulgarity: Victorian and Edwardian Popular Entertainment Posters*, The Stationery Office, London, 1996.

²⁹⁵ This view that all these countries were challenging Britain's world position at the same time is captured by one female character in Morley Roberts's *A Son of Empire* when she expresses the view that '...one gets so nervous about, what with the Russians, and the French, and the Germans. I wish we had beaten them all, and got it done with. They are so horribly interfering.' See Morley Roberts, *A Son of Empire: A Novel*, Hutchinson & Co., London, 1899, 41.

²⁹⁶ H. W. Wilson, 'The Invasion of England', *The National Review*, vol. 33, no. 196 (June 1899), 663.

²⁹⁷ Ignotus [H. W. Wilson], 'Great Britain's Debt to Japan', *National Review*, vol. 35, no. 207 (May 1900), 385-386. See also Ignotus [H. W. Wilson], 'The Rapprochement between France and Russia', *National Review*, vol. 33, no. 198 (Aug. 1899), 892-901.



Poster of E. Hill-Mitchelson's play *The French Spy* (1890).
Source: Haill, *Fun without Vulgarity*.

tentacles spread across the globe threatening Britain.²⁹⁸ He also published frequently critical articles on Germany, and even moderate ones from others to convey his anti-German message.²⁹⁹ Maxse reacted to the massive Liberal electoral success in 1906 with alarm, concluding that ‘Great Britain was so clearly in the hands of Jews, Quakers, sentimentalists [pacifists], and cranks.’³⁰⁰ To convey his fears he used numerous repetitious phrases or variations on them as signposts for readers to identify Liberals and their supporters with Quakers and Jews (many prominent Quakers and Jews were Liberal supporters or politicians) as being disloyal to Britain in contrast to Unionist supporters (his targeted audience) as patriots. These phrases included ‘The Potsdam Party’, ‘Potsdam patriots’, ‘Potsdam Press’, ‘Potsdam Radicals’, ‘Hebrew clutch upon the Radical [Liberal] Party’, ‘spread of Hebrew power’, ‘Hebrew ideals’, ‘Party of Cant and Cocoa’, ‘Cocoa magnates’, ‘Cocoa press’ ‘Radical Jews’, ‘cosmopolitan financiers’, ‘cosmopolitan influence’, and ‘cosmopolitan Liberals’.³⁰¹ The reference to cocoa was to remind readers of the famous Cadbury and Rowntree families’ committed support to the

²⁹⁸ [L. J. Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *National Review*, vol. 34, no. 205 (Feb. 1900), 807-809, 811-817. See also [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *National Review*, vol. 33, no. 194 (April 1899), 185-187, 190-191; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *National Review*, vol. 33, no. 196 (June 1899), 533-536, 541-546; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *National Review*, vol. 35, no. 208 (June 1900), 534-535; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 35, no. 210 (Aug. 1900), 880-881. See bibliography for more Maxse articles on this topic.

²⁹⁹ One moderate article was ‘The Present Feeling in Germany towards England’ by Mary Annette Beauchamp. Beauchamp claims that ‘all right thinking Germans, far from rejoicing, as Englishmen suppose they do, at England’s present discomfiture in South Africa, watch with the keenest sympathy her brave efforts to turn the blunders of the Government into successes.’ See A German Lady [Mary Annette Beauchamp], ‘The Present Feeling in Germany Towards England’, *The National Review*, vol. 34, no. 204 (Feb. 1900), 874. See also L. J. Maxse, *Germany on the Brain; or, The Obsession of a Crank: Gleanings from the National Review, 1899-1914; with an Introductory Note by L. J. Maxse*, National Review Office, London, 1915, 8.

³⁰⁰ [L. J. Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 52, no. 276 (Feb. 1906), 884.

³⁰¹ [L. J. Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 56, no. 336 (Feb. 1911), 886, 888, 908; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 59, no. 353 (July. 1912), 750-751, 753-754, 758-759, 769-770; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 60, no. 358 (Dec. 1912), 519, 522, 531, 557; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 61, no. 362 (April 1913), 189, 191-192; [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 62, no. 372 (Feb. 1914), 892, 918. See bibliography for more Maxse article using these words and phrases.

Liberal Party and their ownership of liberal newspapers.³⁰² ‘International’ or ‘cosmopolitan’ were code words (as admitted by Arnold White, a radical right-wing and anti-Jewish journalist, who shared Maxse’s views) to express the view that Jews lacked loyalty to the individual countries where they lived because they associated with and acted in the interest of Jews as a whole. Behind this thinking was the theory that there was a Jewish-German conspiracy for world domination.³⁰³ The use of the term ‘Potsdam’ was to suggest that a person or people – such as Haldane – were pro-German or under the influence of the German government to act in the interest of Germany.

Another to hold anti-German views was E. Phillips Oppenheim. He, unlike Le Queux, was consistent in his portrayal of Germany as Britain’s natural enemy but did share a common trait with Le Queux – if not to the same degree – in portraying himself as a patriot warning against the true intentions of Germany. Oppenheim suggests this in *The Double Traitor* (1917) when Selingman, a spy preparing for World War I, disguised as a German commercial traveller,³⁰⁴ tells the hero, Francis Norgate: ‘Believe me, young gentleman, war exists only in the brains of your sensational novelists. It does not come into the world of real purpose.’³⁰⁵ The comment seems to hint novelists like Oppenheim, who had been mocked or criticised by *Punch* and others, had been right to view Germany

³⁰² The Cadbury Trust owned *The Daily News*, the largest selling Liberal daily newspaper. In 1910 the Cadbury Trust bought into *The Morning Leader* and *The Star*, which were absorbed into *The Daily News*. The Rowntree family at one stage part owned *The Morning Leader*, *The Star*, *The Northern Echo* and *The Nation*, and were involved with the Anglo-German Friendship Society. See Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England*, 180; Havighurst, *Radical Journalist*, 153.

³⁰³ [Maxse], ‘Episodes of the Month’, (July 1912) no. 353, *The National Review*, 750-753. See also Arnold White, *The Modern Jew*, William Heinemann, London, 1899, 199.

³⁰⁴ The idea of German commercial travellers acting as spies was believed to have occurred in other countries beside Britain. See Anonymous, ‘Italy in War Time’, *Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 16, no. 804 (14 June 1917), 278.

³⁰⁵ E. Phillips Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, Hodder & Stoughton, n.d. [1915], 27.

as an enemy. Furthermore Oppenheim, to give credence to his being a predictor of war, remarked in his autobiography:

I had entered in those days [his fortieth year] into what was almost a crusade against the menace of German militarism, as was evidenced in four or five of my novels ... I had been a humble follower of Lord Roberts on various platforms and in the press. I had learnt something of the psychology of the ruling classes in Germany during my various visits there and I knew what they were out for.³⁰⁶

Certainly Oppenheim shared the Unionist and anti-German politics of Roberts.³⁰⁷ An early example of Oppenheim's anti-German portrayal is *Mysterious Mr. Sabin*, which was published in 1898, the year of the Fashoda Incident, a colonial dispute involving Britain and France. In the novel, though the chief villain, Mr Sabin, is a Frenchman, the French are not depicted as the true enemy for Sabin's cause of restoring the French Monarchy through an Anglo-German war is depicted as being noble.³⁰⁸ Rather it is the Germans as willing collaborators who are the real villains as shown by the German ambassador Baron von Knigenstein's statement to the hero Wolfenden:

... we are jealous nation [sic]! And we have cause for jealousy. In whatever part of the world we put down our foot, it is trodden on by our ubiquitous cousins [the English]! Whatever we turn to colonise, we are too late ... We must either take her leavings or go a-begging! ... The world of to-day is getting cramped. There is no room for a growing England and a growing Germany! ... You Say [sic] that France is our natural enemy. I deny it! France is our historical enemy—nothing else! In military circles to-day a war with England would be wildly, hysterically popular; and sooner or later a war with England is as certain to come as the rising sun and the waning of the moon!...³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Oppenheim, *The Pool of Memory*, 27, 37.

³⁰⁷ An indication of Oppenheim's political conservatism was that he was one of the signatories to the British Covenant collected by the Union Defence League in opposition to the Irish Home Rule Bill. See Anonymous, 'The British Covenant: Increased Volume of Signatures', *The Times of London*, no. 40471, 14 Mar. 1914, 9.

³⁰⁸ Oppenheim was ideologically a monarchist, thus sympathetic to the French royalist cause.

³⁰⁹ E. Phillips Oppenheim, *Mysterious Mr. Sabin* [1898], Ward, Lock & Co., London & Melbourne, n.d., 118.

All the ingredients of Oppenheim and others' subsequent novels are included in this paragraph.³¹⁰ Germany is jealous of Britain's world position and is willing to go to war in order to grow. This was a recurring theme in the thinking behind many in Unionist politics in relation to Germany. Oppenheim was responding to international incidents in expressing his view rather than him predicting the future. In *Mr. Sabin*, the Kruger Telegram is cited as evidence of Germany's true intentions towards Britain. And *The Great Secret* (1905) used this sort of plot device, as the Morocco crisis of 1905 is referred to as a pretext for war.³¹¹ Le Queux was similar to Oppenheim in his plots being shaped by international events. In *The Secret of the Fox Hunter*³¹² there is a reference to the Anglo-Japanese treaty as a means of explaining a Russo-German conspiracy against Britain.³¹³ Germany was increasingly seen as greater threat than France or Russia.³¹⁴

This shift in mood was created in part by the British being alarmed by pan-German calls to have a reckoning with Britain. Such calls recurred not only in the Reichstag but in German popular literature. One such novel was August Niemann's *The Coming Conquest of England* (1904) which possessed stereotypes from British invasion/spy stories

³¹⁰ In this novel Oppenheim again uses the plot device of a German sponsored French Royalist scheme against Britain. French Royalist plots were not uncommon in spy or conspiracy stories as from the fall of Emperor Napoleon III up to 1914 there was a belief that the two different branches of royalists were continuously plotting to restore the monarchy. See Fred M. White, 'The Romance of the Secret Service Fund: Three of Them', *Pearson's Magazine*, vol. 10, no. 38 (Nov. 1903), 588-597; Upward, 'A Scandal at the Elysée', 72-82; Upward, 'Madame The Ambassador', *Pearson Magazine*, vol. 2, no. 49, 736-748.

³¹¹ E. Phillips Oppenheim, *The Great Secret* [1905], Little, Brown & Company, Boston, 1908, 258, 269.

³¹² This short story was incorporated into the novel *Secrets of the Foreign Office* (1903).

³¹³ William Le Queux, 'The Secret of the Fox Hunter' [1903], *The Rivals of Sherlock Holmes: Early Detective Stories* [1970], ed. Hugh Greene, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth & New York, 1971, 202.

³¹⁴ One of the last novels to be published that portrayed France as an enemy of Britain is Captain Cairnes's *The Coming of Waterloo* (1901). Indeed, in the story Germany is Britain's ally, which attacks France through Belgium with the novelist's approval. See Captain Cairnes, *The Coming of Waterloo*, Archibald Constable, Westminster, 2nd impression, London, 1901, passim.

including a German officer being a spy disguised as a commercial traveller, German feelings of being ‘hemmed in and hampered on every side’ by the British making them jealous of Britain’s global position, a German network of spies, and a Russian plot to invade India through Afghanistan.³¹⁵ Colonel Frederick Trench,³¹⁶ the British military attaché in Berlin, commented that the book was ‘quite valueless either as a strategic study or as an expression of intention but it is one of the numerous straws which show the direction of the wind [because it expresses the] views and hopes which I believe to be those of no small number of [German] persons.’³¹⁷ One of these persons was General Friedrich von Bernhardi. While Bernhardi had great admiration for Britain, he believed ‘...it is quite impossible to regard the English [naval] preparations as defensive and protective measures only.’³¹⁸ He, with the nationalist German historian and politician Heinrich von Treitschke and the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche,³¹⁹ became infamous in Britain, especially during World War I, for his *Germany and the Next War* (1912), which expressed the opinion that nations needed to go to war in order to grow.³²⁰

³¹⁵ August Niemann, *The Coming Conquest of England*, trans. J. H. Freese, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1904, 5, 34, 217.

³¹⁶ Trench was a personal friend of the Kaiser and had been attached to German forces against the Herero in German South-West Africa (now Namibia). See Seligmann, *Spies in Uniform*, 61.

³¹⁷ Quoted in Gooch & Temperley, *British Documents on the Origins of the War 1898-1914*, 147-148.

³¹⁸ Friedrich von Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War* [1912], trans. Allen H. Powles, third impression, Edward Arnold, London, 1914, 231.

³¹⁹ Nietzsche was defamed by many arguing that his ideas were misunderstood as being similar to those of Bernhardi. See David Alec Wilson, ‘Nietzsche and Carlyle’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 17 Oct. 1914, 4; Beatrice Marshall, ‘Mr. Thomas Hardy and Nietzsche’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 12 Oct. 1914, 4; Bernhard Gidbert, ‘The Misunderstood Nietzsche’, *The Daily Mail*, 9 Oct. 1914, 4; David Alec Wilson, ‘Nietzsche and Carlyle’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 22 Oct. 1914, 4; Charles T. Gorham, ‘Nietzsche and the War’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 7 Oct. 1914, 4; C. M. S. McLellan, ‘Nietzsche and the War’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 Oct. 1914, 4; C. M. S. McLellan, ‘Nietzsche the Anti-German’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 4 Feb. 1914, 6.

³²⁰ Bernhardi, *Germany and the Next War*, passim. See also Henry Morris, ‘The Dangers of Magnanimity’, *The Morning Post*, no. 44424, 5 Oct. 1914, 5; [Thomas Marlowe], ‘The Damnation of German Culture’, *The Daily Mail*, 22 Oct. 1914, 4; [R. D. Blumenfeld], ‘Matters of Moment: Dastardly Frightfulness’, *The Daily Express*, 21 Jan. 1915, 4; [Charles à Court Repington], ‘The War Day by Day: The Pursuit Continues: German Armies’, *The Times of London*, no. 40636, 15 Sept. 1914, 4; Charles F. Down, ‘Darwinism And War’, *The Times of London*, no. 40650, 29 Sept. 1914, 9; J. K. Laughton, ‘Number 16’,

Bernhardi's infamy is evident by a September 1914 *Manchester Guardian* article that reported: 'The book of the hour is undoubtedly Bernhardi's [*Germany and the Next War*] and both public and private libraries in the Manchester district are finding it difficult to meet all the calls for this work of the prophet of German militarism.'³²¹ Furthermore *The Double Traitor* had Selingman claiming '...that Bernhardi represented the dominant military opinion of German....' as a way of demonstrating that Bernhardi's philosophy was a factor behind Germany's decision to invade Belgium.³²² And in A. M. Williamson's *What I Found Out* [1915] a boy received an autographed copy of *Germany and the Next War* as a Christmas present suggesting that Germany is a militaristic nation and that such a attitude is taught and ingrained into children.³²³

Such German anti-British sentiment and the shifts in international relations made British right-wing newspapers, thinkers and writers shift their attention away from France and Russia towards Germany as a possible invader. This helps to explain Germans being the sole enemy in *1910*. The novel uses the same repetitious themes and techniques as in *The*

The Times of London, no. 40672, 21 Oct. 1914, 9; Evelyn Wrench, 'An Imperial Service', *The Times of London*, 7 May 1915, no. 40848, 11; J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, John Murray, London, 1914, 7-11, 29, 35, 46, 65, 72-73, 107; Alex M. Thompson, 'Nietzsche Our Point of View', *The Clarion*, no. 1194, 23 Oct. 1914, 9; Robert Lynd, 'Books in War-Time: What People are Reading', *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Sept. 1914, 4; A. G. G. [A. G. Gardiner], 'Is There an Escape?: Mr. Roosevelt's Scheme', *The Daily News and Leader*, 3 Oct. 1914, 4; Archibald Marshall, 'Thoughts from a Backwater: The Desire of Many', *The Daily News and Leader*, 5 Oct. 1914, 4; Anthony Hope, 'A Challenge to Prussian "Tradition": Why German Hates England', *The Daily News and Leader*, 9 Dec. 1914, 4; O. S. [Sir Owen Seaman], 'Bernhardi's Apologia', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 148, 31 March 1915, 242 [See Appendix 5]; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The Devil's Doctrine: The Krupp-Kaiser-Junker Combination and Germany's Downfall', *The Daily Chronicle*, 18 Sept. 1914, 4; Mrs. Victor Rickard, *The Light Above the Cross Roads*, Duckworth, London, 1916, 118; W. Holt-White, 'The Beautiful Spy', *The Daily Express*, 23 April 1915, 9, [A. M. Williamson], *What I Found Out in the House of a German Prince by An English Governess*, 4th ed., Chapman & Hall, London, 1915, 189. See bibliography for more articles on this topic.

³²¹ Anonymous, 'Literature War: What is Manchester Reading', *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 Sept. 1914, 4. See also Robert Lynd, 'Books in War-Time: What People Are Reading?', *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Sept. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Literature and the War', *The Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 15, no. 750, 1 June 1916, 253.

³²² Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 35.

³²³ [Williamson], *What I Found Out*, 181.

Siege of Portsmouth. The foreign enemy may have changed but the political message was the same: the urgent need to increase spending on arms, compulsory military training for young males and the support of rifle clubs in preparation for the possibility of an invasion. For Northcliffe, *The Daily Mail* was the best vehicle to promote this political message because its targeted audience came from the lower-middle and upper-working-classes, which was the largest voting group. But also because *The Daily Mail* was Northcliffe's biggest selling newspaper, it allowed for the cross promotion of his other more local publications throughout the story. These publications included *The Yorkshire Post*, *The Manchester Courier*, and *The Birmingham Daily Post*. Again, public figures, especially Roberts, who agreed with Northcliffe's (and Le Queux's) political views, were given favourable treatment. An example is the following paragraph:

[That] The Government—the sleek-mannered, soft-spoken, self-confident Blue Water School—were responsible for it all [the invasion], was declared on every hand. They should have placed the Army upon a firm and proper footing; they should have encouraged the establishment of rifle clubs to teach every young man how to defend his home; they should have pondered over the thousand and one warnings uttered during the past ten years by eminent men, statesmen, soldiers, and writers: they should have listened to those forcible and eloquent appeals of Earl Roberts, England's military hero, who, having left the service, had no axe to grind. He spoke the truth in the House of Lords in 1906 fearlessly, from patriotic motives, because he loved his country and foresaw its doom. And yet the Government and the public had disregarded his ominous words.³²⁴

Furthermore, Roberts, indisputably a national hero, known affectionately as Bobs, was used to sell the story and, therefore, *The Daily Mail*. Roberts is quoted twice in a full page advertisement in *The Times*.³²⁵ The first quote is from 1905 when he first stated, in

³²⁴ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 24.

³²⁵ 'Invasion of 1910 with a full Account of the Siege of London', *The Times of London*, 13 March 1906, 11.

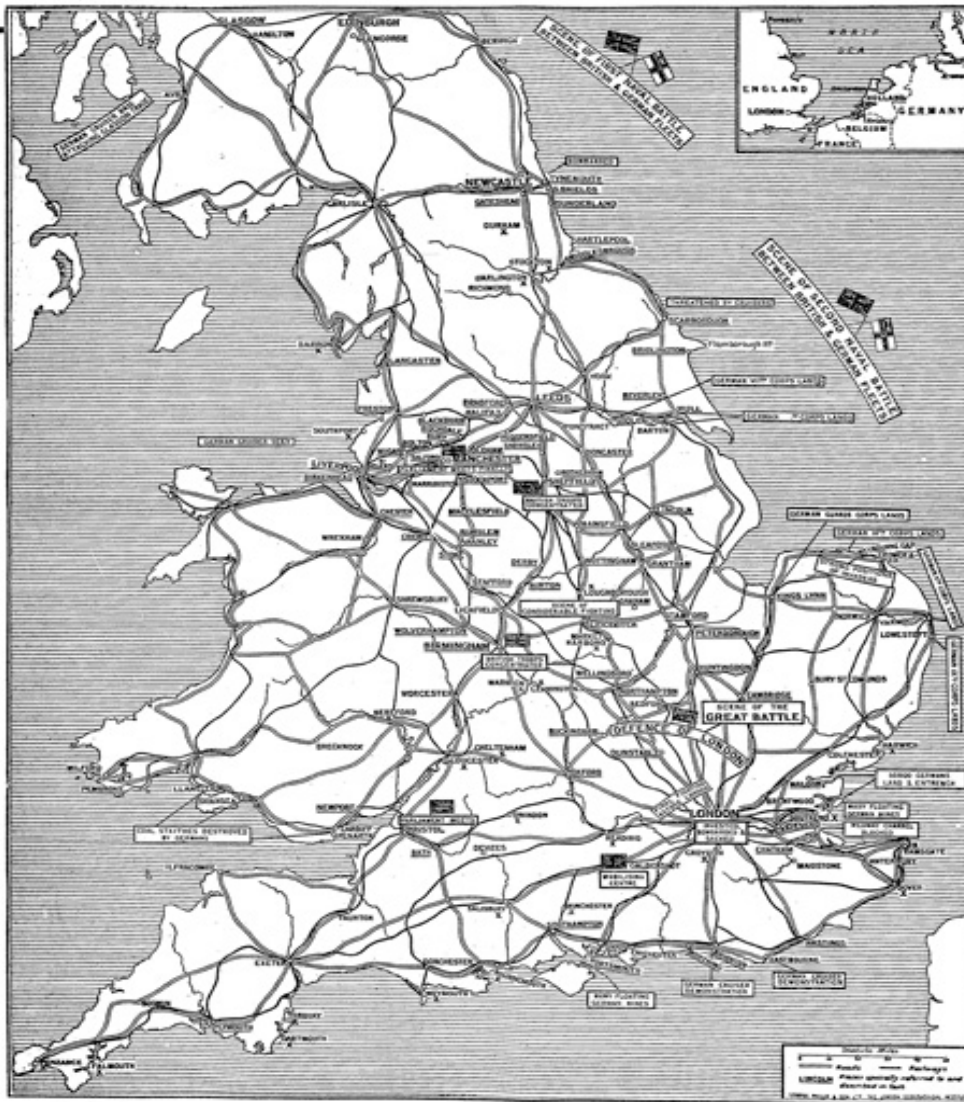
THE INVASION OF 1910.

WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF LONDON.

WHAT LORD ROBERTS SAYS TO YOU:

Speaking in the House of Lords on the 16th July, 1905, I said: "It is to the people of the country I appeal to take up the question of the Army in a sensible, practical manner. For the sake of all they hold dear, let them bring home to themselves what would be the condition of Great Britain if it were to lose its wealth, its power, its position."

The catastrophe that may happen if we still remain in our present state of unpreparedness is vividly and forcibly illustrated in Mr. Le Queux's new book, which I recommend to the perusal of everyone who has the welfare of the British Empire at heart.—ROBERTS, F.M.



Keep this Map for Reference.

It will be Valuable.

Keep this Map for Reference.

It will be Valuable.

This Intensely Interesting Narrative by Mr. Wm. Le Queux begins in the LONDON "DAILY MAIL" TO-MORROW.

ORDER THE "DAILY MAIL" TO-DAY.

ORDER THE "DAILY MAIL" TO-DAY.

The map above was part of an advertisement for 1910 that played upon Lord Roberts's fame as a national hero to encourage readers to buy copies of *The Daily Mail* in the hope they would absorb its political and military message

Source: *The Times of London*, 11.

the Lords, his concern about an invasion and the second is from the novel's preface where he gives a ringing endorsement of the novel.³²⁶ Roberts's quotes appeared above a map of Britain showing where the different battles take place and various major cities and towns are included to attract the curiosity of readers in those places with the words 'Keep this Map for Reference. It will be Valuable.' The prominent use of Roberts was because he was a member of what John M. Mackenzie has called the 'Cults of heroes from both the distant and more recent past'.³²⁷ These heroes were used to sell British commercial products by promoting the purchasing of these items as an act of patriotism as a means of helping maintain Britain's industrial position and jobs, with their use of Roberts's endorsement *The Daily Mail* was attempting to make the reader (the consumer) connect the story's political message with a sense of patriotism.

1910 was not the first example where Northcliffe or Le Queux had used Roberts to sell their political message. Roberts's letter written to Le Queux giving praise for *1897* was published in the front of subsequent editions, giving credibility to the story. Therefore it is not surprising Roberts is praised six times in *1910*. Clearly the repetition was deliberate. Over the weeks in which the story was serialised, the audience that did not follow politics closely, needed to be reminded of Roberts's position on defence and military training, which matched *The Daily Mail's* editorial stance. Hence the strong and

³²⁶ This was not the first time Roberts's pro-military training quotes appeared in advertisement. An example is in *Boy's Friend* (another of Northcliffe's periodicals) saying 'Learn to Shoot'. See Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 105.

³²⁷ John M. Mackenzie, 'Introduction', *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, ed. John M. Mackenzie, Manchester University Press, Manchester & Dover (New Hampshire), 1986, 3. See also Robert Opie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image*, Harmondsworth & New York, Viking, 1985, 63-64, 71; Fraser, *The Coming of the Mass Market*, 142. See also Diana & Geoffrey Hindley, *Adventures in Victorian England 1837-1901*, Wayland Publishers, London, 1972, 158; Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1990, 158.

repeated emphasis throughout the narrative on universal male military training, such as the line that ‘...if Lord Roberts’s scheme for universal training had been adopted the enemy would never have reached the gates of London with success.’³²⁸ And again at the end of the story, ‘In London we fail because we have so few riflemen. If every man who now carries a gun could shoot we could have compel[led] the Germans to fly a flag of truce within twenty-four hours. Indeed, if Lord Roberts’s scheme of universal training in 1906 had been adopted, the enemy would certainly never have approach[ed] our capital.’³²⁹

Le Queux presents the Legion of Frontiersmen, with its own intelligence department, as the ideal model of trained citizens with it being mentioned sixteen times in the text and suggested as inspiring other groups in the novel such as the ‘Kensington Cowboys’ and the ‘Southwark Scalp-hunters’.³³⁰ The Frontiersmen, founded by Roger Pocock in 1908, was inspired by Kipling’s poem *The Lost Legion* [see Appendix 6], which is about hardy and independent men half-forgotten and living at the edge of civilization yet still being staunchly patriotic as the vanguard that opened the colonial frontier for British settlers.³³¹ Its membership of 3,500 (a number of these were also members of the NSL), included Le Queux and other prominent figures.³³² Strengthening the connection between the novel

³²⁸ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 334.

³²⁹ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 504.

³³⁰ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 289, 334, 336, 359-360, 372-374, 387-389, 449, 461, 476, 495.

³³¹ Such notions as expressed by Kipling, which were taken up by the Frontiersmen, were found elsewhere. George Hamilton-Browne’s highly invented account of his experience during the Maori Wars in the 1860s and 1870s dedicated his book to the men ‘of the Lost Legion, the men who have not only rolled out the map of the Empire, as the deft hand of a cook rolls out a lump of dough, but who have also held that ground until properly settled by their own countrymen’. See G. Hamilton-Browne, *With the Lost Legion in New Zealand*, T. Werner Laurie, London, n.d. [1911], 2-3.

³³² Other members or those involved with the organisation included Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg, Erskine Childers, Robert Baden-Powell, the newspaper magnate C. Arthur Pearson [the publisher of

and the Frontiersmen was the personal association between Pocock and Le Queux. They were members of a literary club called the New Vagabonds whose membership included another fellow Frontiersman, Conan Doyle.³³³ Many Frontiersmen dressed like American cavalry troops with side arms and saw themselves as imperial frontiersmen defending the Empire from its enemies.³³⁴ As part of their thinking, they believed in compulsory military training. The other group praised in *1910* were the rifle clubs. Again these clubs were another link back to the political message of compulsory military training or service. As with *The Siege of Portsmouth* and *1897*, real life Unionist figures like Beresford, in contrast to Liberal politicians, are portrayed as patriotically standing up against the enemy. Whereas dockers had been depicted in *The Siege of Portsmouth* as being patriotic and stoic, in *1910*, it is the general British public including women, who conduct a guerrilla war. The portrayal of women fighting reflects the fact that at the time girls' periodicals such as *The Girl's Own Paper* encouraged rifle training for girls as a healthy activity but also the display of women fighting suggests they were making up for the shortfall of trained male fighters.³³⁵

Baden-Powell], Lord Meath, the founder of the Empire Day movement, who was to become involved with the Boy Scouts, British Girls Patriotic League and the League of the Empire, the novelist Sir H. Rider Haggard, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the novelist and journalist Edgar Wallace and sportsman C. B. Fry. See Robert H. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement, 1890-1918*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, Buffalo & London, 1993, 56-57; A. J. A. Morris, *The Scaremongers: The Advocacy of War and Rearmament 1896-1914*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston, Melbourne & Henley-on-Thames, 1984, 412; Patrick & Baister, *William Le Queux*, 74; Roger Pocock, *Chorus to Adventurers: Being the Later Life of Roger Pocock*, John Lane & Bodley Head, London, 1931, 63.

³³³ G. B. Burgin, *Memoirs of a Clubman*, Hutchinson, London, 1921, passim. See also Geoffrey A. Pocock, *For Adventure and for Patriotism: One Hundred Years of the Legion of Frontiersmen: Soldiers, Spies and Counter-spies, Sacrifice and Service to the State*, Phillimore, Chichester, 2004, 18.

³³⁴ They lived up to this image as they were one of many groups that appeared at patriotic recruiting rallies during World War I. See Anonymous, 'Patriotic Rally at Albert Hall: Mr. Bottomley's Great Speech', *The Daily Chronicle*, 15 Jan. 1915, 2.

³³⁵ Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England 1880-1915*, Columbia University Press, 1995, 120-121.

In the story, after the initial invasion, the Royal Navy rallies to blockade the invading German army and the British eventually become victorious. However, the Liberal government does not carry victory through as Germany wins territory from the peace thus marking the end of Britain's glory. The Liberal Party is portrayed as weak-willed in foreign affairs and defence matters, preferring compromise at all cost to keep the peace. A special target of this view is Haldane, who had attended the University of Göttingen and was a great admirer of German philosophy and education.³³⁶ A typical statement against Haldane in *1910* is:

The nation had, unfortunately, passed by unheeded the serious warnings of 1905-06 [a reference to Lord Roberts]. The authorities had remained impotent, and Mr. Haldane's Army Scheme [the Territorial Army and other military reforms] had proved useless. The War Office had only one power within it, that of the man who represented the Cabinet. The rest were mere instruments.³³⁷

³³⁶ Haldane was not atypical of young men from the upper and upper-middle-classes to receive a university education in Germany. Others included historian and Liberal politician G. P. Gooch, historian W. H. Dawson, and journalist W. T. Stead. The Unionist leader Andrew Bonar Law sent his sons to German universities. There were 9,000 British students enrolled at German universities between 1844 and 1914 with twenty-two students at Heidelberg College in the final semester before the war. These numbers were smaller compared to the number of German students that went to British universities and schools. The University of Oxford had the largest numbers in part because of Rhodes scholarships with the number of German students at Oxford increasing by 371 percent between 1900 and 1914. In other educational institutions the overall number of German students rose by 23.4 percent in this the same period. Those Germans that were educated in Britain included daughters (who also had an English governess) of Admiral Alfred von Tirpitz, and English was often spoken in the von Tirpitz family home; the sons of German Chancellor Bethmann Hollweg and Adolf Marschall von Bieberstein, the German Foreign Secretary between 1890 and 1897 and Prince Hugo von Hohenlohe-Ohringen; and a son of a senior diplomat and relative of German Chancellor Chlodwig von Hohenlohe-Schillingfürst. See David Blackburn, "As dependent on each other as man and wife": Cultural Contacts and Transfers', *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity*, ed. Dominik Geppert & Robert Gerwarth, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, 33-35; Adolf Birke, *Britain and Germany: Historical Patterns of a Relationship*, German Historical Institute, London, 1987, 19; Oliver Grant, "England has righted itself with so much energy": Institutional Transference between Technical Universities, 1890-1914', *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain*, 275, 293, 297; Stephen E. Koss, *Lord Haldane: The Scapegoat for Liberalism*, Columbia University Press, New York & London, 1969, 67; Kennedy, *Rise of the Anglo-German Antagonism 1860-1914*, 393; Edward M. Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 1980, 33; Thomas Weber, "Cosmopolitan Nationalists": German Students in Britain—British Students in Germany', *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain*, 252-253; R. B. Haldane, *Education and Empire*, John Murray, London, 1902, passim.

³³⁷ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 137.

Thus Haldane and nameless naval figures (including by implication Sir John Fisher, the then First Sea Lord), are blamed for being members of the 'Blue Water School'. Such a view reappears in the story such as when *The Times*³³⁸ war correspondent writes:

“Who then, was responsible?” it may well be asked. The answer is simple. The British public, which, in its apathetic attitude towards military efficiency, aided and abetted by the soothing theories of the extremists of the 'Blue Water' school, had, as usual neglected to provide an Army fitted to cope in numbers and efficiency with those of our Continental neighbours. Had we had a sufficiency of troops, more especially of regular troops, there is not the slightest doubt that the victory would have been ours....³³⁹

The charge of public apathy is a repetition of Chesney's earlier accusation but Le Queux places greater accountability on the authorities (often known by simply 'They'), who, in his view, should have known better. This same technique of resting the blame on authority is used in relation to mob rule. In the story, innocent Germans, especially waiters, being mistaken for spies, are attacked but blame is not placed on the attackers. Rather it is the authorities who are culpable. It is they who are at fault for permitting Germans into the country. However as the German-British community is portrayed as being riddled with spies: therefore it is understandable that they should be attacked.³⁴⁰ Therefore authorities (especially Liberals) are to blame not the public, who are victims of government carelessness.

Before *1910* spies generally had played only minor roles in invasion stories but they became an increasingly prominent element. Le Queux had done this before with the character of Conrad von Beilstein in *1897*. However in *1910* there are hundreds, but

³³⁸ Not a Northcliffe publication until 1908 but it already had a moderate anti-German position.

³³⁹ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 195.

³⁴⁰ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 165, 202-203, 451.

despite the numbers, they are like ghosts. Their actions are unseen but the results are evident by actions of having telegraph wires are cut and railway and bridges blown up, and the informing of the Germans about the movements of the Royal Navy.³⁴¹ These new destructive ghosts, disguised as waiters, clerks and governesses, were very profitable for Northcliffe.

1910 had the desired effect of increasing sales of *The Daily Mail* by 80,000 with the finished novel selling over a million copies in twenty-seven languages.³⁴² Despite the sales, it failed to cause enough pressure to open the way for the introduction of any kind of national service. Politics was split on the issue. Haldane created the Territorial Army in order to reshape the second-line or auxiliary forces: the militia, the yeomanry, and the volunteers, when especially the militia was known to be inefficient with poor attendance rates.³⁴³ These forces were to be streamlined and incorporated, as tactfully as possible, into a new army: the Territorial Army, designed for home defences or voluntary service abroad. The creation of the Territorial Army was a complement to military reform in Germany. He believed Britain should follow the Prussian/German concept of ‘a nation at arms’ where the population of all classes trained and were used either to fight or to supply those at the front with food, clothes, equipment and other support during a time of warfare.³⁴⁴ Indeed, he had originally intended the expansion of the Volunteer Rifle Corps³⁴⁵ and encouragement of boys to join rifle clubs and military cadet training but this

³⁴¹ Le Queux & Wilson, *The Invasion of 1910*, 16, 28-29, 50, 394-395.

³⁴² Clarke, *Voices Prophesying War*, 145. See also Le Queux, *Things I Know About Kings, Celebrities and Crooks*, 249.

³⁴³ Spiers, *Haldane*, 92.

³⁴⁴ M. E. Howard, ‘Lord Haldane and the Territorial Army’, *Haldane Memorial Lecture*, vol. 32, 1966, 11.

³⁴⁵ Volunteer Rifle Corps were formed at Rugby, Winchester, Eton and other public schools as part of the invasion scare of 1859 that was a reaction to the French building the first ironclad warships. Outside the

was withdrawn, out of fear of radical Liberal opposition.³⁴⁶ Many of these radicals believed in the individual right of free association rather than having an association imposed by government.³⁴⁷ Despite many Unionists' objections to Haldane's reforms, a number such as Roberts (though still highly critical) and the Unionist press such as *The Spectator* and *The Times* generally approved of Haldane's restructure, as a first step to greater reforms.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, the increased circulation of *The Daily Mail* did not necessarily indicate the readership absorbed the actual political message; they could have merely enjoyed the story or been curious about its outcome. Even if the readership absorbed the political message, *The Daily Mail's* target audience was mainly Unionist voters, who were already more inclined to follow the newspaper's editorial stance. After all, it had long reported and commented upon invasion plots. In 1900, *The Daily Mail* had claimed 'The invasion of England is one of the stock military topics in Germany. Every German officer has his own little bit of England marked off upon a map which has been examined.'³⁴⁹ 1910 was reinforcing already held beliefs. As Le Queux himself admitted in a *Daily Mail* interview, the story provided what most people wanted to read, which was reinforced by the fact that 1897 'run through twenty-nine editions.'³⁵⁰

school environment the corps were generally more akin to social clubs for wealthy men to play soldiers rather than serious militia training for battle.

³⁴⁶ Spiers, *Haldane: An Army Reformer*, 96. See also Paris, *Warrior Nation*, 76, 120.

³⁴⁷ According to George Riddell, David Lloyd George, then a radical Liberal and the Chancellor of the Exchequer from 1908 to 1916, was in favour of universal military service but believed it could not be carried by any party 'except in some great national emergency.' See Riddell, *More Pages From My Diary 1908-1914*, 94.

³⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'Mr. Haldane and the Army that We Need', *The Spectator: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology*, vol. 96, no. 4057 (17 March 1906), 410-411. See also Anonymous, 'Mr. Haldane's Proposal', *The Spectator: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology*, vol. 97, no. 4072 (8 Dec. 1906), 44-45; Anonymous, 'The Militia and the Volunteer', *The Spectator: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology*, vol. 97, no. 4093 (8 Dec. 1906), 917-919; [Charles à Court Repington], 'New Modelling', *The Times of London*, no. 37977, 26 March 1906, 7.

³⁴⁹ Quoted in Morris, *Scaremongers*, 149.

³⁵⁰ Anonymous, 'Prime Minister and the New Novel: The Author Interviewed', *The Daily Mail*, 14 March 1906, 7.

Certainly *1910* appealed to right-wing political elements. Strachey commented ‘Mr. Le Queux, who simply wades in English blood and German “methods of barbarism,” at least holds such methods up to scorn. His only desire is to make our flesh creep and fright us into action by shaking a second “Bony” at us.’³⁵¹ Strachey was at this time a moderate, having been brought up with Whig-Liberal ideas of individual freedom and free trade, thus he wanted cooperation between political parties to encourage volunteerism, only later shifting his position to supporting military conscription just before World War I.³⁵² Another to approve of Le Queux was Melville, who commented ‘William Le Queux’s book “Invasion of London” [sic] in 1910 had a good deal to do with waking up the public.’³⁵³ But others mocked *1910*. On 13 March 1906, in Parliament, R. C. Lehmann, the Liberal MP for Harborough, *Punch* writer and shareholder in *The Daily News*, asked Liberal Prime Minister Campbell-Bannerman, ‘whether the Government can take any steps or express any opinion which will discourage the publication of matter of this sort [an advertisement for *1910*], calculated to prejudice our relation with other Powers.’ The reply was that the government could do nothing and advised leaving the book ‘to be judged by the good sense and good taste of the British people.’³⁵⁴ However later, after Le Queux complained, the statement was qualified by Arthur Ponsonby, the Prime Minister’s Principal Private Secretary, who explained that Campbell-Bannerman’s

³⁵¹ [St Loe Strachey], ‘The Invasion of England’, *The Spectator: A Weekly Review of Politics, Literature, Theology, and Art*, vol. 97, no. 4083 (29 Sept. 1906), 439.

³⁵² Startt, *Journalists for Empire*, 19.

³⁵³ TNA KV 1/8, ‘Memories by William Melville’, 3.

³⁵⁴ *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, First Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 153, 13 March 1906, col. 1120.

criticism was aimed at the advertisements publicising the serial.³⁵⁵ Le Queux still sought more publicity claiming that he had received threats.³⁵⁶ However, *Punch*, though then owned by Northcliffe's family company, Amalgamated Press, and overall then politically Unionist, was less shy.³⁵⁷ Comic writer F. Anstey Guthrie took a hard line with his ironic spoof 'The Yellow Patriots (A Fragment from some Future Historians)'. Guthrie realised that a commercial interest drove the production of invasion/spy stories, thus he accused cheap sensationalist newspapers known as the 'yellowpress',³⁵⁸ and their journalists as being self-serving hypocrites, who give the appearance of being patriotic for commercial advantage.³⁵⁹ He does this in his articles by suggesting if these journalists were faced with the possibility of actually having to fight in a war, they would try to avoid doing so. However, at the last moment, it is exposed as a practical joke played upon them by the governments of the great powers. As a result, the yellowpress blames foreign tabloids for causing the panic rather than admit their own role in creating nationalistic tensions.³⁶⁰ Guthrie's article was a comment that he believed tabloids did not report events; rather they contrive news or public opinion to create political tensions between nations to provide news for reporting, commentary and entertainment. By implication *1910* and

³⁵⁵ William Le Queux, 'The Prime Minister and Mr. Le Queux: Letters to the Editor', *The Times of London*, no. 37967, 14 March 1906, 11. See also Arthur Ponsonby, 'The Prime Minister and Mr. Le Queux', *The Times of London*, no. 37969, 16 March 1906, 11; Anonymous, "'The Invasion of 1906': The Prime Minister and Author: Interesting Letters", *Daily Mail*, 16 March 1906, 5.

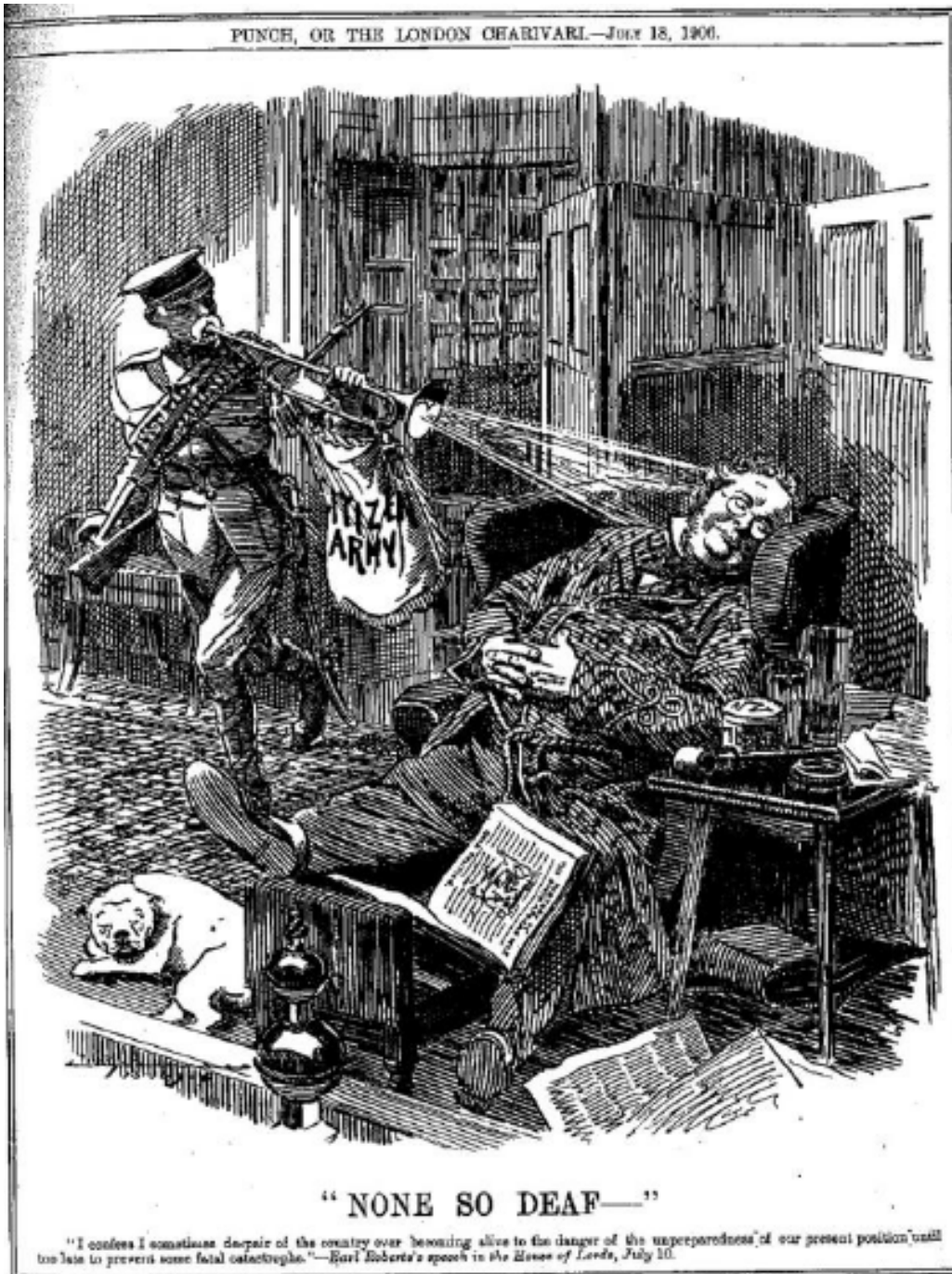
³⁵⁶ Anonymous, "'Invasion of 1910": Mr. Le Queux's Life Threatened', *The Daily Mail*, 24 March 1906, 7.

³⁵⁷ A number of *Punch* writers including R. C. Lehman, E. V. Lucas and A. A. Milne were politically Liberal or radical in contrast to Sir Owen Seaman, who edited *Punch* from 1906 to 1932, which made the periodical more conservative. See R. G. G. Price, *A History of Punch*, Collins, London, 1957, 193-195. Furthermore *Punch* supported Lord Roberts's plea for increase in the army and compulsory military training for young males. See E. Linley Sambourne, 'None So Deaf—', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 131, 18 July 1906, 46. The cartoon shows Lord Roberts dressed in khaki uniform blowing trump at a sleeping John Bull, who has fallen asleep reading a book on the Boer War. The message was that people have forgotten the military failures in South Africa and they need to wake up.

³⁵⁸ The term comes when cheap newspapers had a yellow appearance.

³⁵⁹ F. A. [Anstey Guthrie], 'The Yellow Patriots (A Fragment from some Future Historians)', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 130, 14 March 1906, 188.

³⁶⁰ F. A., 'The Yellow Patriots', 188.



“NONE SO DEAF—”

“I confess I sometimes despair of the country over becoming alive to the danger of the unpreparedness of our present position until too late to prevent some fatal catastrophe.”—Earl Roberts's speech in the House of Lords, July 10.

The cartoon shows *Punch* favoured compulsory military training. However it consistently objected to sensationalism that appeared in *The Daily Mail* and other periodicals.

Source: Sambourne, ‘None So Deaf—,’ *Punch*, vol. 131, 1906, 46.

similar ventures are examples of the press, particularly popular newspapers', manipulation of public opinion for commercial gain.³⁶¹ Guthrie's was one of the many of *Punch's* earlier attacks upon Le Queux and invasion scares.³⁶² This was echoed by Sir John Brunner, the prominent chemical industrialist, radical Liberal MP for Northwich, and campaigner for a smaller Royal Navy, when he accused Northcliffe's newspapers of inflaming Anglo-German relations in order to 'rake in profits'.³⁶³ As did James H. Midgley, when he argued in the Quaker journal *The Friend*,³⁶⁴ that *The Daily Mail's* objective, as with other like-minded newspapers, in serialising *1910* was to create an atmosphere of international tension to make money as 'part of the campaign to militarise the nation—to plant in every village a boys' brigade and a rifle club—to exalt in the place of international justice and arbitration the old idol of Force!'³⁶⁵

³⁶¹ This view was shared outside Britain, for example Theodor Schiemann, Professor of Russian History at the University of Berlin, accused the British press of inciting anti-German feeling in England. And in Britain this view was widely held by many Liberals years after the appearance of *1910*. In 1909 J. Allen Barker, the Liberal MP for East Finsbury, at a meeting connected to the Annual Peace Conference at Lake Mohonk (New York State), claimed '...the insane competition to build more and more Dreadnoughts would not have originated and without the Yellow press there would not be so much hysteria as was displayed just now....' See Geppert, "'The foul-visaged anti-Christ of journalism'?", 369; Anonymous, 'Press and Parliament to Blame', *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 May 1909, 7.

³⁶² See also [C. L. Graves], 'Shades in Revolt', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 130, 16 May 1906, 338; [N. A. Martin], 'The Paper Campaign of 1906: A Study of the great H-rmsw-rth Group', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 130, 6 March 1906, 220; [Emmanuel White], 'Charivaria', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 130, 11 April 1906, 260; [P. G. Wodehouse], 'A Novelist's Day', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 130, 28 March 1906, 385.

³⁶³ *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Third Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 185, 2 March 1908, cols 366-69.

³⁶⁴ *The Friend* in accordance with Quaker religious beliefs was a pacifist journal which believed that international cooperation could prevent future international conflict and as such it was opposed to naval increases and the NSL and any other military lobby group's objectives. See [Henry Stanley Newman], 'Reduction of Naval Expenditure', *The Friend: A Religious Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*, vol. 47, no. 14 (3 Aug. 1906), 509-510.

³⁶⁵ James H. Midgley, 'Campaign Calumny: To the Editor of the Friend', *The Friend: A Religious Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*, vol. 47, no. 13 (30 March 1906), 199-200. See also Albert Prust 'Campaign Calumny: To the Editor of the Friend', *The Friend: A Religious Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*, vol. 47, no. 14 (6 April 1906), 227; F. G. Cash, 'Campaign Calumny: To the Editor of The Friend', *The Friend: A Religious Literary and Miscellaneous Journal*, vol. 47, no. 14 (6 April 1906), 227.

Nonetheless, many journalists in the sensationalist and Unionist press genuinely believed in a German spy threat and often professionally and mixed socially with each other including Strachey, Conan Doyle, Maxse and Lieutenant-Colonel Charles à Court Repington, *The Times* military correspondent.³⁶⁶ Their concerns were not only expressed publicly but privately. The American-born R. D. Blumenfeld, the editor of *The Daily Express* and a *Frontiersman*, had become an enthusiastic pursuer and reporter of ‘spies’.³⁶⁷ He noted in his diary:

The Germans are “mapping-out” East Anglia for future reference. I learned to-night that several mysterious strangers—one of whom I have met near my own place in north-west Essex—have been bicycling and driving and photographing all over the county, particularly along the coast, making sketches and taking notes. Looks like a staff ride. The War Office has been told about these activities. Every time a report is made the spying ceases mysteriously, and then a week or two later begins again. There is little doubt that the German Army is well represented in East Anglia; but every time I call attention to their spy system I am assailed by the Radicals and called a mischief-maker....³⁶⁸

Despite the criticism aimed at *1910* it inspired a series of novels with titles such as *The Shock of Battle*, *The Enemy in our Midst*, *The Admiralty of the Atlantic*, *The North Sea Bubble*, *Peril to Come*, *The Invasion that Failed* and *While Britain Slept* and *Under the Red Ensign*, where waiters would again appear as spies.³⁶⁹ They usually followed *1910*’s footsteps reinforcing the same messages that Britain was unready for an invasion with the Liberal Party chiefly responsible, the need for efficiency, the population was self-

³⁶⁶ Repington founded the National Defence Association (NDA) hoping to draw those together interested in military reform. He recruited Lord Roberts into the NDA. However the NDA failed to achieve success or attract the attention of the NSL. See Ryan, *Lieutenant-Colonel Charles à Court Repington*, 99.

³⁶⁷ His father had been a university professor in Germany before fleeing after the failed 1848 revolutions as a political refugee initially to Britain before moving to America.

³⁶⁸ R. D. Blumenfeld, *R. D. B.’s Diary, 1887-1914*, William Heinemann, London, 1930, 223.

³⁶⁹ [Spencer Campbell], ‘Under the Red Ensign’ [1912], ed. I. F. Clarke, *British Future Fiction: Disasters-to-Come*, vol. 7, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2001, 487.

absorbed and lacking genuine patriotism and commentary being anti-immigrant and anti-Free Trade. One such story was A. J. Dawson's *The Message* (1907). In the story Britain is rapidly defeated because the British population had become selfish and lazy. This is in part due to social reforms that caused people to clamour 'for more rights, more help, more liberty, more freedom from this and that; never seeing that our trouble was our incomplete comprehension of the rights and privileges we had, with their corresponding obligations' and ignoring the Empire.³⁷⁰ Though Dawson, like Le Queux and others, blamed politicians of both major parties for being populists, it is the Liberals who were chiefly responsible. They are labelled 'The Destroyers' thirty-five times in the text as being responsible for weakening Britain's defensive capabilities by spending government money on social benefits. It is only when the British population, inspired by Canadian preachers, organised themselves like the Boers that they drive out the Germans out, leading to national renewal. It is noticeable that Dawson has the Legion of Frontiersmen involved in driving out the Germans, which suggests he (as did Le Queux) saw them as a model of how British civilians should be organised as a line of defence. Another story was R. W. Cole's *Death Trap* (1907) which again followed the same sort of plot blaming 'self-seeking statesmen' from both parties, with the Liberals as the chief culprits. The other things, which are seen to be at fault as in *1910* is the lack of efficiency in all aspects of society in contrast to Germany, and immigration of Germans. Cole sees immigration has resulted in the country being sold to the Kaiser by 'a gang of Jews' as these immigrants are part of network of spies that had laid the groundwork for invasion. Also to blame is a British population more interested in sport than military matters. The point

³⁷⁰ A. J. Dawson, *The Message*, E. Grant Richards, London, 1907, 46.

is made in the story that people still go to the Derby and the cricket Test match while they know that an invasion is taking place.³⁷¹

Nonetheless Le Queux and the others that followed were part of a well-established trend. Max Pemberton, a close friend of Northcliffe and the first editor of *Chums* as well as *Cassell's Magazine*, had written *Pro Patria* (1901) involving a French Royalist conspiracy of digging a Channel tunnel to invade Britain.³⁷² With a few exceptions these novels followed a similar style of recurrence with waiters as spies, beautiful women with a 'soft yet firm outline' to their features, and characterised hotels or London clubs as places of intrigue. These clichés were observed at the time. In 1907 after Oppenheim's *The Secret* was published, satirists C. L. Graves and E. V. Lucas, in a parody in *Punch*, pointed out the use of repetition by both Le Queux and Oppenheim. In the parody, Le Queux and Oppenheim are together in a room at 'Hotel Inevitable' (suggesting that their stories have an inevitable plot and conclusion) arguing over the plot to a novel they are trying to write together. Both complain about the other's standard items of repetition, claiming each has been overdone. They even argue over Oppenheim's suggestion that *The Daily Mail* comes to the rescue (an allusion to *1910*) as well as Le Queux's wanting to have hundreds of thousands of waiters as spies. The argument gets so heated that Le Queux produces his revolver (just like his heroes do in his stories), which is countered by Oppenheim's own revolver (just like his heroes do in his stories).³⁷³ In the end, Le Queux and Oppenheim produce their own personal real life novels: *The Secrets of the Square*

³⁷¹ R. W. Cole, 'The Death Trap' [1907], ed. I. F. Clarke, *British Future Fiction: Disasters-to-Come*, vol. 7, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2001, 25, 42-45, 56, 60, 86, 108, 118-119, 144, 226, 254-255, 268, 272, 314-317.

³⁷² Max Pemberton, *Pro Patria*, Ward, Lock & Co., London, New York & Melbourne, 1901, passim.

³⁷³ [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], 'Our Serial Story, "The Secret of It", Given Away by William Le Queux and E. Phillips Oppenheim', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 132, April 10 1907, 268.

and *The Secret*. Graves and Lucas's use of Le Queux and Oppenheim's clichés suggests, as did Collins with penny weeklies, that writers while working separately are using the same source material with only slight variation from each other and basically use the same stories over and over again.³⁷⁴

Such literature was not affected by criticism but rather encouraged and reinforced by already preconceived ideas. J. L. Garvin,³⁷⁵ a believer in trade protection and the editor of the Unionist weekly *The Observer*, who had long held anti-German views, claimed in July 1908 that there were 'some 50,000 German waiters; and a large number of these are employed in connexion with the hotels at railway stations. Many keepers of public-houses near our forts are German. The nakedness of our land is spied out ... the blow will fall when and where we least expect it.'³⁷⁶ Furthermore, on 6 July 1908, Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Lockwood,³⁷⁷ the Unionist MP for Epping, tapping into alleged German spy sightings in Essex, asked Haldane in Parliament, as '...to the facts forwarded to him [Haldane] on the subject of the military men from a foreign nation who have been resident for the last two years on and off in the neighbourhood of Epping, and who have

³⁷⁴ *Punch's* view of Le Queux had change as four years earlier it praise a Le Queux novel though it did notice his use of repetition, commenting 'The experienced novel-reader may be reminded now and again of Stevenson with his "Ho, Ho, Ho, and a bottle of rum" and of certain other popular romancists....' *Punch* changed its mind once Le Queux started to increase his self-publicity with *The Invasion of 1910* and it and especially Graves and Lucas would continue to mock Le Queux. See Anonymous, 'Our Booking-Office', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 125, 9 Sept. 1903, 180; [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], 'Love and Mr. Le Queux', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 133, 4 Dec. 1907, 413.

³⁷⁵ He had written under the pseudonym 'Calchas' for *The Fortnightly Review* and 'Our Special Inquirer' in *The National Review*. Calchas was a character from *The Iliad*, who has second sight and predicts "Nine, then, is the number of years that we shall have to fight at Troy, in the tenth its broad street will be ours." The use of Calchas is metaphorical. Troy stands for Germany with the struggle between it and Britain to be a long one as that between the Greek States and Troy had been. See David Ayerst, *Garvin of the Observer*, Croom Helm, London, Sydney & Dover (New Hampshire), 1985, 43; A. M. Gollin, *The Observer and J. L. Garvin 1908-1914: A Study in a Great Editorship*, Oxford University Press, London, New York & Toronto, 1960, 13; Homer, *The Iliad* [1950], trans. E. V. Rieu, Allan Lane, London, 1973, 48; Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain: The Twentieth Century*, 30.

³⁷⁶ [J. L. Garvin], 'The German Peril', *The Quarterly Review*, vol. 209, no. 416 (July 1908), 295.

³⁷⁷ Later Lord Lambourne.

been sketching and photographing the whole district and communicating their information directly to their own country.³⁷⁸ Haldane countered this by pointing out there was no law that prevented anyone from ‘go[ing] about and if he likes sketch[ing] and photograph[ing], excepting in places where there are fortifications.’³⁷⁹ when a government backbencher, James Tomkinson, the Liberal MP for Crewe, asked Haldane if it was true, the survey ordinance maps were available that ‘show the whole country, with every particular in regard to roads, elevations, etc., better than anyone could possibly sketch it?’,³⁸⁰ Haldane confirmed it was true ‘and I believe on the Continent you can buy the general staff maps in addition.’ However, Lockwood believed that Haldane was ‘turning the whole matter into ridicule.’ He tried again a week later to question Haldane, but this time his questioning was disregarded.³⁸¹

Lockwood’s questioning may have had official sources. As William Melville, Director-Inspector of the MPSB from 1890 to 1903 and a detective for MO5³⁸² and MI5 before World War I, noted in 1917, in 1906 (his memory may have been faulty with the year), the War Office had received an anonymous letter ‘stating that a foreign-looking man had been taking photographs of a disused fort close to Epping....’ Melville made inquiries and found ‘seven or eight Germans’ had been staying a number of months in a large house on the fringe of Epping Forest, with other Germans staying with them. According to Melville they rode ‘motor-cycles’, carried cameras and field glasses, and travelled in

³⁷⁸ *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Third Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 191, 6 July 1908, col. 1230.

³⁷⁹ *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 191, col. 1231.

³⁸⁰ *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 191, col. 1231.

³⁸¹ *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 191, col. 1232. See also *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Third Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 192, 13 July 1908, col. 392-393.

³⁸² MO5 was the predecessor to MI5.

all weather including along the coastline. He thought they were spies and suggested as much to the Superintendent of Police at Epping, who, to Melville's dismay, dismissed the notion as being 'ridiculous'.³⁸³ Moreover an MI5 memorandum claimed 'nearly every German officer of the active army or reserve, when travelling, takes notes and makes sketches even when travelling on purely commercial business, and communicates to his general staff everything likely to be of value....'³⁸⁴ Melville was not the only one not to be believed. When Lockwood made his allegation, he too was ridiculed. A *Punch* cartoon by E. T. Reed, that accompanied H. W. Lucy's 'Essence of Parliament' series, had Lockwood crouching behind a bush while shielding his ear to listen to two stereotypical fat German officers with upturned moustaches, examining a map discussing the route to London.³⁸⁵ Furthermore two years later illustrator W. Heath Robinson mocked the idea of Germans scouting the land in a series of illustrations for 'The Coming German Invasion of England' that appeared in the satirical *The Sketch*. The first illustration had German soldiers disguised as birds and other wildlife or hidden in the fauna in the Epping Forest as a Scout is taking a walk.³⁸⁶

It was easy to ridicule such claims of German spies scouting the land as there had been similar rumours about French spies during the Boer War. An example is a letter by 'Huguenot' to the Unionist *St. James's Gazette* claiming '...It is a significant fact that for some time past a large number of French cyclists have been touring in certain districts in

³⁸³ TNA KV 1/8, 'Memories by William Melville', 6-7.

³⁸⁴ TNA KV 1/8, 'Branch Memoranda: Intelligence Methods in Peace Time', 9.

³⁸⁵ [H. W. Lucy], 'Essence of Parliament: Extracted from the Diary of Toby, M.P.', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 135, 13 July 1908, 49.

³⁸⁶ W. Heath Robinson, 'The Coming German Invasion of England' [1910], ed. I. F. Clarke, *The Great War with Germany, 1890-1914: Fictions and Fantasies of the War-to-come*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 1997, 282.

ESSENCE OF PARLIAMENT.

EXTRACTED FROM THE DIARY OF TONY, M.P.



This *Punch* cartoon that mocks Lieutenant-Colonel Lockwood's claim in Parliament that there were German spies roaming around the Epping Forest despite the fact that survey ordinance maps were available.

Source: Reed, 'Mark Lockwood Stalks the Alien in Epping Forest', *Punch*, vol. 135, 1908, 49



This illustration was part of a series of cartoons from *The Sketch*, which like *Punch* satirised claims about German Spies and Epping Forest.

Source: Robinson, 'German Spies in Epping Forest', ed. I. F. Clarke, *The Great War with Germany, 1890-1914*, 282.

Kent and Sussex, precisely those districts most favourable to a scheme of this kind.³⁸⁷ Though later claims of German scouts bore the same hallmark from other invasion scares, even after *Punch*'s ridicule, the claims of spies in the Epping Forest did not stop.³⁸⁸ On 18 July 1908, the sensationalist *The Graphic* supported Lockwood's assertions. It claimed to have discovered a group of German spies living in a house near Epping, who were spying in the Forest. Its claim was accompanied by illustrations consisting of a German spy taking a photograph of the landscape as another holds an umbrella, with a caption below 'as seen by an eyewitness'; a house where presumably the Germans live; a spy asking questions at a house; and a gathering of the German spies at their house singing and playing billiards. Underneath *The Graphic* asserts these drawing were the result of 'material gathered on the spot.'³⁸⁹ But the newspaper failed to further substantiate its claim.³⁹⁰ However, this did not stop Lord Roberts on 23 November 1908 proclaiming in the House of Lords: 'It is calculated 80,000 Germans are in the United Kingdom almost all of them trained soldiers. They work in many of the hotels, at some of the chief railway stations, and if a German force once got into this country it would have

³⁸⁷ Huguenot, 'Our Coming Peril', *St. James's Gazette*, 24 March 1900, 5.

³⁸⁸ Lockwood because of his reactionary politics had been before a figure of ridicule in *Punch* but after his allegations of German spies in Epping Forest the ridicule increased. *Punch* would still remind readers of Lockwood's allegation: for example in 1911, H. W. Lucy commented '...the Colonel is a man of war. To this day recalcitrant babes in German nurseries are terrified into quietude by being told how, at a period of scare, he nightly patrolled Epping Forest, unattended, in search of foreign spies suspected of making for military purposes surveys and sketches of this approach to London.' See [H. W. Lucy], 'Essence of Parliament: Extracted from the Diary of Toby, M.P.', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 141, 9 Aug. 1911, 101.

³⁸⁹ TNA KV 4/183, D. MacPherson, 'German Espionage in Essex', *The Graphic*, 18 July 1908.

³⁹⁰ *The Morning Post*, as its 'strike from the Blue' position, supported the idea that there were spies roaming the English countryside claiming 'According to one authority a staff tour was actually carried out by German staff officers in East Anglia last year [1907] which our Minister of War took very little interest in.' However *The Morning Post* failed to provide any actual evidence for its claim. See [H. Spenser Wilkinson], 'Invasion I', *The Morning Post*, 30 July 1908, 7; [H. Spenser Wilkinson], 'Invasion II: Guns, Torpedoes and Submarines', *The Morning Post*, 5 Aug. 1908, 5; [H. Spenser Wilkinson], 'Invasion III: Crossing the Sea', *The Morning Post*, 14 Aug. 1908, 6; [H. Spenser Wilkinson], 'Invasion IV: A Diversionary Raid', *The Morning Post*, 18 Aug. 1908, 4; [H. Spenser Wilkinson], 'Invasion V: Small Raids', *The Morning Post*, 31 Aug. 1908, 4.



This Graphic cartoon shows that despite the mocking of Lockwood's claims the belief of German spies mapping the British countryside still was held by many.

Source: TNA KV 4/183, D. MacPherson, 'German Espionage in Essex', 18 July 1908.

the advantage of help and reinforcement such as no other army on foreign soil has ever before enjoyed.’³⁹¹ Although unsubstantiated, Roberts’s claims were supported by others in the Lords including Lord Cromer, General Sir Charles Gough and Rosebery, as well as Unionist periodicals.³⁹² There were historical reasons behind the thinking that spies were employed as waiters. In the Franco-Prussian War, the Germans were believed to have used secret agents. Some of these agents were ‘mobile agents’ working in France as waiters, barbers and language teachers sending whatever military information they had acquired to a collecting agent in Lyon, who telegraphed through Geneva all information to the German armies.³⁹³ Furthermore the idea of German spies being waiters was supported William Melville, who believed German spies’ favoured occupation was being a hotel waiter.³⁹⁴ Nonetheless Roberts’s statement was absurd as the 1911 census had the German-born British population at 53,324.³⁹⁵ Moreover the idea that there were large

³⁹¹ *The Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Series, Third Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 196, 23 Nov. 1908, col. 1690-1691.

³⁹² See [St. Loe Strachey], ‘News of the Week’, *The Spectator: A Weekly Reviews of Politics, Literature, Theology and Art*, vol. 101, no. 4196 (28 Nov. 1908), 861-862, 865-66; Anonymous, *The Morning Post*, 24 Nov. 1908, 6; Anonymous, ‘House of Lords: The Danger of Invasion – Earl Roberts’s Warning’, *The Morning Post*, 24 Nov. 1908, 4; Anonymous, ‘The Danger of Invasion’, *The Times of London*, 24 Nov. 1908, no. 38812, 11; Modern Mariner, ‘National Defence: To the Editor of the Times’, *The Times of London* no. 38817, 30 Nov. 1908, 6; [Charles à Court Repington], ‘Lord Roberts and His Critics’, *The Times of London*, no. 38819, 2 Dec. 1908, 6; Charles Gough, ‘National Defence: To the Editor of the Times’, *The Times of London*, no. 38829, 19 Dec. 1908, 9; Percy D. Mandley, ‘Haldane and National Defence’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 Nov. 1908, 10; J. A. Fandom, ‘Lord Roberts and Invasion’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 Nov. 1908, 10.

³⁹³ Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 12. See also John Curry, *The Security Service 1908-1945: The Official History*, Public Record Office, Kew (London), 1999, 64; TNA KV/1, ‘Organisation of Secret Service: Note Prepared for the DMO’; TNA CAB 16/8, ‘Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: Second Meeting, Tuesday, 20th April, 1909’, Oct. 1909; [Wilkinson], ‘Invasion I’, *The Morning Post*, 30 July 1908, 7; Anonymous, ‘Germany’s Designs on England: Mr. Churchill’s Espionage Revelations: A Nine Years’ Reconnaissance’, *The Morning Post*, 22 Sept. 1914, 5.

³⁹⁴ TNA KV 1/8, ‘Memories by William Melville 1917’, 4.

³⁹⁵ J. C. Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain 1914-1918*, Garland Publishing, New York & London, 1986, 24. See also Colin Holmes, ‘Immigrants and Refugees in Britain’, eds. Julius Carlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, Peter Pulzer & J. C. B. Mohr, *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, Tübingen, 1991, 13; Stella Yarrow, ‘The Impact of Hostility on Germans in Britain, 1914-1918’, eds. Tony Kushner & Kenneth Lunn, *The Politics*

numbers of German waiters in Britain up to World War I is false. As immigration historian Panikos Panayi has calculated, Germans made up only 10 percent of waiters in Britain. They were mainly represented in restaurant work in London where they were considered superior to local British waiters. They had the advantages of having received in Germany proper training through an apprenticeship system; they spoke more than one language and were cheaper to hire than local British waiters.³⁹⁶

Such a belief about German spies was strongly maintained on the political-right and its popularity kept the production of spy/invasion literature going. An example is Le Queux's *Spies of the Kaiser*, which was serialised by *The British Weekly*. The periodical was owned by D. C. Thomson, a strong Unionist supporter like Northcliffe who sought to encourage a certain political view with *Spies of the Kaiser*. This was done when two weeks before the story's serialisation, *The British Weekly* appointed a spy editor and advertised a £10 reward for information regarding foreign spies, which had been seen to create an atmosphere that there was truth to this fear.³⁹⁷

Spies of the Kaiser itself is about two zealous amateur spy-hunters, John 'Jack' Jacox and Ray Raymond, both of whom are meant to represent Le Queux. Le Queux plays upon the

of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain, Frank Cass, London, 1990, 97.

³⁹⁶ Indeed British waiters were so poorly rated and German waiters were rated so high that at the beginning of World War I, when there was a mass departure of German and Austrian waiters (including long-term naturalised ones and even those with sons in the British Army), hotels replaced them with Italian, Swiss and Dutch waiters rather than employ British ones. Furthermore W. Harris, the chairman of Carlton Hotel Ltd. (owners of the Carlton and Ritz hotels) at the annual meeting admitted being reluctant in dismissing German waiters. See Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 25; Anonymous, 'Aliens in Hotels: Protest Against Attacks on Loyal Germans', *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, 'The Aliens and Spy Danger', *The Morning Post*, 21 Oct. 1914, 4; Anonymous, 'Alien Enemies', *The Morning Post*, 22 Oct. 1914, 7; Anonymous, 'The Alien Enemy', *The Morning Post*, 24 Oct. 1914, 10; Georgina Lee, *Home Fires Burning: The Great War Diaries of Georgina Lee*, ed. Sutton Publishing, Stroud (England), 2006, 12.

³⁹⁷ Morris, *Scaremongers*, 11.

image of detectives in popular culture as Jacox is a Sherlock Holmes-type character with his unmatched specialised knowledge enabling him to solve problems where others cannot, while Raymond is like Watson, a loyal and somewhat naive companion being taught the art of observation and detection.³⁹⁸ They work as vigilantes; both carry guns (like Watson) and foil German attempts to gain various military secrets. The plot of unrelated adventures has the standard ingredients of spies being waiters, barbers³⁹⁹ and servants, who belong to a network of 5,000 spies divided into districts mapping out the country and sabotaging infrastructure including the demolition of the Forth Bridge for preparation of an invasion.⁴⁰⁰ As well it is hinted that the struggle between Britain and Germany is a scientific one as Jacox comments about Raymond that he ‘took a keen interest in all things electrical’. Indeed, he and Raymond when spy hunting always carry electrical torches, and the German spies are often attempting to steal British military inventions.⁴⁰¹ This is an allusion to the naval race between Britain and Germany after the launching of the first Dreadnought and ongoing aeronautic developments that lead to rival countries developing their air forces and emphasis by a series of illustrations of

³⁹⁸ It should be noted that Jacox’s personality changes from a naive lawyer half way through the story to suddenly becoming a worldly spy with years in the service of British government, and Raymond is thereafter barely mentioned. This sudden change in the personality of a character was typical of a Le Queux novel. David Williamson, who was editor for *Cassell’s Magazine*, commented in 1909 that Le Queux was ‘one of most careless writers that I ever met ... He left his promised work to be redeemed at the last moment, and the result was seen in errors in grammar and spelling and in frequent confusion between names and characters.’ Indeed, in one rushed job for *Cassell’s*, he ‘had altered the hero’s name half-way through the story.’ See Stearn, ‘The Mysterious Mr Le Queux’, 8.

³⁹⁹ The idea of barbers being involved in espionage had already appeared in William Makepeace Thackeray’s incomplete novel *Denis Duval* (1864), where a barber keeps pigeons for a French spy. Furthermore in Coulson Kernahan’s *Captain Shannon* (1897), a novel about an Irish terrorist, who has his mail sent to a barber, it is commented in the narration: ‘It is [a] matter of common knowledge that many hairdressers add to their business-takings by allowing letters, on each of which a fee of one penny is charged, to be addressed to their care....’ See William Makepeace Thackeray, ‘Denis Duval’ [1864], in *The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray*, vol. 11, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1880, 308; Coulson Kernahan, *Captain Shannon*, Ward, Lock & Co., London, New York, & Melbourne, 1897, 117.

⁴⁰⁰ Nicholas Hiley, ‘Introduction’, *Spies of the Kaiser: Plotting the Downfall of England*, [1909], Frank Cass, London & Portland, 1996, xv-xvi. See also Le Queux, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 8, 18, 21, 48.

⁴⁰¹ Le Queux, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 18.

plans the Germans are seeking to steal. Typical of Le Queux, as with his *Daily Mail* interview, he cross-promotes. There are references to his previous works with Raymond mentioning that his mechanic Bennett has been researching for a book on the invasion threat by scouting 'between the Tyne and the Thames as well as certain districts south-west of London, in order to write the book upon similar lines to *1910*.'⁴⁰² This reference is not only an attempt to increase the sales of *1910* but is suggesting that what Le Queux writes is accurate.

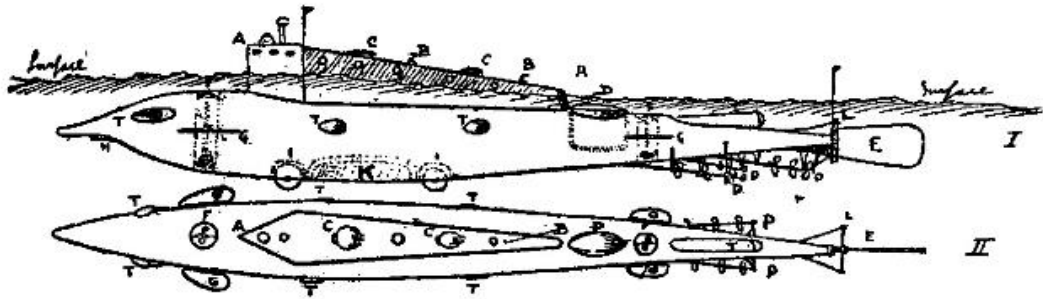
Just as *Spies of the Kaiser* was a repetition of *1910* so did it face the same type of criticism. *The Manchester Guardian* warned that while these stories were mocked in German newspapers it felt that spy/invasion stories had helped to create the atmosphere where 'even a peace-loving Government may be driven to most fateful decisions.'⁴⁰³ *The Nation* saw such writing as belonging to 'commercial jingoism'.⁴⁰⁴ *Punch* agreed with these assessments by continuing its attack on Le Queux. N. R. Martin played upon Le Queux and Maxse's obsession (Maxse's anti-Germanism had already been mocked in a poem in *Punch* [see Appendix 7]) with the possibility of invasion by depicting them leading a British invasion of Germany that destroys Berlin, Potsdam and the Kiel Canal along with the German battle fleet.⁴⁰⁵ A. A. Milne, then assistant editor of *Punch*, was particularly striking in his spoof piece on *Spies of the Kaiser*, writing that '...Mr. Le Queux is bound to confess that the story printed below bears an astonishing resemblance to his latest imaginative work *Spies of the Kaiser*—a book only just published, but

⁴⁰² Le Queux, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 160.

⁴⁰³ Anonymous, 'German View of English Scares: A Dangerous Symptom', *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 May 1909, 7.

⁴⁰⁴ Anonymous, 'The Psychology of a Scare', *The Nation*, 27 March 1909, 958.

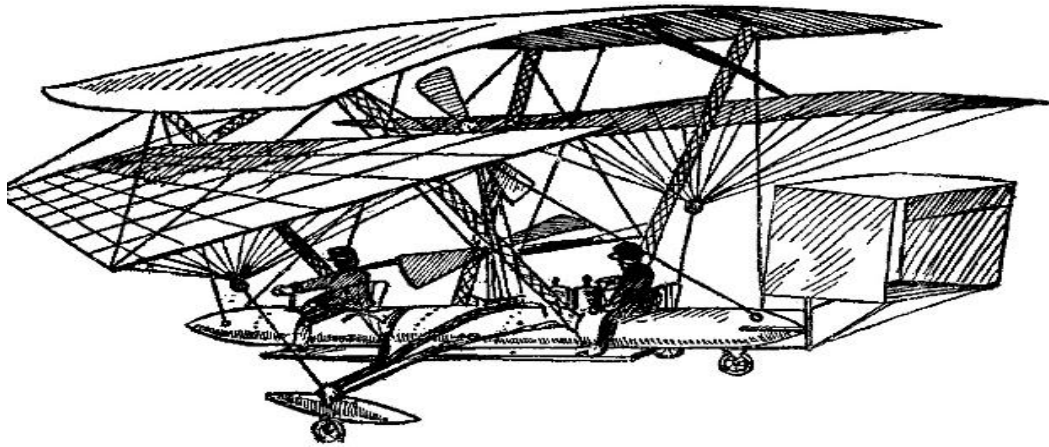
⁴⁰⁵ [N. R. Martin], 'The Invaders', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 136, 17 March 1909, 187-188.



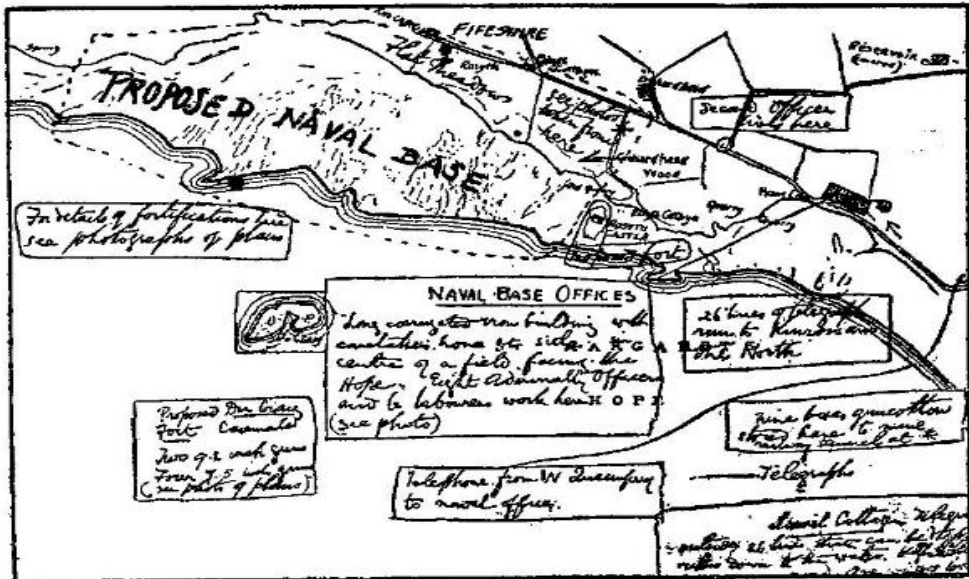
LEON KARFF'S ROUGH DRAWING OF THE NEW BRITISH SUBMARINE.

The letters refer to the notes which were found, and which ran as follows: AA, Conning Tower; BB, Telephone Buoys; CC, Hatchways; D, Lifeboat (detachable); E, Rudder; FF, Wells with Horizontal Propellers; GG, Planes; H, Hatch from Diving Chamber; I, Wheels in Recesses; K, Detachable Safety Weight in Recess; L, Tiller; TTTT, Torpedo Tubes; PPPP, Propellers.

I. Side View (in awash position). II. Horizontal position (from above). Scale, 1/4 inch to 12 feet.



THE NEW BRITISH ARMY AEROPLANE: ROUGH SKETCH DRAWN BY LIEUT. KARL STRAUS OF THE GERMAN SECRET SERVICE.



PORTION OF MAP OF NEW NAVAL BASE AT ROSYTH DISCOVERED IN POSSESSION OF A SPY.

The notes, here translated from German, were written on the British Ordnance Map.

These illustrations in *Spies of the Kaiser* are an allusion to the naval race between Britain and Germany after the launching of the first Dreadnought and ongoing aeronautic developments that lead to rival countries developing their air forces. Source: Le Queux, *Spies of the Kaiser*.

written in the days of his hot and more generate youth, many weeks ago.’⁴⁰⁶ Milne, using Le Queux’s own words, basically outlines one of the chapters from the novel with the claim that a barber named James MacDonald is a German spy. The proof given (apart from the spy being a barber) is that a letter ordering barber supplies is actually a coded message. However, when this code is broken it is not clear in the text that it was ever authentic because, as Milne suggests, Le Queux purely makes these things up in order to cause a sensation as a means to draw attention to himself and his stories, thus making him a fraud.⁴⁰⁷ This was further suggested the following year in a *Punch* cartoon by Lewis Baumer entitled ‘Why Read at all?’ The cartoon shows a mysterious woman in a London club stealing a crown from a monarch’s head. As a result, war is threatened, when the monarch wrongly accuses another monarch of stealing it. But Le Queux comes to the rescue in disguise (copying Holmes) as a blind man and to save the day tracks down the crown at a pawn shop run by a Jew, thus becoming friends of both monarchs.⁴⁰⁸ The cartoon by Baumer illustrates the various clichés and claims Le Queux (and others) used and made in his novels. Also the sign on the saloon bar’s window saying sausage and mash hints Le Queux’s work is nothing but cheap entertainment, a pale imitation of the Sherlock Holmes stories.⁴⁰⁹

⁴⁰⁶ A. A. M. [A. A. Milne], ‘The Secret of the Army Aeroplane’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 136, 26 May 1909, 366.

⁴⁰⁷ In 1913 A. A. Milne again mocked another Le Queux book called *Mysteries* that has a character based on himself suggesting he is the centre of international intrigue. See A. A. M. [A. A. Milne], ‘William’s Secret’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 144, 16 April 1913, 300.

⁴⁰⁸ Lewis Baumer, ‘Why Read at all?: For Busy Men – The World’s Greatest Authors Taken in at Glance – VI – Mr. William Le Queux’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 138, 2 March 1910, 151.

⁴⁰⁹ For an example of satirising Le Queux’s self publicity and vanity as well as other authors in *Punch*. See A. A. M. [A. A. Milne], ‘The Invader’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 141, 20 Sept. 1911, 372; [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], ‘Insurrection in Stroke Newington: Prompt Action of Novelists’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 133, 8 July. 1907, 34-35; [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], ‘In Search of a King’, *Punch*, vol. 135, 21 Oct. 1908, 297; [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], ‘Piffle About Penmen’, *Punch*, vol. 139, 24 Aug. 1910, 141; [N. R. Martin], ‘Our Authors in Politics’, *Punch*, vol. 139, 21 Dec. 1910, 442; [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], ‘Stars in Collision’, *Punch*, vol. 141, 20 Sept. 1911, 204-205; [C. L. Graves & E.

WHY READ AT ALL?

FOR BUSY MEN.—THE WORLD'S GREATEST AUTHORS TAKEN IN AT A GLANCE.—VI.—Mr. WILLIAM LE QUEUX.



IN THE SMOKE-ROOM AT CLARIDGE'S.



THE ACCUSATION.



THE PRAGE OF EUROPE IN JEOPARDY—DIPLOMACY TO THE RESCUE.



THE SLEUTH-HOUND AGAIN.



A MONARCH'S JOY (THRONE-ROOM AT CLARIDGE'S).



THE WAR-CLOUD DISPERSED.

'Why Read at all?'

Source: Baumer, *Punch*, vol. 138, 1910, 151.

As much as Le Queux created a reaction to his tale, the play *An Englishman's Home* by Major Guy du Maurier, which opened at Wyndham's Theatre on 27 January 1909, created a great stir. The play was about the response of a family to a foreign invasion from 'the Empire of the North', which is Germany, with the people known as Nearlanders,⁴¹⁰ who looked like Cossacks because there were no German uniforms in London prop inventories.⁴¹¹ The play's central message was that the British population has become unfit as a result of complacency because Britain's dominance in the world has led to inefficiency throughout British society. In the Brown household, which the play is centred on, all the men are overweight or unfit which is symbolic of this concern.⁴¹² Mr Brown and his eldest son, Geoffrey, are prime examples. They are full of false patriotism, being more interested in sport (watching not participating) than in defence matters and in fact, Geoffrey is critical of Lord Roberts. They are completely unaware (Geoffrey is reading the sporting pages) that an invasion has occurred until troops enter the house. This scene is a satire of inability to see what is in front of them, it shows comment on the blindness of those who believe in the 'Blue Water' school and the British public in rejecting compulsory military training. This mentality is shown by Mr Brown when he earlier says '...The British Fleet, we are assured, is strong enough to render invasion impossible, except from a raid; and if the raiders—well, er—raided, they

V. Lucas], 'Millennial Meetings', *Punch*, vol. 144, 15 Jan. 1913, 41; [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], 'The Reviews For—', *Punch*, vol. 153, 24 Aug. 1917, 122.

⁴¹⁰ This fictional name likely came from the mythical Niderland that appears in the famous German epic poem *The Nibelungenlied*, which is the birthplace of Siegfried, the victor over the Saxons. See *The Nibelungenlied* (c.1200), trans. A. T. Hatto, Penguin books, Harmondsworth, Baltimore, & Ringwood, 1970, 20.

⁴¹¹ The reason for the use of a fictional empire was that the Lord Chamberlain's Office (responsible for censorship in the theatre) was sensitive to the portrayal of foreign European armies in a negative light. See Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 137; Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, 45.

⁴¹² The British military thought Essex as a likely place for an invading army to land. In 1904 the British military conducted a mock invasion along the Essex coastline.

would, I am sure, meet with a most uncomfortable reception.’⁴¹³ The play echoes *1910*, with guerrilla war occurring at the end of the play; Geoffrey takes up arms to defend the house, Paul, the would-be son-in-law, fights as a volunteer and Mr Brown is executed by the invading commander after killing a Nearlander. This final act is the positive message. Just as in *1910*, an Englishman will in the end defend his home (country) when it is violated, even if that means death. However, if the British public and politicians do not take heed of the warning to improve and expand the army then they will share Mr Brown’s fate, though this message was weakened as the play’s ending was changed with a last minute British victory.⁴¹⁴ The major difference between *1910* and *An Englishman’s Home* is that the Germans in *1910* are cruel, in contrast to the Nearlanders, who are very polite and even apologetic about Mr Brown’s execution. But the politeness of the invaders was not what drew attention to the play; rather it was its political message. Haldane and Lord Roberts sent Gerald du Maurier congratulatory letters for alerting Britain to the invasion danger.⁴¹⁵ *The Daily Mail* enthusiastically publicised the play with a series of articles by Colonel Lonsdale Hale, a frequent commentator on the military in journals, who believed a real life invasion would be successful, commenting that ‘There would be nothing but mobs of unarmed young men and hopeless old men to confront Prince Yoland’s [commander of the Nearlander army] perfectly organised men.’⁴¹⁶ The newspaper also produced a condensed version of the play complete with photographs of

⁴¹³ A Patriot [Guy Du Maurier], *An Englishman’s Home*, Edward Arnold, London, 1909, 26.

⁴¹⁴ The playwright’s brother Gerald du Maurier (the play’s producer) and playwright J. M. Barrie added this ending, which was criticised. One critical of this new ending was George Llewelyn Davies, a nephew of the du Mauriers, who wrote to his mother, Sylvia, ‘Of course the ending does rather spoil the lesson—it makes one think that even if the Germans did have a high old time for a bit, England would win in the end all right. I suppose it had to be put in to please the average audience.’ Quoted in Andrew Birkin, *J. M. Barrie and the Lost Boys*, London, Constable, 1979, 69.

⁴¹⁵ Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 139.

⁴¹⁶ Quoted in Moon, *Invasion of the United Kingdom*, 399-400.

various scenes in the hope it would ‘revolutionise the national attitude to defence.’ *The National Review* praised the play and predicted the NSL and the Territorial Army would receive recruits. A *Times*’s review praised the play as being a ‘...startling testimony to the hold which the great National Defence question has taken of the thoughts and imagination of the English public.’ But its support was qualified as ‘The thing itself is crude enough, and indeed somewhat amateurishly done; what is significant is that the thing should have been done at all.’⁴¹⁷ Another *Times* article was more critical, calling the finale ‘an illogical interpolation’ and finding the play ‘full of exaggeration’, nonetheless *The Times* again supported the overall political message.⁴¹⁸ As did *The Athenaeum*, seeing the play’s aim was to arouse the audience’s sense of patriotism and support for conscription as ‘It would be a poor Englishman who was not impressed by the spectacle that it presents of a home in this island of ours overrun ... He would be a strange patriot who did not weigh the moral it enforces as to the danger of leaving the protection of the nation to volunteer effort, or failed to give at least a hearing to what seems like a plea for universal service.’⁴¹⁹

The Spectator, though it had a ‘distrust’ of and detested sensationalism, nevertheless it was supportive of the play for showing ‘the British people are living in a fool’s paradise....’⁴²⁰ However, *The Westminster Gazette*, representing radical opinion, was unimpressed, writing that ‘it is a chief part of the duty of the present Government to stand

⁴¹⁷ Anonymous, ‘Wyndham’s Theatre “An Englishman’s Home”’: A Play in Three Acts, (Reviews) by a Patriot’, *The Times of London*, no. 38868, 28 Jan. 1909, 10.

⁴¹⁸ Anonymous, ‘The Theatre and the Nation’, *The Times of London*, no. 38874, 4 Feb. 1909, 9.

⁴¹⁹ Anonymous, ‘Drama: The Week: Wyndham’s – An Englishman’s Home: A Play in Three Acts by a Patriot’, *The Athenaeum: A Journal of Politics, Literature, Science and the Arts*, vol. 114, no. 4241 (6 Feb. 1909), 175.

⁴²⁰ Anonymous, ‘Topics of the Day: “The Liberty not to Fight for One’s Country”’, *The Spectator: A Weekly Reviews of Politics, Literature, Theology and Art*, vol. 102, no. 4206 (6 Feb. 1903), 208.

firm against this delusion and the military agitation which is behind it ... It is, of course, impossible to satisfy fanatics, either naval or military but no possible excuse must be given to ordinary sober-judging people for joining the militarists in a panic about the Navy.’⁴²¹ Nonetheless, the government, which *The Westminster Gazette* supported, actually used *An Englishman’s Home* as a means of propaganda. This included recruitment officers for the London Territorials being stationed in booths outside theatres and music-halls during the play’s production.⁴²² Lord Esher, a Liberal supporter and the Chairman of the London Territorials, summoned up the feeling of many in the government when he wrote that ‘the ferment [created by the play] will do good [in recruiting volunteers]’.⁴²³ Esher was proved partly correct when Haldane, in presenting Army Estimates on 4 March 1909, recognised the publicity generated by the play and ‘modern methods of recruiting’ had produced ‘a great boom’ in the Territorial Army as between 1 January and 28 February 1909 30,000 recruits had joined the Territorials, and London, which had been the lowest before the play, became the highest area for recruitment.⁴²⁴ Despite these numbers, recruitment to the Territorials only achieved sixty percent of its target.⁴²⁵ Consequently the government was so sensitive to the play’s potential for recruitment that when the director of the Apollo Theatre, a revue theatre, proposed a skit upon it, he received a telegram from the Lord Chamberlain’s Office informing him that the skit would not be allowed.⁴²⁶ Moreover there were political critics

⁴²¹ Quoted in Moon, *The Invasion of the United Kingdom*, 402.

⁴²² [Charles à Court Repington] ‘The London Territorials’, *The Times of London*, no. 38883, 15 Feb. 1909, 6.

⁴²³ Esher, *Journals and Letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher*, vol. 2, 369.

⁴²⁴ *The Parliamentary Debates* (The House of Commons), Fourth Series, Fourth Session of the Twentieth-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 1, 4 March 1909, col. 1596.

⁴²⁵ Peter Fraser, *Lord Esher: A Political Biography*, Hart-Davies, MacGibbon, London, 1973, 204.

⁴²⁶ Hynes, *The Edwardian Turn of Mind*, 45. See also Anonymous, ‘The Follies’ Burlesque of “An Englishman’s Home”’, *The Times of London*, no. 38892, 25 Feb. 1909, 13.

of the government's use of the play. Arnold-Forster, the former Unionist War Secretary, a critic of Haldane's army reforms and a fiction and non-fiction writer on army and naval matters,⁴²⁷ condemned the use of the play as the 'dragging in of drama' to an important political issue.⁴²⁸ Liberals with a traditional dislike of spending on the armed forces were uneasy about the play, with Lieutenant-Colonel Sir George Scott Robertson, war hero and Liberal MP for Bradford Central, saying 'I also strongly disagree with those methods of enlistment which have lately come into vogue, especially the play ... "The Englishman's Home"... It is simply some emotion stirred up by the circumstances of the moment. It is a spurious enthusiasm—in short, the very thing we do not want.'⁴²⁹

The political attention led not only to crowds attending the play but also to a series of other plays such as *Wake Up England*, *Nation in Arms*, *A Plea for the Navy* and Charles M. Doughty's *The Cliffs*. As well there were novels and short stories published that used similar premises hoping to emulate the play's success by expressing a similar political message.⁴³⁰ An example was Lloyd Williams's *The Great Raid* (1909), written and published in *Black and White* (which had two weeks earlier on its front cover had illustration of the confrontation between Mr. Brown and Prince Yoland) almost as an immediate response to *An Englishman's Home*. This is evident with the similarities to the play including that the British population is not trained in weapons, opposes military

⁴²⁷ See Hugh Oakley Arnold-Forster, 'In a Conning Tower: How I Took *HMS Majestic* into Action [1888]', ed. I. F. Clarke, *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914: Fictions of Future Warfare and of Battles Still-to-come*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1995, 162-192.

⁴²⁸ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 1, 4 March 1909, col. 1629.

⁴²⁹ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fourth Series, Fourth Session of the Twenty-Eighth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 2, 6 March 1909, cols 105-106.

⁴³⁰ Charles M. Doughty, *The Cliffs*, Duckworth, London, 1909, passim. See also Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 50; J. C. Squarie, 'A Book of the Day: The Invasion of England', *The Daily News and Leader*, 17 Feb. 1915, 8; Charles M. Doughty, *The Clouds*, Duckworth, London, 1912, passim.

BLACK & WHITE

940 [Reprinted at the C.F.O.]
LXXVII as a Reprint

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1909

PRICE SIXPENCE
By Post 4/6.



Drawn by A. C. Michael

"AN ENGLISHMAN'S HOME"
A scene from the third Act of the new play, produced at Wyndham's Theatre by Mr. Frank Curzon. It tells the story of an Essex village which is captured by an invading army, and brings home our unpreparedness to resist invasion with painful poignancy. In this sketch Mr. Charles Rock is seen as Mr. Brown, the Englishman, and Mr. Edmund Maurice as Prince Yoland of the Empress of the North's Army.
Le Foyer d'un anglais. Scène du troisième acte de la nouvelle pièce représentée au Théâtre Wyndham par M. Frank Curzon. C'est le récit de la prise d'un village du Comté d'Essex par une armée d'invasion, et tend à démontrer, avec un réalisme douloureux, le manque de préparations de l'Angleterre pour résister à une invasion. M. Charles Rock joue le rôle de M. Brown, et M. Edmund Maurice celui de Prince Yoland, de l'Armée Impériale du Nord.

A front cover of *Black and White* with a scene from 'An Englishman's Home'. This shows the impact of the play on political and military debate at the time.

Source: A. C. Michael, 'An Englishman's Home', *Black and White: A Weekly Illustrated Record and Review*, vol. 27, no. 940 (6 Feb. 1909).

training, and falsely believes the Royal Navy will protect Britain thus these circumstances allow the country to be attacked, which as in *1910* is not a successful attack but badly damages Britain.⁴³¹ In the play the people are more interested in sport than military matters as the lead British character admits ‘he knew the skippers of the Cambridge [University] Cricket teams for the past ten years, [but] he had never taken any interest in matters military.’⁴³² However the story’s views about sport are is not necessarily all negative as the only Englishmen that are able to fight back are those who actively play cricket and football, but these people are portrayed as being the exception to the rule.⁴³³ What’s more it is telling that the serialisation of *The Great Raid* was accompanied with an illustration of an upturned double-decker bus advertising *An Englishman’s Home* to signal to the reader that both stories share the same message and concerns.⁴³⁴

Despite the serious responses towards *An Englishman’s Home* audiences soon started to ridicule it. One witness of the 26 March 1909 performance complained there was continuous laughter during the play’s conclusion.⁴³⁵ The mockery did not stop with the audience. Despite the efforts of the Lord Chamberlain’s Office, there was a run of parodies.⁴³⁶ The poet Hilaire Belloc, then Liberal MP for South Salford, observed one

⁴³¹ Lloyd Williams, ‘The Great Raid: Britain’s Peril’ [1909], ed. I. F. Clarke, *British Future Fiction: Disasters-to-Come*, vol. 7, Pickering & Chatto, London, 2001, 329.

⁴³² Williams, ‘The Great Raid’, 345.

⁴³³ Williams, ‘The Great Raid’, 421.

⁴³⁴ Lloyd Williams, ‘The Great Raid: Britain’s Peril’, *Black and White: A Weekly Illustrated Record and Review*, vol. 37, no. 942 (20 Feb. 1909), 273.

⁴³⁵ Anonymous, ‘Character Sketch: “The Lords of the King’s Navee”’, *Review of Reviews*, April 1909, 318-319.

⁴³⁶ The reason was the theatrical ban was not always enforced on a work performed in a music hall, as sketches, even though they were thought to be in bad taste, were not considered worthy of attention. A 1909 Home Office memo summarised the Lord Chamberlain’s assessment of music-hall sketches: ‘They injure the theatre both financially and artistically. They withdraw from the theatres many who are tempted



This illustration from *The Great Raid* with upturned double-decker bus advertising *An Englishman's Home* signalled to the reader that both stories share the same message and concerns.

Source: Christopher Clarke, illustration from 'The Great Raid: Britain's Peril', *Black and White: A Weekly Illustrated Record and Review*, vol. 37, no. 942 (20 Feb. 1909), 273.

sketch, *England Invaded – As It Would Be And As It Ought To Be*, had the first scene featuring the sudden appearance of a foreign army on a golf course, followed by ‘the ruthless execution of the innocent golfers, the rough handling of women by barbarous officers got up to represent militarists who are one half Cossack and one half Imperial Bodyguards.’ The second version has harmless golfers changed into Territorial uniforms and extracting rifles from their golf-bags and they end up defeating the invaders.⁴³⁷ Another skit had a Lord Roberts-type character drilling the cooks, gardeners, and footmen on his estate with aid of bugle calls. These men take flight in the face of a German officer wielding his sword, who is in turn seized by a squad of camouflaged Boy Scouts.⁴³⁸ Both skits mock the idea that ordinary men given rifle training could seriously take on highly trained soldiers.

P. G. Wodehouse also mocked *An Englishman’s Home*. Wodehouse, then a *Punch* writer, produced the parody novella *The Swoop!; or How Clarence Saved England* (1909). He employed the scenario of the Brown household by creating the Clugwater family where ‘Not a single member of that family was practising with the rifle, or drilling, or learning to make bandages.’⁴³⁹ The Clugwaters, like the Browns, are more interested in sport and the mundane; they are unaware of important events happening in the outside world. It is

by the freedom, the smoking, the promenades and the drinks in the auditorium of the music hall, advantages the theatre cannot have ... And they tend to produce a degraded taste for hurried and frivolous and brainless drama.’ See Lois Rutherford, “‘Harmless Nonsense’: The Comic Sketch and the Development of Music-Hall Entertainment”, ed. J. S. Bratton, *Music Hall: Performance and Style*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes & Philadelphia, 1986, 131, 144. See also Mackenzie, *Propaganda and Empire*, 42.

⁴³⁷ F. [Hilaire Belloc], ‘The Critical Attitude: Blue Water and the Thin Red Line’, *The English Review*, vol. 2, no. 5 (April 1909), 142.

⁴³⁸ Belloc, ‘The Critical Attitude’, 143.

⁴³⁹ P. G. Wodehouse, ‘The Swoop!; or How Clarence Saved England: A Tale of the Great Invasion’ [1909], ed. David A. Jasen, *The Swoop! And Other Stories by P. G. Wodehouse*, Seabury Press, New York, 1979, 4.

only Clarence, the fourteen year-old son and secret leader of the Boy Scouts, who realises the situation and organises the repulsion of the invaders. Wodehouse satirises all the invasion stories by using all the various foreigners that were feared at the time, with nine different armies invading including German, Russian, French, Chinese and Monaco armies⁴⁴⁰ seemingly unnoticed, which is a comment that this scenario as often depicted in invasion stories is plainly ridiculous.⁴⁴¹ Wodehouse takes further aim at invasion stories, especially *1910* and *The Death Trap*, when he has a junior German officer giving, as the reason for wanting to bombard London, “...it’s always done [in novels].”⁴⁴²

Another subject of Wodehouse’s ridicule is the Boy Scouts. The Scouts, despite Baden-Powell’s denials, had the outward appearance of a military organisation with its uniforms, hierarchy of ranks, salutes, and awards with a strong emphasis on training boys to live off the land, and over half the Boy Scout commissioners were military officers, with many of them supporters of the NSL.⁴⁴³ This militarisation is suggested by Wodehouse via Clarence’s stalking of the family cat and his secret plans against an invasion. Furthermore the Scouts are portrayed as being an army of Kims that have been training for ‘the day’ they would be called upon to save Britain and the Empire. It is no accident that

⁴⁴⁰ The use of the army of Monaco is a reference to M. P. Shiel’s *Yellow Danger* (1896), where this army is anticipant in a European war against Britain that is manufactured by a Chinese conspiracy to take over the world with the Japanese. See Shiel, *The Yellow Danger*, 140.

⁴⁴¹ The use of an invading Chinese army is a direct reference to the popular idea of ‘the Yellow Menace’ that centred on the notion East Asian countries especially China and Japan with their massive population were seeking to take over the world. See Shiel, *The Yellow Danger*, passim; M. P. Shiel, *The Yellow Wave*, Ward Lock & Co., London, 1905, passim; M. P. Shiel, *The Yellow Peril* [The Dragon, 1913], Victor Gollancz, London, 1929, passim; Sax Rohmer, *The Mystery of Dr. Fu Manchu* [1913], Dent, Melbourne & London, 1985, passim; Sax Rohmer, *The Devil Doctor: Hitherto Unpublished Adventures in the Career of the Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu*, Methuen, London, 1916, passim; Sax Rohmer, *Si-Fan Mysteries; Being a new phase in the Activities of Fu-Manchu, the Devil Doctor*, Methuen, London, 1917, London, passim; H. G. Wells, *The War in the Air: And Particularly how Mr. Bert Smallways Fared While it Lasted*, George Bell & Sons, London & Bombay, 1908, passim.

⁴⁴² Wodehouse, ‘The Swoop! Or How Clarence Saved England’, 17.

⁴⁴³ Eby, *The Road to Armageddon*, 69.

Wodehouse portrayed the Scouts in this manner as Baden-Powell had recommended *Kim* as reading material for Scouts.⁴⁴⁴ Despite Wodehouse and the skits that mocked the idea of Boy Scouts being made into miniature soldiers, during World War I they appeared in literature such as *Munition Mary* helping to capture German spies. Indeed, Baden-Powell encouraged the idea that Boys Scouts could fulfil war work such as coast guarding as means of doing their patriotic duty and Joseph Leysin, a Belgian boy scout, was celebrated at the beginning of the war for tracking down German spies.⁴⁴⁵

A more sober note of criticism came from Charles Lowe, a former Berlin correspondent for *The Times*,⁴⁴⁶ who in the *Liberal Contemporary Review* had pointed out numerous errors, inconsistencies, and inaccuracies by scaremongers.⁴⁴⁷ These included that even if German officers were spying in Britain this was nothing new as British officers had taken opportunity to act as spies.⁴⁴⁸ Secondly scaremongers relied on hearsay or failed to check

⁴⁴⁴ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 30.

⁴⁴⁵ See Robert Baden-Powell, 'Men of the Second Line: An Opportunity to Serve Your Country', *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 Oct. 1914, 4; Anonymous, 'Boy Scout Knighted: Daring Work Tracking Down Spies', *The Daily Chronicle*, 26 Dec. 1914, 5.

⁴⁴⁶ Lowe was also a columnist for the sensationalist *The People* and contributor to *The Great War of 189-* (1893), a novel that discussed how a future European general war could be conducted. See P. Colomb, J. F. Maurice, F. N. Maude, Archibald Forbes, Charles Lowe, D. Christie Murray & F. Scudamore, *The Great War of 189-: A Forecast*, William Heineman, London, 1893, 26-44, 52-61, 71-74, 76-86; Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press 1422-1992*, 381.

⁴⁴⁷ This includes listing absurd number of spies or German reservist numbers in Britain mentioned by scaremongers. The listing included Major A. J. Reed, Perthshire secretary of the Unionist Primrose League and friend of Le Queux, who had 6,500 spies (5,000 in England and 1,500 in Scotland); Sir John Barlow, Liberal MP for Frome, had 66,000 German reservists; Lord Roberts's 80,000 German reservists; and Colonel Paddy Driscoll, future leader of the Legion of Frontiersmen, claim of 350,000 German reservists in Britain. See Lowe, 'About German Spies', *The Contemporary Review*, vol. 97 (Jan. 1909), 49-50. See also Anonymous, 'With Eyes and Ears in Germany: The Transformation of Germany's North Sea Territories into a vast Naval Base: The Manufacture at Landing Stages at Emden By Anglo-German', *Pall Mall Gazette*, Oct. 27 1909, 5.

⁴⁴⁸ See Alexander Bruce Tulloch, *Forty Years' Service*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1903, 208-219, 242-259. See also H. C. Woods, *Washed by Four Seas: An English Officer's Travels in the Near East*, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1908, passim; Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 32; Alfred Gollin, *No Longer an Island: Britain and the Wright Brothers, 1902-1909*, Heinemann, London, 1984, 461; Keith Jeffrey, *The Secret History of MI6: 1909-1949*, London & New York, Penguin Press, 2010, 5-6. However, not all British military officers claimed to have been a spy

claims: an example is an article in the Unionist *Pall Mall Gazette* on 27 October 1909, by a person claiming to be an ‘Anglo-German’, who had visited a relative in the German War Department and saw an invasion plan. Lowe pointed out that the claim was bogus as there is no German War Department as ‘military affairs are divided between the Prussian Ministry of War, which controls the internal administration of the German Army ... and the Grand General Staff’ and that both bodies are located in different buildings a mile apart. He concluded that scaremongers with their absurd claims were able to flourish because popular education had meant ‘sensational writers are readily believed by the masses who contribute to the formation of public opinion, which in turn tends to influence our rulers and our relations with other countries....’⁴⁴⁹

Lowe and others’ debunking and mockery had little effect in preventing a political response to fears about the possibility of invasion and that a German network of spies existed. A direct effect was the setting up of sub-committees of the Committee of Imperial Defence (CID) that eventually led to the creation of the intelligence services.

The first was set up in November 1907 to consider the threat of invasion.⁴⁵⁰ The sub-committee’s membership included senior politicians and an array of military chiefs, who

when overseas. Field-Marshal Sir William ‘Wully’ Robertson in his autobiography denied acting as a spy before World War I despite being detained by German authorities for being in the vicinity of a German fort. Robertson asserted he was merely a tourist on holiday with his wife. See William Robertson, *From Private to Field-Marshal*, Constable, London, 1921, 143.

⁴⁴⁹ Lowe, ‘About German Spies’, 45. See also Anonymous, ‘With Eyes and Ears in Germany: The Transformation of Germany’s North Sea Territories into a vast Naval Base: The Manufacture at Landing Stages at Emden By Anglo-German’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, Oct. 27 1909, 5.

⁴⁵⁰ There had been an earlier sub-committee under the chairmanship of Lord Esher in 1903, a Liberal supporter with friends in both major parties including Arthur Balfour the then Unionist Prime Minister and a campaigner for a powerful Royal Navy and the ‘Blue Water’ school, to investigate reforms to the army in the face of the threat of invasion. This sub-committee had dismissed the threat of invasion by upholding the ‘Blue Water’ school.

met sixteen times between November 1907 and July 1908, completing their report on 22 October 1908.⁴⁵¹ Though the statements about spies and invasion theories made during the sub-committee's life were sincere, nearly all were debunked. One of the chief witnesses whose evidence in the main was dubious and seen as such was Colonel J. E. Edmonds, a firm believer Germany was preparing for war with Britain.⁴⁵² Most of his information on German spies that was supplied as evidence depended on two dubious friends. One of these friends was Fred T. Jane, an amateur naval expert, science-fiction novelist and illustrator, known for playing practical jokes, and another was Le Queux.⁴⁵³ Though Edmonds was to a degree wary about Le Queux's information commenting that it came 'out of his [Le Queux's] imagination' but nonetheless believed it was 'based upon serious facts within his own personal knowledge'.⁴⁵⁴ Despite this, Edmonds took seriously the letters and witness reports presented by Le Queux that were presented to the sub-committee as proof of a German network of spies roaming the countryside.⁴⁵⁵ At first Edmonds and the evidence that was presented were openly ridiculed and debunked by the sub-committee, which concluded there was little threat of invasion. Nonetheless coinciding with the run of *An Englishman's Home* another CID sub-committee with this time Haldane as Chairman was formed in March 1909 to consider 'the nature and extent of foreign espionage that is at present taking place within this country and the danger to

⁴⁵¹ These politicians included H. H. Asquith, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer and future Prime Minister; Sir Edward Grey, the Foreign Secretary; Lord Crewe, the Lord President; Lord Tweedmouth, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Esher and Haldane.

⁴⁵² Later Brigadier-General Sir James Edmonds.

⁴⁵³ Le Queux was labelled by sub-committee as the 'famous author.'

⁴⁵⁴ Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 14.

⁴⁵⁵ TNA CAB 16/8, 'Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: Third Meeting, Monday, 12th July, 1909', Oct. 1909.

which it may expose us.’⁴⁵⁶ It is likely Haldane saw that Edmonds’s persistence as with *An Englishman’s Home* could be used to help in his programme of army reform to demonstrate to radical Liberal MPs the need for a strong army.

On 30 March 1909, at the first meeting of this new sub-committee, Edmonds reported an increase in the number of ‘cases of alleged German espionage’ reported to the War Office by the public. He cited there had been five cases in 1907, forty-seven in 1908 and twenty-four in the first three months of 1909. This increase of cases coincided with a rash of invasion/spy novels, newspaper reports of spy sightings, questions in Parliament and *An Englishman’s Home* suggesting these events did to some sort of degree influence people’s outlook.⁴⁵⁷ Despite this and Edmonds’s efforts (according to his unpublished memoirs) to follow Haldane’s advice to ‘lay stress on the anarchist (demolitions) motive’ and stress the ‘aggressive’ nature of German spying, not all were impressed by Edmonds.⁴⁵⁸ Esher in his journal described Edmonds as ‘a silly witness from the WO. Spy catchers get espionage on the brain. Rats are everywhere—behind every arras.’⁴⁵⁹ It is debateable how far Haldane believed there was an actual German invasion plan but he did shift his position, perhaps under the influence of the sheer quantity of letters and witnesses, deeming there must be some truth to their allegations. Another major factor was that he (with many others) had a high regard for German efficiency and planning, thus his conclusion to the sub-committee that there was little doubt that ‘the German

⁴⁵⁶ Quoted in Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 15.

⁴⁵⁷ Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 15. See also Patrick & Baister, *William Le Queux*, 67.

⁴⁵⁸ Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 15.

⁴⁵⁹ Maurice V. Brett (ed.), *Journals and Letters of Reginald Viscount Esher*, vol. 2, Ivor Nicholson & Watson, London, 1934, 379.

General Staff is collecting information systematically in Great Britain.’⁴⁶⁰ Therefore ways needed to be found ‘to prevent them [the Germans] in time of war or strained relations from availing themselves of the information they collected, by injuring our defences, stores, or internal communications.’⁴⁶¹ He proposed that another sub-committee should meet to consider ‘how a secret service bureau could be established.’⁴⁶²

The result of this last sub-committee was the foundation of the Secret Service Bureau, which was split into two departments in the following year – the Secret Service Bureau (MI5) for internal security (including the Empire) and counter-intelligence and the Secret Intelligence Service (SIS or MI6) for intelligence gathering overseas. What may have convinced a number on the committee to agree with Haldane of the need for an intelligence service occurred a week before the third and final meeting of the sub-committee. Haldane came to believe that the War Office had received a document from overseas that had been in the possession of a German commercial traveller showing detailed plans connected with a scheme for the invasion of England.⁴⁶³ At first Haldane believed the plans were faked by the French to spur on Anglo-French staff talks in case of a war with Germany. However, Major-General John Ewart, the Director of Military

⁴⁶⁰ TNA CAB 16/8, ‘Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: Second Meeting, Tuesday, 20th April, 1909’, Oct. 1909.

⁴⁶¹ TNA CAB 16/8, ‘Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: Second Meeting, Tuesday, 20th April, 1909’, Oct. 1909.

⁴⁶² Those on the Sub-Committee included Sir Charles Hardinge, the Permanent Under-Secretary (PUS) at the Foreign Office; Sir George Murray, the PUS at the Treasury; Sir Edward Henry, Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police; Major-General (later Lieutenant-General Sir) John Ewart, the Director of Military Operations; and Rear Admiral A. E. Bethell, the Director of Naval Intelligence. See TNA CAB 16/8, ‘Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: Second Meeting, Tuesday, 20th April, 1909’, Oct. 1909.

⁴⁶³ TNA CAB 16/8, ‘Report and Proceedings of a Sub-Committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence Appointed by the Prime Minister to Consider the Question of Foreign Espionage in the United Kingdom: Third Meeting, Monday, 12th July, 1909’, Oct. 1909.

Operations and General Sir Archibald Murray, Director of Military Training, convinced him that the plans were genuine. In fact, the plans were fakes created by a group of German-Americans, who set up a bogus spy-bureau in Belgium (where espionage was not illegal).⁴⁶⁴ They had gone around Britain selling the plans to those who believed that such invasion plans existed. Buyers included Le Queux and Baden-Powell; both when they wrote their memoirs, were still convinced the plans were authentic. Baden-Powell had bought his copy in 1908, resulting in him giving a series of lectures based on them to army officers, reporting that 90,000 German soldiers were to invade industrial England after the Straits of Dover were blocked by mines and submarines.⁴⁶⁵ He repeated this in his embellished memoirs *My Adventures as a Spy* (1915): ‘The spies stationed in England were to cut all telephone and telegraph wires, and, where possible, to blow down [sic] important bridges and tunnels, and thus to interrupt communications and create confusion.’⁴⁶⁶ Again, such a statement was a piece of repetition of what had been written and said elsewhere such as in *1910*.

While spy literature⁴⁶⁷ was still produced after 1909 there was a decline in public and political attention. This was due to other attention-grabbing political debates and events that included the constitutional crisis of 1910, Irish Home Rule, women’s suffrage and industrial conflicts, with marked efforts to improve Anglo-German relations.⁴⁶⁸ Despite

⁴⁶⁴ Broghardt, 156.

⁴⁶⁵ Morris, *Scaremongers*, 156.

⁴⁶⁶ Baden-Powell, *My Adventures as a Spy*, 24-25.

⁴⁶⁷ See Hilaire Belloc, *Warfare in England* [1912], Williams & Norgate, London, n.d., passim; Max Beerbohm, ‘P.C., X, 36 R*d**rd K*pl*ing’, *A Christmas Garland*, William Heinemann, London, 1912, 19; Hilaire Belloc, *Warfare in England* [1912], Williams & Norgate, London, n.d., passim. Ric, ‘In the Shadow of Big Ben’, *The Isis*, 6 Dec. 1913, 4; W. Douglas Newton, *War*, Methuen, London, 1914, passim.

⁴⁶⁸ As Anglo-German relationships improved Northcliffe shifted his public position for commercial reasons as he was attempting to found a Berlin version of *The Daily Mail*. This needed German government permission, and he commissioned a series of articles on Germany that praised their efficiency. Northcliffe

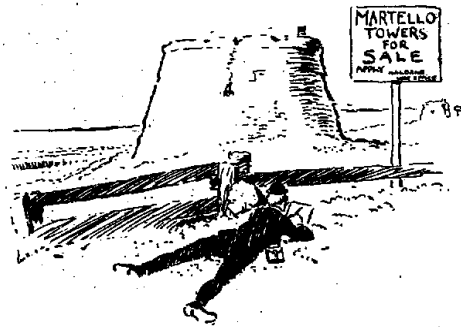
this there remained a strong anti-German sentiment as expressed by historian J. A. Cramb's *Germany and England* series of lectures in 1913 and Conan Doyle's March 1914 *Fortnightly Review* essay.⁴⁶⁹ What's more the effects of debates and the invasion/spy literature with other events still had an influence on official outlooks with more of a willingness to introduce measures to strengthen the services. This was not due to incidents such as the capture of Lieutenant Siegfried Helm for espionage at Portsmouth.⁴⁷⁰ But more significantly there was the Sidney Street Siege in December 1910. The siege occurred when a gang of Latvian revolutionaries were disturbed by a police patrol while attempting to rob a jewellery shop. In the course of a long chase the gang became besieged in a house in Stepney, London, which ended with the police raiding the house. Before the siege, Colonel Vernon Kell, Director-General of MI5, had recommended 'the registration of aliens which was enforced by Act of Parliament in

also paid Ralph Lane (Norman Angell) a famous liberal critic of jingoism, to get German interviews to improve *The Daily Mail's* image in Germany by providing a positive impression of Germany in the newspaper. See Anonymous, *Our German Cousins*, *Daily Mail*, n.d. [1912], 19, 33-34, 105, 116, 133, 146; Dominik Geppert, "'The foul-visaged anti-Christ of journalism'?", 381-382, 386-387; Norman Angell, *The Great Illusion: A Study of the Relation of Military Power in Nations to their Economic and Social Advantage* [1911], William Heinemann, London, 1913, passim; Norman Angell, 'Norman Angellism and the War', *The Daily Mail*, 1 Aug. 1914, 4.

⁴⁶⁹ Arthur Conan Doyle had been a member of the Anglo-German Friendship Society but reading Bernhardt's *Germany and the Next War* in the original German convinced him that Germany was intent on having a war with Britain. See Cramb, *Germany and England*, passim; Arthur Conan Doyle, 'The World-War Conspiracy: Germany's Long-Drawn Plot Against Us', *The Daily Chronicle*, 27 Aug. 1914, 4.

⁴⁷⁰ Helm was equally as amateurish as Trench and Brandon. He had meticulously noted in his pocket book the details of his bedroom furniture and precise distance between the chest of drawers and his bed but failed to be accurate in his drawings of forts and military installations. His drawings had been conducted by looking through the public telescope on Portsmouth's south parade. *Punch* shortly afterwards also published a cartoon depicting a German spy as a bumbling fool taking sketches of ruined fortifications, on a beach spying on swimmers, thinking a sand castle is a real naval fort and similar to the earlier Roberts-like character with his employees, the German spy ends up conducting drill exercise with German waiters. See A. T. Smith, 'A Leaf from a German Officer's Diary', *Punch*; or *The London Charivari*, vol. 139, 12 Oct. 1910, 259; L. Raven-Hill, 'I Spy!', *Punch*; or *The London Charivari*, vol. 139, Sept. 14 1910, 183; Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 33; Thomas Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser: German Covert Operations in Great Britain during the First World War Era*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills (Basingstoke) & New York, 2004, 48-51.

A LEAF FROM A GERMAN OFFICER'S DIARY.



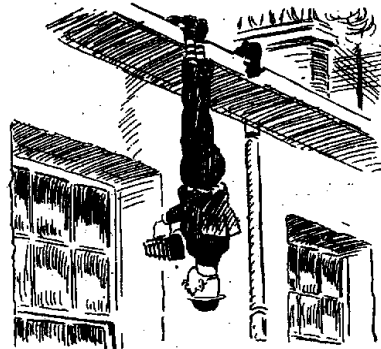
IN THE MORNING EARLY I TO THE SOUTH COAST COME. I SKETCH AND MAP FORTIFICATIONS, AND THE UNCHALLENGED ESCAPE MAKE.



WHEN I TO THE RAILSTATION RETURNED AM, I FIND A TROOP OF C. L. B. EVIDENTLY PRACTISING SHALLOW COAST INVASIONS. SEVERAL PHOTOGRAPHS TO OBTAIN I AM ABLE.



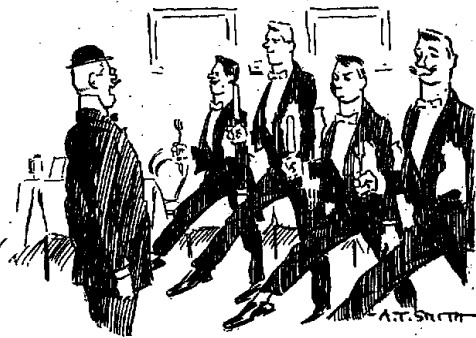
TO LONDON RETURNED. THE WAR OFFICE CAN EASILY BRIBED IS THE SECRET WAY TO THE ROOF TO SHOW DURING THE LUNCH HOUR (HALF-TWELVE TO THREE).



AND OF THE LATEST PATTERN OF "THE RED TAPE" MOST EXCELLENT PICTURES SECURE.



AFTERNOON AT THE ALDESHOT MANGUVERES, WHERE OF THE BRITISH ARMY THE PASSWORDS OBTAIN.



BACK TO LONDON. DINE AT THE HUNDWURSTHOF, DRILL THE STAFF (ALL SHORT-SERVICE CHILDREN OF THE FATHERLAND) FROM SHUT-TIME TO HALF-THREE.

This *Punch* cartoon below mocks the incompetence of Helm that lead to his arrest.

Source: Smith, 'A Leaf from a German Officer's Diary', *Punch*, vol. 139, 1910, 259.

1798 and 1804' to be revived.⁴⁷¹ Winston Churchill, the then Home Secretary, saw the siege as providing an opportunity to follow Kell's recommendation. Thus Churchill introduced a new Aliens Bill with additional clauses enabling the government to compel aliens to register with authorities in certain 'designated areas' at any time, and to expel, detain or exclude aliens in time of war or 'imminent national danger.' Though the bill was rejected, Churchill, against the advice of the Post Office, changed the Home Office Warrant (HOW) system from the Home Secretary signing a warrant for every letter that the security services wanted to open to the signing of a 'general warrant authorising the examination of all correspondence of particular people upon a list' which was continually being added to.⁴⁷² This gave MI5 the power to read these letters and by 1914 there were 1,189 letters entered on the index for this purpose.⁴⁷³ The ability to examine letters led to the discovery of Gustav Steinhauer, German Intelligence's recruiter of Germans residing in Britain, many aliases and his agents' activities.⁴⁷⁴ MI5, in addition to the examining of suspect letters that exposed Steinhauer's activities, started to compile an

⁴⁷¹ Quoted in Andrew Cook, *M: MI5's First Spymaster*, Tempus, Brimscombe Port (England), 2004, 194.

⁴⁷² Quoted in Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 37.

⁴⁷³ Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 37.

⁴⁷⁴ He was highly unsuccessful in this capacity as most Germans in Britain were not interested in working for German intelligence as many had actually fled Germany because of their politics, or to avoid compulsory military service. Furthermore, the German community, in many instances, were fully assimilated. There was only a handful English-born traitors such as German-British barber Karl Gustav Ernst as the collector of agents' letters and Warrant Officer George Parrott. Steinhauer's identity was revealed when one agent, Frederick Adolphus alias Gould was arrested at his house and there was discovered a framed autographed photograph of Steinhauer. Nonetheless Steinhauer became so well known that he is mentioned in a number of novels including *What I Found Out*, where he tries to recruit a British-American governess from a military family to become an informer, and Le Queux's *Spy Hunter* (1915) and *Number 70, Berlin* (1916), which claims that 'The great Steinhauer, with his far-reaching tentacles of espionage across both hemispheres, held his octopus-like grip upon the world, a surer, a more subtle and a more ingenious hold than the civilised world, from the spies of Alexander the Great down to those of President Kruger, had ever seen.' See Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 53; TNA DPP 1/28 'Maud Gould Case'. See also TNA KV 1/39, 'MI5 historical reports: 'G' branch, Information Obtained by Chance', 33; TNA KV 1/9 'Kell's Bureau six-monthly progress reports', 80; Cook, *M: MI5's First Spymaster*, 221-223; William Le Queux, *Number 70, Berlin: A Story of Britain's Peril*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1916, 131-132; Richard Deacon, *A History of the British Secret Service*, 2nd ed., London, 1985, 212.

alien register, which by July 1911 had dockets for 28,820 foreigners resident in Britain. The register was expanded during the war to include all naturalised British subjects.⁴⁷⁵

Another development in 1911 was the introduction of a new Official Secrets Act. The Bill was debated at the time of the trial of Doctor Max Schultz, who had been charged with espionage for Germany, after attempting to solicit information about naval installations at Plymouth.⁴⁷⁶ The new Act removed presumption of innocence as it allowed for the prosecution of someone as a spy, if their circumstances, character or conduct made them look like a spy, or for harbouring spies with or without knowledge or revealing information involving a state secret.⁴⁷⁷ As the ruling Liberal Party was divided on the issue with many radicals including Alpheus Morton,⁴⁷⁸ MP for Sutherlandshire, claiming ‘it upsets Magna Charta’, the Bill was rushed through on a Friday night when there were only a hundred and seventeen MPs sitting.⁴⁷⁹ Despite his view, Morton voted with the government and the Unionist opposition. Instead only a handful of radicals voted against the Bill in accordance with their principles, such as Joseph King, the Liberal MP for North Somerset and Labour MPs including Philip Snowden, Keir Hardie, George Lansbury, and future Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. The safe passage of the Official Secrets Act marked a major shift in political thinking. The enactment of the

⁴⁷⁵ TNA KV 1/37, ‘April 1914 Present Position of Police Organization for Registration and Supervision of Aliens in cooperation with the Central Bureau’, Prevention of Espionage 1914-1921: appendices, 18.

⁴⁷⁶ The arrest of Max Schultz seemed to inspire John Buchan to create a German spy being arrested at Portsmouth in his novella *The Power House* as the spy ‘was no less than a professor of a famous German university, a man of excellent manners, wide culture, and attractive presence, who had dined with Port officers and danced with Admirals’ daughters, which for the most part matches the conduct by Schultz before his arrest.’ See Buchan, ‘The Power-House’, 726

⁴⁷⁷ TNA KV 1/37, ‘The Official Secrets Act, 1911 (An Act to re-enact the Official Secrets Act, 1889 with Amendments’, Prevention of Espionage 1914-1921: appendices), 5.

⁴⁷⁸ Later Sir Alpheus Morton.

⁴⁷⁹ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Fourth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 29, 18 Aug. 1911, col. 2253.

Official Secrets Act (1911) saw the state increasingly placing boundaries on individual freedoms in order to protect itself from perceived enemies.

Furthermore there were concerns about the possibility that airships and aeroplanes may override the Royal Navy and the English Channel as defence barriers against invasion or attack.⁴⁸⁰ In this environment it was not surprising that even the highly educated and worldly believed in the spy stories that circulated. One such person was Kell. He willingly believed in Doctor Armgaard Karl Graves (whose real name was probably Max Meincke), who was a German conman turned German spy.⁴⁸¹ Graves's German espionage mission had been to investigate the Rosyth naval base and Beardmore and Sons, the Glasgow arms manufacturer. Graves quickly attracted suspicion in Scotland and was arrested on 14 April 1911 and put on trial the following year, where he was found guilty of espionage. However, Graves was released early, on 18 December 1912, on the condition he act as a double agent.⁴⁸² Kell had as 'Captain Robinson' interrogated

⁴⁸⁰ These concerns were expressed in number of novels including Captain F. S. Brereton's *The Aeroplane* (1911) and *The Great Airship* (1913). See Captain F. S. Brereton, *The Aeroplane: A Tale of Adventure*, Blackie & Son, London, Glasgow, Bombay, & Toronto, n.d. [1911], passim; Captain F. S. Brereton, *The Great Airship: A Tale of Adventure*, Blackie & Son, London & Glasgow, n.d. [1913], passim; Alfred Gollin, *The Impact of Air Power on the British People and their Government, 1909-1914*, Macmillan, London, 1989, passim.

⁴⁸¹ Graves had spent time living in Australia, where he had been gaoled for fraud. See Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 61.

⁴⁸² The Government mislead Parliament when Joseph King asked Thomas McKinnon Wood, the Secretary for Scotland, if Graves had been released 'because of his state of health' and asked 'were any conditions imposed upon him at the time of this release?' McKinnon Wood replied 'I believe he was in bad health' and did not say if there were any conditions of release. When McKinnon Wood was questioned elsewhere on Graves, he would again mislead Parliament. Later Sir Gilbert Parker, the novelist and Unionist MP for Gravesend, openly asked Arthur Acland, the Foreign Under-Secretary, if Graves had been released to act as a British spy but Acland commented 'The Foreign Office has had nothing to do with the case of Karl Graves and can give no information about him. He is reported to have stated that he had an interview with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but the statement is quite untrue.' See *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Fourth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 53, 11 June 1913, col. 1622-1623; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth series, Fourth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 54, 17 June 1913, cols 197-198; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of

Graves in prison, and believed his false story that under a German scheme Britain was divided into twenty-four districts under an officer to whom local spies – chiefly servants, governesses and head waiters – reported on a monthly basis and that part of Graves’s mission was to sabotage the Forth Railway Bridge. Graves’s story seemed to be repeating Le Queux’s *Spies of the Kaiser*, which also had a network of German spies divided into districts with a plot to sabotage the Forth Bridge. Nonetheless Kell believed this repetition, as he was easily susceptible to such a story as he firmly believed in a mass German spy network,⁴⁸³ therefore firstly agreeing to fund a trip by Graves to Berlin for late January 1913 to obtain a book containing ‘the names, description, instructions, code, place and dates of employment of every German in this country [Britain].’⁴⁸⁴ When in Berlin, Graves wired for more money, which he received, but he failed to deliver the book. Even so Kell gave Graves free passage to New York. On arrival in America, Graves, while still receiving payments from Kell, made statements in the press revealing some genuine information mixed with false information, commenced a lecture tour and, when war broke out, tried to offer his services to both the British and Germans (both declined).⁴⁸⁵ Kell’s recruitment of Graves is further evidence of the blurring of the line between fact and fiction, both feeding into each other and informing decisions that revealed the prejudices imbedded in society.⁴⁸⁶

Commons), vol. 54, 19 June 1913, col. 532; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 54, 23 June 1913, col. 960.

⁴⁸³ Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 34-35. See also Stephen Twigge, Edward Hampshire & Graham Macklin, *British Intelligence: Secret, Spies and Sources*, National Archives, Kew (London), 2009, 29.

⁴⁸⁴ Quoted in Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 43.

⁴⁸⁵ Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 66.

⁴⁸⁶ In mid-1913 both Thomas MacKinnon Wood and Arthur Acland, mislead Parliament when after questions from Joseph King and Sir Gilbert Parker they denied that Graves had been employed as a British agent or spy. King would persist in asking questions on this matter after war broke out. See *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 54, 16 June 1913, cols 8-9; *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 54, 19 June 1913, col. 532; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Fourth

Graves in his memoir *Secrets of the German War Office* maintained his fictional identity that lifted elements from spy/invasion stories. The memoir, just like many of Le Queux's novels, was part travelogue with exotic locations including Sri Lanka, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Monte Carlo and the Savoy Hotel (London) where he ate strawberries and drank champagne just like Edward Leithen, the hero of *The Power-House*.⁴⁸⁷ Other elements included from British spy novels are dangerous female spies, escaping certain death, a servant boy called 'Kim', who like Kipling's Kim acts as a spy and has a talent for languages, and that spies have an official number, just as they do in *Kim*.⁴⁸⁸ These elements taken from spy literature being part of a memoir seemed to confirm people's perspective about espionage and with it published in September 1914 it resulted in being a bestseller.⁴⁸⁹ Few challenged outright the memoir however *The Daily Express* did issue a challenge. On 25 November 1914 on its front page *The Daily Express* mocked Graves as 'the greatest spoof spy who ever "had" the Kaiser. He knows everything that never happened in the last years in Europe, Paraguay, the Antarctica and

Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 68, 25 Nov. 1914, col. 1092.

⁴⁸⁷ Buchan, 'The Power-House', 730.

⁴⁸⁸ Graves, *The Secrets of the German War Office*, 49.

⁴⁸⁹ For instance novelist Tighe Hopkins, a firm believer in a German spy network, was unsure if Graves's account was true but commented on 3 October 1914 in *The Daily Chronicle*, 'Let it suffice at the moment to observe that nothing should nowadays astonish us, not even on international traffic in spies and spying ... His book is a curious and humiliating record, which, however much or little it may contain of truth, is at any rate a piece of news just now.' Also *The New York Times* review on 6 September 1914 did not question the truthfulness of Graves's book. Later *The New York Times* published another article on 13 December 1914 that quoted an anonymous German history professor and the German embassy who questioned the authenticity. See Tighe Hopkins, 'Confessions of a Spy: Secrets of the Prussian Method', *The Daily Chronicle*, 3 Oct. 1914, 4; <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F10612F83E5B17738DDDAF0894D1405B848DF1D3>; <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archivefree/pdf?res=F10A16F73E5412738FDDAA0A94D9415B868DF13>. Accessed 20/11/2011. See also Frederic William Wile, 'Germany by Day: "The Road to Calais": Ex-Spy's Prophecy of Impending Invasion of England: Zeppelins and 120 Submarines: "English to Surrender in Four Weeks"', *The Daily Mail*, 28 Oct. 1914, 6; Tighe Hopkins, 'German Spies: The Kaiser's Second Army', *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 Sept. 1914, 4.

Robinson Crusoe's Island' because he had stated in the New York *Tribune* that a German invasion was to take place between 25 and 30 November 1914 and made other errors in his claims.⁴⁹⁰ Nonetheless Graves's fame and the effect spy literature had on people's perspective lasted into the war.⁴⁹¹ The British poet and novelist Robert Graves, whose middle name was von Ranke due to his mother, was a victim as he recalled hearing a rumour that alleged he was Armgaard Karl Graves's brother.⁴⁹²

Another indication of the impact that invasion/spy literature could have on people's views about espionage was the case of Robert Arthur Blackburn's arrest in early August 1914. Blackburn was arrested under the Official Secrets Act for writing letters, just before the declaration of war, to the German Embassy, offering his services to obtain information on six points in Merseyside including the permanent forts and Cammell Laird's shipbuilding yard. One of the inspirations behind Blackburn's actions may have been *1910*, as a copy was found amongst his papers by arresting detectives.⁴⁹³ Seemingly Blackburn had believed Le Queux's assertions of having knowledge of German military

⁴⁹⁰ Anonymous, "'Der Tag": German Spoofer Gives Away Plans for Invasion: Comic Revelations', *The Daily Express*, 25 Nov. 1914, 1.

⁴⁹¹ *Secrets of the German War Office* was so commercially successful that it sold over 100,000 copies and led to sequel called *The Secrets of the Hohenzollerns* (1915) that followed the same formula as its predecessor. See Armgaard Karl Graves, *The Secrets of the German War Office*, T. Werner Laurie, London, [1914], passim; Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 62.

⁴⁹² Robert Graves, *Goodbye to All That* [1929], Penguin Books, London & New York, 1957, 172.

⁴⁹³ Anonymous, 'Mersey Defences: Charge of Espionage: Secret Communication to German Embassy', *The Morning Post*, 19 Aug. 1914, 3. See also Anonymous, 'German Spy Bureau: Prisoner's Defence; £2 for Extracts from Whitaker's Almanack', *The Daily Mail*, 19 Aug. 1914, 4; Anonymous, 'Englishman Charged with Espionage: German Embassy and a Youth's Offer', *Times of London*, no. 40609, 19 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Boy Charged as Spy', *The Daily News and Leader*, 19 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'German Questions as to Mersey Defences: Englishman Accused of Espionage', *The Daily Chronicle*, 19 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'English Youth and Master Spy: German Espionage Tool Sentenced', *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 6.

planning, which showed the impact the literature could have on actions conducted in the real world.

The invasion/spy stories before World War I were created out of a fear that Britain was in rapid military, economic and physical decline and that sought to blame immigrants. Though the nationality of the enemy changed, through being increasingly German, the theme usually remained the same: a suspicion of foreigners and a belief that an invasion was being planned against Britain. These recurring themes were noted by Hirst and others especially in *Punch*, which mocked authors, notably Le Queux and other journalists, for sharing the same source material and writing in a similar style to each other for commercial gain or self-promotion. Though these stories seemed to be superficial adventure or sensational tales there were political messages behind them. They debated the merits of various military theories or called for national service to be introduced. These political messages were part of the wider political debate about the need for national efficiency. While both sides of politics agreed on the need for greater efficiency, including in military matters, the desire for national service found in *The Riddle of the Sands*, *An Englishman's Home*, or any of Northcliffe's sponsored stories was more of a Unionist, particularly 'die-hard', concern rather than a Liberal one because many Liberals believed in the individual's right of freedom of association and were internationalists with a belief in small armed forces. Thus Haldane in failing to introduce national service, with his interest in Germany and its culture, became a target within the text of many invasion/spy stories especially *1910*, which used repetition by mentioning the names of Lord Roberts, other like-minded politicians and groups such as the Legion of

Frontiersmen in praise for their efforts to have national service introduced, therefore questioning the patriotism of Liberals. Moreover a number of Unionist writers and politicians especially 'die-hards' and their supporters, used rumours that seemed to confirm their already held beliefs as evidence to support their argument. So much so that it seemingly did have an effect upon government policy that led to the creation of the intelligence services, which itself reflected the search for efficiency as Germany was seen as the standard bearer of efficiency, and it was presumed falsely that its military intelligence must be efficient and aggressively widespread. Therefore it was not an accident that Kell so easily believed Graves's story even though what he said came directly from Le Queux's stories. When Graves came to produce his memoirs, he or his ghost writer just lifted the basic elements from different spy novels and meshed them together to present a story that would have appeared genuine to a reader who believed that stories or reports about spies were based upon facts. This suggests that the worlds of fiction and reality before World War I affected each other and would continue to do so during the war when there were more spy scares, where many of the recurring themes and debates would re-emerge.

Chapter II

The Early War Spy Scare and ‘The Hidden Hand’

The spy genre before World War I reflected and helped to shape people’s ideas about spies and the possibility of invasion. It was also used as a vehicle to express political opinions about such issues as national efficiency, immigration, defence policy and Anglo-German relations. As a result spy stories during World War I reflected concerns and views about the war, especially the German and Jewish populations in Britain, and expressed theories about why the war had not come to a quick conclusion. These theories were part of various anti-alien and anti-government campaigns by MPs and organisations such as the BEU. This chapter discusses three aspects of attitudes towards spies and Germans in Britain during World War I. Firstly the reactions to the news of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian thrones as witnessed by British people on the European continent to demonstrate that spy scares were not unique to Britain. Secondly, the British spy scare with its new and recurring themes from the earlier Edwardian spy scare, and those critical of the war spy scare. Thirdly and finally, a study of the ‘hidden hand’, which was a conspiracy theory held by many, especially amongst the radical right, who believed Britain was under the control or under the influence of wealthy German-British or German-Jewish plutocrats. This was one of the major recurring spy themes of the war. The ‘hidden hand’ was often a continuation of pre-war anti-Jewish sentiment in a different guise, which became more hostile as a result of an actual war.

Despite previous invasion and spy scares, which warned that war between Britain and Germany was imminent the assassination of Francis Ferdinand aroused little interest even from Unionist elements. There were a number of reasons for this apathy. The political elite and newspapers were more concerned with the likelihood of an Irish civil war between Unionists and Nationalists, with the prospect of an army mutiny over the Irish Home Rule Bill, and political debates over trade reform. Lord Crawford expressed these concerns before he was about to leave for a holiday in Germany in July 1914. He noted in his diary on 22 July: ‘I shall not be surprised if I get a telegram recalling me for politics are uncertain, and a dissolution [of Parliament] is by no means impossible....’⁴⁹⁴ As Mrs R. Bingham, a wife of a regular Army Staff Officer, who was at the time on a continental holiday recalled ‘... Continental murders and politics did not then affect our daily lives. No one from home said much about it, Mother was still absorbed in Ireland....’⁴⁹⁵ Meanwhile the general public’s attention was focused on summer holidays at the beach, and cricket.⁴⁹⁶ There were a minority who did expect a war. One of these was the partly German-educated *Times* journalist H. W. Steed, a self-proclaimed expert on Austria-Hungary and Germany, who attempted to warn Sir Edward Grey of its likelihood, but he was in the minority.⁴⁹⁷

The mood did change to a degree when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia, which was followed by a spy scare. On 31 July 1914, Winifred Tower observed while on

⁴⁹⁴ John Vincent (ed.), *The Crawford Papers: The Journals of David Lindsay, Twenty-Seventh Earl of Crawford and Tenth Earl of Balcarres 1871-1940, During the Years 1892-1940*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1984, 338.

⁴⁹⁵ IWM PP/MCR/324 ‘Mrs R. Bingham TS Memoir’, 70.

⁴⁹⁶ Anonymous, ‘The Holidays: A Great Rush Ahead Beginning’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 1 Aug. 1914, 12. See also Thomas Cairns Livingstone, *Tommy’s War: A First World War Diary*, ed. Ronnie Scott, HarperCollins, London, 2008, passim.

⁴⁹⁷ Morris, *Scaremongers*, 355-357.

holiday on the Isle of Wight ‘...there were one or two scares that the water supply had been poisoned.’⁴⁹⁸ A spy scare occurred not only in Britain. M. B. Foote, on a tour of the continent, abandoned her trip in Germany when she feared being accused as a spy, while Daisy Williams and her mother were accused of being ‘Russian Spies!’ as they attempted to leave Germany.⁴⁹⁹

The British spy scare gained momentum after Britain’s declaration of war on Germany. There was a revival of interest in spy stories with *The Riddle of the Sands* enjoying a boom in readership and sales,⁵⁰⁰ short stories in periodicals, plays including *The Man Who Stayed at Home* and movies including *Lieutenant Pimple and the Stolen Invention*, *The German Spy Peril*, *Guarding Britain’s Secrets*, Sexton Blake in *Britain’s Secret*

⁴⁹⁸ IWM P472 ‘Miss Winifred L. B. Tower’s Journal’, July 31, 1914.

⁴⁹⁹ There was also a spy scare in France; for example, *Daily Mail* journalist George C. Curnock with Alfred J. Rorke, an American journalist, and others was arrested by French police on the belief they were spies. Another incident occurred when A. Beaumont, *The Daily Telegraph*’s journalist was held in early August 1914 in Rheims as a spy. But journalist Dudley Ward, who was also accused in Germany of being a spy, reported that attacks on British people in Germany had been exaggerated as the German authority had acted to prevent this. Dudley Ward, ‘English Refugees in Germany: How to Help Them’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 10 Aug. 1914, 2; IWM 85/4/1 Daisy Williams Diary, ‘Adventures in Germany’, 73; George C. Curnock, ‘Arrested as Spies: Adventures of Two War Correspondents’, *The Daily Mail*, 23 Sept. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Alleged English Spy: Arrested in France’, *The Daily Mail*, 21 Oct. 1914, 3; M. H. Donohoe, ‘Arrested as “Spy”’: Adventure of Mr. Donohoe: Thrilling Story of a Hand-to-Hand Combat’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 13 Aug. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘Supposed Spies: Alleged Attempt Upon Crown Prince’s Palace at Potsdam’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 5 Aug. 1914, 3; Charles Tower, ‘My Arrest: Denounced as a Spy: by Chauffeur’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 8 Aug. 1914, 1-2; 3; G. F. Steward, ‘Germany Spy Mania: High-handed Treatment of Dutch’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 16 Dec. 1914, 2; Adelaide Golding, ‘Dresden During the War: An English Teacher’s Experiences: Friend for British Turned to Hatred’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 Dec. 1914, 9; Philip Gibbs, ‘War Chroniclers: The Plight of Special Correspondent’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 Oct. 1914, 4. See bibliography for more articles on this topic.

⁵⁰⁰ This boom was noticed by *The Daily News* with its book reviewer noting that ‘Obviously, people are still reading fiction, for cheap reprints continue to be sold in huge numbers. The reprint at the moment seems to be Mr. Erskine Childers’s “Riddle of the Sands”. As well *The Manchester Guardian* when surveying what books were being borrowed from Manchester libraries in the first weeks of the war noted that *The Riddle of the Sands* is ‘...in urgent request in all libraries.’ Arnold Bennett was one such person of the many to read *The Riddle of the Sands* as the result of the war but was unimpressed commenting ‘I bought “The Riddle of the Sands”—very annoying style.’ See Anonymous, ‘Literature War: What is Manchester Reading’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 Sept. 1914, 4; Lynd, ‘Books in War-Time: What People Are Reading?’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Sept. 1914, 3; Arnold Bennett, *The Journals of Arnold Bennett: 1911-1921*, ed. Newman Flower, Cassell, London, Toronto, Melbourne & Sydney, 1932, 104.

Treaty and *The Kaiser's Spies*, while the cinematic versions of *1910 (If England Were Invaded)* and *An Englishman's Home* were produced.⁵⁰¹ One incident shows that this paranoia about spies could have consequences. On 10 August 1914, at Bidston Hill on the outskirts of Birkenhead, Private Lewis Morice,⁵⁰² while on sentry duty, was shot dead by a military colleague, who mistook him for a German spy.⁵⁰³ The shooting, which there was a number of this type, was not an isolated event, as Michael MacDonagh noted in his diary the next day:

London is said to be full of German spies. Popular resentment against German tradesmen, principally bakers, provision dealers, watch-makers, waiters and barbers, has developed in some instances into wrecking their shops. It is said that German purveyors of food are putting slow poison in their commodities. As for barbers, it is said you run the risk of having your throat cut by them instead of your hair.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ Violet M. Methley, 'The Signal', *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 48, no. 287 (Nov. 1914), 500-507. See also A. E. W. Mason, 'The Violet Book', *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 49, no. 289 (Jan. 1915), 164; Harold Steevens, 'The Sentry Post at Cowman's Curl', *The Strand Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 49, no. 294 (June 1915), 608-614; O. S. [Sir Owen Seaman], 'At the Play: "The Man Who Stayed at Home"', *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 147, 12 Aug. 1914, 506; Anonymous, 'Spy Play At The Royalty: "The Man Who Stayed at Home"', *The Times of London*, no. 40723, 11 Dec. 1914, 11; Anonymous, 'Literature War: What is Manchester Reading', *The Manchester Guardian*, 28 Sept. 1914, 4; Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War* [1998], Penguin, London, 1998, 75; Paul Matthew St. Pierre, *Music Hall Mimesis in British Film, 1895-1960: On the Halls on the Screen*, Madison & Teaneck, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009, 35; Rachael Low, *The History of the British Film 1914-1918*, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1950, 178-179; Robert Lynd, 'Books in War-Time: What People are Reading', *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Sept. 1914, 4.

⁵⁰² *The Morning Post* and *The Daily Chronicle* incorrectly identifies him as Louis Morice.

⁵⁰³ This was not only the case of a sentry accidentally shooting a person. A Plymouth taxi driver was financially compensated on 1 February 1915 after being shot by a sentry. See Anonymous, 'Tragedy at Bidston Hill: Soldier Killed by a Comrade: An Imaginary Spy', *Birkenhead and Cheshire Advertiser and Wallasey Guardian*, 12 Aug. 1914, 2; Anonymous, 'A Fatal Mistake', *The Morning Post*, no. 44,378, 12 Aug. 1914, 7; Anonymous, 'Spy Hunt Accident: Young Territorial Shot Dead on Sentry Duty', *The Daily Mail*, 12 Aug. 1914, 7; Anonymous, 'Sentry Shot Dead at Birkenhead: Another Fired at Near Redhill: Englishman Arrested as a Spy', *The Daily Chronicle*, 12 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Taxi Driver Shot by Sentry', *The Daily Chronicle*, 2 Feb. 1915, 3.

⁵⁰⁴ MacDonagh, *In London during the Great War*, 15.

Indeed, houses and shops owned by Germans or naturalised Germans were attacked.⁵⁰⁵ C. H. Rolph,⁵⁰⁶ a future editor of *The New Statesman*, recalled that his local German bakery was vandalised and stock stolen.⁵⁰⁷ This type of action the Liberal *The Daily Chronicle* viewed as ‘only an excuse to stealing.’⁵⁰⁸ Certainly, German waiters, barbers and governesses were viewed as being likely spies. Pigeons and even dogs were seen as being used by spies to send messages, and German spies were believed to be hidden amongst Belgian refugees.⁵⁰⁹ In October 1914 a person calling himself ‘Vigilant’ in a letter to *The Times* claimed that ‘a distinguished German, long resident in this country’ told him that German hotel managers and waiters were spies as ‘hardly any strategic point of Great Britain ... is not provided with its German waiter.’⁵¹⁰ This was one of the letters to newspapers that claimed waiters or other Germans in Britain were spies and the authorities were not doing enough to prevent German espionage.⁵¹¹ Indeed, German

⁵⁰⁵ Anonymous, ‘Anti-German Riots: Dozen Shops Wrecked: Amazing Scenes South London’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 19 Oct. 1914, 5.

⁵⁰⁶ The pen name of C. R. Hewitt, a former City of London detective.

⁵⁰⁷ C. H. Rolph, *London Particulars: Memories of an Edwardian Boyhood* [1980], Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1982, 129.

⁵⁰⁸ [Robert Donald], ‘Cowardly Rioting’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 20 Oct. 1914, 6.

⁵⁰⁹ See Sidney Theodore Felstead, *German Spies at Bay: Being an Actual Record of the German Espionage in Great Britain during the Years 1914-1918, Compiled from Official Sources*, 2nd ed., Hutchinson, London, 1920, 102; Anonymous, ‘Women Spies’, *The Daily Mail*, 29 Sept. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Our Spy-Ridden Coast: Lights from a Hill: German Staff Officer as Waiter’, *The Daily Mail*, 10 Nov. 1914, 3; Colin B. Campbell, ‘Employment of British Waiters’, *The Daily Mail*, 17 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Pigeon with a paper under its Wing: Lady Secures Arrest of a German: Sentences on Alien Enemies’, *The Daily Express*, 3 Sept. 1914, 3; Le Queux, *German Spies in England*, 59-60, 68, 112, 159-160, 168-169, 194; Anonymous, ‘Espionage Charges: More Arrests in London’, *The Morning Post*, 8 Aug. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Suspected Spies: Charge against a German Consul: Arms Seized In London’, *The Times of London*, no. 40598, 8 Aug. 1914, 3; Edwin Knight, ‘Spies-A Personal Experience’, *The Times of London*, no.40679, 29 Oct. 1914, 9; Percival Phillips, ‘German Spies Hoaxed: Colossal Impudence of the Kaiser’s Agents: Daily Reports Received from London’, *The Daily Express*, 3 Nov. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘The Window Office’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 12 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘War Measures: Keeping An Eye on the Aliens: Hunt for German Spies’, *The Glasgow Herald*, 8 Aug. 1914, 7. See bibliography for more articles on this topic.

⁵¹⁰ Vigilant, ‘Waiters and Millionaire’, *The Times of London*, no. 40673, 21 Oct. 1914, 7.

⁵¹¹ Lord Leith of Fyvie, ‘The German Spy Danger: Removal Alien Enemies’, *The Morning Post*, 20 Oct. 1914, 10. See also Anonymous, ‘The German in Our Midst’, *The Morning Post*, 18 Aug. 1914, 4; A. St. G. Hamersley, ‘The Spy Danger: More Drastic Measures Needed’, *The Morning Post*, 16 Oct. 1914, 9; Anonymous, ‘Enemy Aliens: Army Of Waiters At Frith Hill: Treatment In The Camps’, *The Times of*

waiters were dismissed from hotels, and there were cases of waiters being publicly attacked. Edward Brittain, the brother of Vera Brittain, the famous nurse, witnessed a German waiter being thrown over the wall of the Palace Hotel (Manchester). *The Daily Mail* published a cartoon of a waiter carrying a pigeon in his pocket while spying on a British officer. It even published a poem complaining about the employment of Germans in hotels [see appendix 8].⁵¹² This paranoia was reflected in spy novels where waiters regularly appeared as spies or were seen as potential spies and hotels were portrayed as places of intrigue.⁵¹³ Indeed, in *Stealthy Terror* (1917), two British officers stop questioning Hugh Abercromby, the hero, when a hotel waiter appears, out of fear he could be a spy.⁵¹⁴

The security forces and police felt the spy scare straight away. The Metropolitan Police received between 8,000 to 9,000 reports from the public concerning spies from August 1914 to the beginning of September 1914. There were numerous newspaper reports of arrests of spies and attacks on sentries and signalmen, many of which were

London, 24 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Alien Danger', *The Morning Post*, 2 Nov. 1914, 6; Anonymous, 'The Spy and Alien Danger: Arrest of Suspects', *The Morning Post*, 3 Nov. 1914, 2; Anonymous, 'British Waiters Only: Too Many Germans', *The Daily Mail*, 20 Aug. 1914, 3; Gilbert Rosenbusch, 'How Easy it is to be a Spy', *The Daily Mail*, 31 Oct. 1914, 4; Henry Ryland 'Secret Gun Platforms', *The Daily Mail*, 3 Oct. 1914, 3; [R. D. Blumenfeld], 'Matters of Moments', *The Daily Express*, 18 Dec. 1914, 4; Pro Bono Publico, 'Leniency out of Place', *The Daily Express*, 15 Feb. 1915, 5; Samuel Wright, 'Aliens in Hotels', *The Daily Express*, 13 Feb. 1915, 6. See more in Bibliography on this topic.

⁵¹² Vera Brittain, *Testament of Youth: An Autobiographical Study of the Years 1900-1925* [1933], Victor Gollancz, London, 1980, 99. See also P. A., 'Motto for German Spies: Wait & See', *The Daily Mail*, 23 Oct. 1914, 3; Touchstone, 'The Hotel Scandal', *The Daily Mail*, 17 Oct. 1914, 4; Anonymous 'Aliens in Hotels: Protests Attacks Against Loyal Germans', 21 Oct. 1914, *The Daily News and Leader*, 5; Anonymous, 'British Waiters Only: Too Many Germans', *The Daily Mail*, 20 Aug. 1914, 3; A. E. Hanford, 'Employment of Aliens', *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 Sept. 1914, 4.

⁵¹³ Cameron, *Zenia: Spy in Togoland*, 110. See also Mrs. Belloc Lowndes, *Out of the War?*, Chapman & Hall, London, 18, 80, 221, 271; Oppenheim, *The Vanished Messenger*, 57; Oppenheim, *Mr. Grex of Monte Carlo*, 225, 243; Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 53, 108, 129; Elizabeth Robins, *The Messenger: A Novel*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, n.d. [1919], 221; Williams, *Clubfoot*, 21, 25, 143, 158-159.

⁵¹⁴ John Ferguson, *Stealthy Terror* [1917], Penguin Books, Harmondsworth (Middlesex, England), 1935, 181.



The cartoon above demonstrates that *The Daily Mail* believed and encouraged the belief that German waiters were spies.

Source: Anonymous, 'Motto for German Spies', *The Daily Mail*, 23 Oct. 1914, 3.

unsubstantiated or proven false with various people arrested.⁵¹⁵ Certainly Vernon Kell was later to recall some of the spy myths and claims that were debunked upon investigation. These included the story that ‘A learned professor had worked out a scheme showing conclusively and satisfactorily that certain advertisements in “The Times” and “Morning Post” were nothing else but a coded message – until we put an advertisement in ourselves and he fell into the trap and produced an elaborate decipher of the message.’⁵¹⁶

As early as 5 August 1914, Reginald McKenna, the Home Secretary, had tried to placate public fears. He announced in Parliament that twenty-one spies had been arrested, who had been watched by MI5 for a number of years.⁵¹⁷ But the announcement was too early. There were still seven suspects to be arrested and one managed to avoid arrest by fleeing successfully to Germany.⁵¹⁸ Most of those arrested were interned without charge or trial

⁵¹⁵ *The Daily Mail* reported on 28 September 1914 that 90,000 reports on Aliens had been investigated by the police in the United Kingdom. See Anonymous, ‘German’s Pigeon: Only Six Months Sentence’, *The Daily Mail*, 28 Sept. 1914, 3. See also Charles Hobson, *Inside Asquith’s Cabinet: From the Diaries of Charles Hobhouse*, ed. Edward David, John Murray, London, 1977, 191; Anonymous, ‘New Spy Laws Today: German Caught with Maps at Newcastle’, *The Daily Mail*, 5 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘The Spy and Alien Danger: Arrest of Suspects’, *The Morning Post*, 3 Nov. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘The Enemy in Our Midst: Government Action: Wholesale Arrests Throughout the Country: Clearing Coasts’, *The Daily Mail*, 23 Oct. 1914, 4; William Hatje, ‘German Spies: Reply to Lord C. Beresford: Hotel Proprietors Challenge’, *The Daily Mail*, 3 Dec. 1914, 4; Max Pemberton, ‘The Fisherman’s Glass: What It Sees on the East Coast’, *The Daily Mail*, 12 Sept. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘More Spies Caught’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 7 Aug. 1914, 1; Anonymous, ‘Ex-Mayors “Captured”’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 16 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Warning to Germans in Britain: Aliens Order to be Enforced To-day’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 16 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘The Office Window’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 18 Aug. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘Suspected Spies: Music Hall Artist’s Romantic Story: Vigilance at all Ports’, *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 Aug. 1914, 6. See bibliography for more articles on this topic.

⁵¹⁶ PP/MCR/120 Sir Vernon Kell Papers KBE.

⁵¹⁷ In early October 1914 the Home Office admitted that the list of spies had been the result of all counter-espionage activities, legislation and regulations that had been conducted before the declaration of war. See Anonymous, ‘Germany’s Espionage System: How it was Foiled: Revelations by the Home Office’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 9 Oct. 1914, 12.

⁵¹⁸ There is some dispute and confusion about how many were on the list and where. See TNA KV 1/7 ‘List of Persons Arrested since Outbreak of War – As Reported to War Office’, *List of persons arrested as foreign agents*, 48-49. See also Cook, *M: MI5’s First Spymaster*, 225-226; Niall Ferguson, *Pity of War*, 12; Basil Thomson, *Queer People*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1922, 34-35.

for the duration of the war. Others were released due to lack of evidence, such as ‘Frederick W. Fowler,⁵¹⁹ Frederick James Ireland, Messrs Good, Wilde, Bentsneider and Charlton and Major H. L. Burnstein.’⁵²⁰ After the initial arrests, Gustav Steinhauer and the German authorities continued to send spies to Britain such as Carl Hans Lody but these received little or no training and were usually amateurish and incompetent.⁵²¹

Thirty-one alleged German spies were arrested between October 1914 and September 1917, with nineteen being hanged and ten being imprisoned with another 354 aliens were recommended for deportation.⁵²² To deal with the potential threat from spies and

⁵¹⁹ Fowler was also known as William Fowler, a barber from Penarth. See Anonymous, ‘Many Arrests for Espionage: Raids Made by London Police: Suspects at Ports’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 6 Aug. 1914, 5.

⁵²⁰ These people were released at request of Mansfield Cummings. See KV 1/7 ‘List of Persons Arrested since Outbreak of War’, 48-49.

⁵²¹ Carl Hans Lody, the first German spy sent to Britain during the war was a prime example of the amateurish and incompetent German agent sent to Britain. He was a reserve naval Lieutenant, who spoke English with an American accent as a result of having lived in America and volunteered his services to the Nachrichten-Abteilung (N), the German intelligence department responsible for Britain, in May 1914. However, Lody received no training; instead he followed the tradition of incompetent German spies conducting his activities in an obvious manner and reported the false story that a mass of Russian troops had landed in Aberdeen on their way to Edinburgh, London and then to France to fight on the western front. Lody arrived in Edinburgh on 27 August 1914 under the pseudonym of Charles A. Inglis with an American passport; he then hired a bicycle and pedalled around naval installations taking notes and asking suspicious questions, sending uncoded telegrams to someone with a German name in Stockholm. Lody continued this same amateurish action as he travelled throughout the United Kingdom, including leaving forwarding addresses, sending more uncoded messages and not bothering to write in invisible ink, until he was arrested in Killarney (Ireland) after the intelligence services had been tracking his movements with the messages they had intercepted. Despite Lody being an inept spy because of the image of Germans being so much more efficient than the British especially in warfare during his trial he was portrayed by the prosecution as being a ‘dangerous man, because he was a skilled and trained man. He played his part so that for well-nigh six weeks no one suspected he was otherwise than the American tourist he was supposed to be.’ See Anonymous, ‘War Treason Court Martial: German on Trial for his Life: Alleged Important Letter to Berlin’, *The Daily Mail*, 31 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Court-Martial: Stranger Arrested at the “Spy” Trial: Lody in Tears: “I Have Never Been a Coward”’, *The Daily Express*, 2 Nov. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Court-Martial on Alleged Spy: First Case of Kind in the Country: Charges of War Treason by News of Germany’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 31 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘German Officer’s War Treason: A Plea of Patriotism in Spy Trial: Ready to Meet his Fate “Like a Man”’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 3 Nov. 1914, 3; Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 184. Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 98-100; Cook, *M: MI5’s First Spymaster*, 229-230; Sidney Theodore Felstead, *German Spies at Bay: Being an Actual Record of the German Espionage in Great Britain during the Years 1914-1918, Compiled from Official Sources* [1920], 2nd ed., Hutchinson, London, 1920, 27-30; Twigge, Hampshire, Macklin, *British Intelligence: Secret, Spies and Sources*, 28.

⁵²² Ferguson, *The Pity of War*, 12.

saboteurs the government granted the security and intelligence forces more powers through the introduction of the Aliens Restriction Act of 5 August 1914, which as McKenna announced to the House of Commons was aimed ‘especially with a view to the removal or detention of spies. Information in the possession of the Government proves that cases of espionage have been frequent in recent years, and many spies have been caught and dealt with by the police.’⁵²³ This measure with other legislation restricted the movement of aliens, and MI5’s Aliens Registry (that had 100,000 aliens listed) was legalised and expanded, so that by 1917 it had 250,000 names with 27,000 personal files on chief suspects.⁵²⁴ In addition, the Defence of the Realm Act (DORA) was drafted in consultation with Kell and his deputy Eric Holt-Wilson and passed on 8 August 1914.⁵²⁵ DORA, which was in part aimed at aliens (including those from neutral countries), included in its clauses that ‘No person shall without lawful authority collect, record, publish or communicate, or attempt to elicit any information ... of such a nature as is calculated to be or might be directly or indirectly useful to the enemy.’⁵²⁶ And persons were prevented from ‘communicating with the enemy or obtaining information for that purpose calculated to jeopardise the success of the operations of any of His Majesty’s Forces or to assist the enemy, or undermine public confidence in bank notes or government financial measures to secure the safety of any means of communications, or

⁵²³ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Fourth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 65, 5 Aug. 1914, col. 1986.

⁵²⁴ George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War*, Palgrave, Houndsmills (England) & New York, 2001, 9. See also Twigge, Hampshire, Macklin, *British Intelligence*, 19.

⁵²⁵ In the first two months of the war there was a flood of arrests of alien enemies. *The Manchester Guardian* reported on 21 October 1914 that the number of arrests had fallen to two from three arrests a day and that ‘Several sets of apparatus for wireless telegraphy have been seized in the houses of alien enemies and taken to Town Hall. Pigeon lofts and other places where birds might have been kept have been searched for homing pigeons.’ See Anonymous, ‘Alien Enemies: The Police and Wireless Telegraphy’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 Oct. 1914, 7.

⁵²⁶ Quoted in Haste, *Keep the Home Fires Burning*, 30.

of railways, docks or harbours'. The Act also prohibited information on movements of 'troops, ships and aircraft, or the location or description of war material,' and there were regulations prohibiting false statements. Moreover the entry and embarkation of enemy aliens was prevented and aliens were required to register with the local police and were prevented from living in 'prohibited' areas, mainly coastal districts and areas of military operations, and those aliens already there were to be removed.⁵²⁷ By late November 1914, the prohibited areas formed a ring from the north of Scotland down the east coast of Britain and along the south coast to include Dorset, and extended 10-20 miles inland.⁵²⁸ Further areas were added until by June 1916 the territory covered between one-third and a half of Great Britain.⁵²⁹ All enemy aliens had to register with the local police and notify them of changes of address. In 1915 internment of aliens and later naturalised male enemy aliens between 18 and 45 years of age was introduced, with at least 32,000 (mostly men of military age) interned with no less than 20,000 (mostly women, children and non-combatant men) removed, and the remainder were faced with restrictions.⁵³⁰ This was in accordance with MI5's thinking, as Holt-Wilson told the Aliens Subcommittee of the CID in June 1915, that those of German blood who had spent much of their lives in Britain were even more dangerous than recent arrivals, as 'Long residence in Britain adds greatly to the mischief to be apprehended from an alien enemy.'⁵³¹ Holt-Wilson's thinking mirrors Mrs Belloc Lowndes's *Good Old Anna* (1915), which has as its villain Fritz Fröhling, a near four decade long resident unnaturalised German barber

⁵²⁷ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 65, 7 Aug. 1914, col. 2192.

⁵²⁸ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 68, 23 Nov. 1914, col. 789.

⁵²⁹ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Sixth series, Sixth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 83, 29 June 1916, col. 1076.

⁵³⁰ Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 182. See also Morris, *Scaremongers*, 111.

⁵³¹ Quoted in Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 81.

but a highly Anglicised one with an English wife and a son in the British Army. Despite this, he is a spy, who gains information from the officers of the nearby garrison and uses another long-term unnaturalised German resident in Anna Bauer, a loyal servant to her British mistress but a fierce German/Prussian nationalist, as his unwitting agent.⁵³² However, despite Holt-Wilson's statement, MI5's top interrogator was Captain Edward Hinchley Cooke, who had an English father and German mother and who was educated in Germany and thus spoke English with a German accent.⁵³³ Nonetheless Hinchley Cooke was an exception to the rule as most with a German background were discriminated against and increasingly so as the war continued with more legislation passed against unnaturalised and naturalised aliens.⁵³⁴

In September 1914 a new provision was included in the Aliens Restriction Order that enabled the police, on the authority of the Home Secretary, to close or restrict the opening hours of any club frequented by enemy aliens. In enforcing the provision the police could enter, if necessary by force, and search or occupy any premises to which the

⁵³² The character of Fröhling could have been inspired by a report on a German barber called Fritz at Aldershot, a major garrison town, who was arrested. See Anonymous, '1,200 Aliens Arrested: Why the Work Goes Slowly in London: "Fritz" Aldershot's Army Barber', *The Daily Express*, 23 Oct. 1914, 3; Mrs Belloc Lowndes, *Good Old Anna*, George H. Dorain Company, New York, 35.

⁵³³ Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm*, 78.

⁵³⁴ In modern Britain there had been a precedent, if not on the same scale, to the way in which aliens were treated during the war. The 1793 Aliens Act, passed when Britain faced French invasion, established a formal passport, and gave the Secretary of State the authority to expel aliens, to impose on foreigners the legal responsibility to register with the authorities and provide good and acceptable reason for their presence. In August 1803 measures were introduced to provide wider powers to deport and imprison aliens and impose stricter registration requirements, a ban on the possession of firearms, and power to search homes of aliens with controls over landing, departure and movement of aliens within the country. These powers were started to be dismantled after 1815 and finally removed all together with the Registration of Aliens Act of 1836. This Act had no power of expulsion in peacetime except on specific criminal charges and involved little supervision of aliens; for example Russian subjects during the Crimean War were allowed to live in Britain without disturbance. See Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain 1914-1918*, 17-18; Elizabeth Sparrow, *Secret Service: British Agents in France 1792-1815*, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge (Suffolk) & Rochester (New York), 1999, 19-20.

order related. A number of German clubs and restaurants,⁵³⁵ including the exclusive German Athenaeum Club in Stratford Place (London), were closed.⁵³⁶ While others remained open, MI5 kept under close surveillance twenty-eight clubs and restaurants as these were considered potential havens for spies or saboteurs.⁵³⁷

In addition MI5 increased its letter opening operation. At one stage there were 375,000 letters examined daily.⁵³⁸ A number of letters that were intercepted had invisible ink written by spies, for example Peter Hahn, Karl Muller and Georg Breeckow.⁵³⁹ Public awareness of invisible ink, which had appeared in earlier spy stories such as Le Queux's *The Prime Minister's Coup* (1899), had become so extensive through newspaper reports on spy trials that by the end of the war it appeared in other spy stories like Elizabeth Robins's *The Messenger* (1919),⁵⁴⁰ where a German governess/spy uses invisible ink to outline seaside fortifications.⁵⁴¹ Also in early October 1914 the Wireless Telegraph Act

⁵³⁵ What was labelled as a German club was broad ranging as it included Swiss Clubs and two British foundations for foreigners. There were still public complaints about those that remained as being harbours for German spies and saboteurs. See TNA KV 1/45, 'Investigation of Espionage 1915-1918: German Clubs, Associations and Communities', 11; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Sixth Series, Sixth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 86, 17 Oct. 1916, col. 417; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 86, 25 Oct. 1916, cols 1123-1124; *The Parliamentary Debates*, vol. 86, 31 Oct. 1916, col. 1577; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Sixth Series, Sixth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 87, 9 Nov. 1916 col. 389-90; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Lords), Sixth Series, Sixth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 21, 12 April 1916, cols 699-700; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Sixth Series, Sixth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 90, 14 Feb. 1917, cols 706, 714-715.

⁵³⁶ Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain 1914-1918*, 232-233.

⁵³⁷ TNA KV 1/45, 11.

⁵³⁸ Felstead, *German Spies at Bay*, 82.

⁵³⁹ Invisible ink was used by spies as far back as the eighteenth century. See Sparrow, *Secret Service: British Agents in France 1792-1815*, 64.

⁵⁴⁰ The novel was serialised in 1918.

⁵⁴¹ Robins, *The Messenger*, 120, 123. The novel's storyline is similar to a report that appeared in *The Morning Post*. The newspaper reported that a detective discovered in a popular German governess's rooms 'incriminating documents, sketches of important bridges, plans of fortifications, an immense amount of correspondence in German acknowledging receipt of information concerning this country and a couple of bombs with instructions as to when and where to use them. The result of the discovery will no doubt

was passed that gave police the power to dismantle all private wireless stations and special systems to detect wirelesses in use.⁵⁴²

Furthermore, the government took advantage of those groups that had before the war lobbied for increased military spending or had been amateur spy hunters. Lieutenant-Colonel Freddie Browning, working under Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald Hall at Room 40 (the code-breaking department of the Royal Navy), employed volunteers from the NSL to run a private censorship section.⁵⁴³ DORA and other legislation involving aliens and the intelligence services in effect placed Britain under martial law, but this did not prevent a spy scare taking place nor criticism that the government was not doing enough against the potential spy threat. These laws and actions reflected concerns about espionage amongst the political elite and a society that had been before the war groomed into accepting or having reinforced ideas about spies and the possibility of an invasion of Britain as portrayed in invasion/spy literature.

shortly be made public property.’ See William Le Queux, ‘The Prime Minister’s Coup’, *Pearson’s Magazine*, vol. 8 (July – Dec. 1899), no. 43, 35. See also Le Queux, *The Spy Hunter*, 141; Anonymous, ‘The Enemy Alien’, *The Morning Post*, 24 Oct. 1914, 10; Anonymous, ‘Invisible Ink: Camp Mutiny Court-Martial: German’s Longing for Pumpnickel’, *The Daily Mail*, 16 Dec. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Invisible Ink Trap: Special Constable and Suspected Woman: Threatening Letter Mystery’, *The Daily Express*, 22 Dec. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Invisible Ink Ruse: Ingenuity of a Special Constable: Two-Year-Old Mystery’, *The Daily Mail*, 22 Dec. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘German’s Letter in Invisible Ink: Discovery at Isle of Man Alien Camp’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 16 Dec. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘Manx Court-Marshall: Aliens Get Two Months for Using Invisible Ink’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 17 Dec. 1914, 9; Anonymous, ‘Invisible Ink as Decoy: Amazing Story About Threats by Post: Special Constable’s Ruse’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 Dec. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘“Invisible Ink” Court-Martial Case’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 30 Dec. 1914, 4.

⁵⁴² Anonymous, ‘The Spy System: The Home Office Statement: Organisation Broken Up: Nine Thousand Aliens Detained’, *The Morning Post*, 9 Oct. 1914, 7; Anonymous, ‘The Kaiser’s Spies: How Their Plans were Foiled in England: All Known: Secret History of our Intelligence Branch’, *The Daily Express*, 9 Oct. 1914, 1, 3; Anonymous, ‘Spies in England: Organisation Broken Up: Revelations by the Home Secretary: Police and Pigeons’, *The Daily Mail*, 9 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Wireless Raid’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Crushed by Service: Revelations by Home Office: Special Police: How Suspects Were Tracked’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 9 Oct. 1914, 5.

⁵⁴³ Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 64.

Thus it was unsurprising that spy clichés and rumours were still reported as facts in many right-wing newspapers⁵⁴⁴ and at times by *The Daily Chronicle* such as claims of 30,000 spies in France, Germany having planned the war for years and Scandinavia being full of German spies with a plot hatched in Copenhagen to organise a rebellion in Egypt. It is also unsurprising that *The Daily Chronicle* did not question the details of Baden-Powell's *My Adventures as a Spy* or Le Queux's *German Spies in England* and published a poem that portrayed the Kaiser acting as a spy when visiting Britain [see appendix 9].⁵⁴⁵ *The Daily Mail* refused to believe that the German spy network that had existed in Britain had been basically dismantled early in the war, commenting:

The German spy network is so wide, so extraordinarily efficient, so immensely dangerous that it cannot be too severely repressed. Bitter examples in Belgium and France have already shown the peril of tolerating too easily and too

⁵⁴⁴ H. Hamilton Fyfe, a *Daily Mail* correspondent, was an exception when he reported that soldiers' talk of spies being at the front was part of 'inevitable tendency to exaggerate such incidents.' See H. Hamilton Fyfe, 'How the British Fought: Accounts by our Wounded: As Fast As We Shot Them Down Another Mass Came On: What Each Regiment Did: In The Men's Own Words', *The Daily Mail*, 28 Aug. 1914, 5.

⁵⁴⁵ *The Daily Chronicle* also did not question the details of Baden-Powell's *My Adventures as a Spy*, likely due to his national hero status but this also shows that it was more favourable towards the spy scare in marked contrast to *The Daily News*. See Anonymous, "'Stupid" British Clever Spies: Pseudo Botanists Bluff Germans: Fascinating Revelations by Sir R. Baden-Powell', *The Daily Chronicle*, 23 Feb. 1915, 4; Anonymous, 'Germans Rob Mr. Le Queux: Amazing Stories of Spies in Britain', *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 Feb. 1915, 8; Hopkins, 'German Spies: The Kaiser's Second Army', 4. Anonymous, "'50 Spies to be Shot at Dawn'", *The Daily Chronicle*, 10 Aug. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'The Office Window', *The Daily Chronicle*, 15 Aug. 1914, 2; Allen Upward, 'Among the Four Armies: A Scout Master's Diary of the War IV', *The Daily Chronicle*, 2 Sept. 1914, 2; William Watson, 'The Man Forsworn', *The Daily Chronicle*, 14 Aug. 1914, 2; George Renwick, 'Fiercest Fight of the War: Amazing Story of German Spy: Nearly Led a British Party to Disaster', *The Daily Chronicle*, 2 Sept. 1914, 5; Anonymous, 'Spies in Australia: Scientists as Smugglers of Military Secrets', *The Daily Chronicle*, 4 Dec. 1914, 10; Anonymous 'German Spies Busy in Newfoundland: Sinister Designs on our Oldest Colony', *The Daily Chronicle*, 4 Dec. 1914, 10; Anonymous, 'Spies Exposed by Missing Letter: "French" Major Clever Ruse That Failed', 29 Sept 1914, 5; Anonymous, 'German Spies in Australia: Discovery & Seizure of Secret Wireless', *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'How I Spied on the Spies: An Amazing Story of German Trickery: Hole in the Hotel Bedroom Wall: Enemy Stirring up the Neutral Nations', *The Daily Chronicle*, 30 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, 'The Kaiser Unmasked: Meditating War a Year Ago: Conversation with the King of the Belgians: Revelation by French Ambassador', *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 Dec. 1914, 1; Anonymous, 'Story of Mystery Man in Tower: His Signal on a Lonely Irish Island: Attempt to Destroy His Collapsible Boat', *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 May 1918, 1; Alan Bolt, 'A Prussianised Europe: Ravings of German Intellectuals: Kaiser as World Dictator and no British Navy', *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 Dec. 1914, 4. See bibliography for more articles on this topic.

generously German guests. Life and death is the stakes for which the nation is playing against the most determined, merciless, and unscrupulous of assailants. In such circumstances and with such warning before us the sternest measures are required. The presence in our midst of 40,000 Germans and Austrians, with probably at least as many of the same nationalities who have been recently naturalised must be a source of constant anxiety to the public. Among them are most certainly many harmless and inoffensive people. But that are also many actual and potential enemies and spies innumerable....⁵⁴⁶

Indeed the newspaper's Paris Correspondent would claim that German spies had taken out French citizenship to protect themselves from examination by French authorities.⁵⁴⁷

The Birkenhead and Cheshire Advertiser and Wallasey Guardian editorial expressed a similar view:

It is better that every German, naturalised or not, in this country, shall be safely put under lock and key than that one British soldier should die through the treachery of the Teuton ... We do not wish to be scaremongers, but having in mind what has been disclosed of late we must come to the conclusion that the spy peril is a very real one. Germans established themselves in Antwerp and betrayed it. For years, in France and even in "neutrality guaranteed" Belgium preparations were being made in order to mount German guns upon concrete platforms when "The Day" came....⁵⁴⁸

The Daily Mirror, *The Daily Express*, *The Morning Post*, and *The Globe*, letters to newspapers and, in Parliament, the likes of William Joynson-Hicks,⁵⁴⁹ the Unionist MP for Brentford, all made similar statements believing the government was not doing enough to break up the alleged German spy network in Britain. They believed similar networks had existed in Belgium and France with the job of preparing the groundwork

⁵⁴⁶ [Thomas Marlowe], 'The Spy Danger and the New Order', *The Daily Mail*, 16 Oct. 1914, 4.

⁵⁴⁷ G. Ward Price, 'Bold Spies in Paris: Use of British Officer's Suit Case', *The Daily Mail*, 14 Sept. 1914, 6.

⁵⁴⁸ Anonymous, 'The German Spy Menace', *Birkenhead and Cheshire Advertiser and Wallasey Guardian*, 21 Oct. 1914, 2.

⁵⁴⁹ Joynson-Hicks was Home Secretary between 1924 and 1929. Later he was ennobled as Lord Brentford.

for the invasion of those countries.⁵⁵⁰ The newspaper editorials above were basically repeating the plots in invasion/spy novels like *Spies of the Kaiser, 1910*, and *The Great Secret*, and pre-war statements made in Parliament and newspapers about German espionage in Britain.⁵⁵¹ Certainly many spy novels, including *The German Spy*, *The Vanished Messenger* (1914), *The Beautiful Spy* (1915), *Good Old Anna*, *Zenia: Spy in Togoland* (1915), *The Secret Service Submarine* (1915), *The Winds of the World* (1915),⁵⁵² *Spy Hunter*, *The Double Traitor*, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, *Stealthy Terror*, *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, *The Light Above the Cross Road* (1917), “*That Goldheim!*” (1918), “*Yellow*” *English* (1918), and *The Price of Things* (1919), that were written during the war reflected the idea that Germany had an established spy network that had been long

⁵⁵⁰ William Joynson-Hicks, ‘Alien Enemies on a Large Scale’, *The Morning Post*, 2 Sept. 1914, 9. See also *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth series, Fifth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 70, 3 March 1915, cols 833-847, 852-862; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Fifth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 72, 10 June 1915, cols 358, 360; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Fourth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 66, 9 Sept. 1914, col. 564-566; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), 29 June 1916 cols 1047-1060, 1069-1071, 1082; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), vol. 90, 14 Feb 1917, cols 704-711, 713; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Seventieth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 94, 14 June 1917, cols 1265-1269, 1280-1281; *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), Fifth Series, Eightieth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 108, 11 July 1918, cols 548-557; Le Queux, *German Spies in England*, 89-90; Anonymous, ‘France: German Spy System: Arrangements at the Front’, *The Morning Post*, 29 Sept. 1914, 7; Anonymous, ‘The Germans in Brussels: Spying and Treachery’, *The Morning Post*, 2 Oct 1914, 11; Stephen Black, ‘A German Spy’, *The Daily Mail*, 31 Aug. 1914, 4; H. J. Greenwall, ‘No More German “Dress Spies”: Paris Dressmakers Regain Supremacy’, *The Daily Express*, 22 Dec. 1914, 8; Ex-Volunteer, ‘Kaiser’s Secret Service; 30,000 Armed Germans in England’, *The Daily Express*, 1 Sept. 1914, 4; Oliver Fry, ‘Sentences on German Spies’, *The Daily Mail*, 6 Oct. 1914, 4; G. F. Steward, ‘Antwerp Treachery: How Spies Prepared the way for Invaders’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 15 Oct. 1914, 1. See Bibliography for more on Joynson-Hicks statements and questions on German spies and spy network.

⁵⁵¹ *The Daily News*, which believed that Germany had long planned for a European war, in marked contrast to the Unionist or radical right-wing press, praised the work against German spies. See Anonymous, ‘German Spy Plot: Great Scheme that was Foiled: Leaders in Gaol: Drastic Action by Authorities’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 9 Oct. 1914, 1-2. See also Anonymous, ‘Germany’s War Plot: Kaiser and King Albert: Interview a Year Ago: Conflict then said to be Inevitable’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 1 Dec. 1914, 1; [R. G. Gardiner], ‘The Kaiser & the War’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 2 Dec. 1914, 4.

⁵⁵² Talbot Mundy’s *The Winds of the World* is not about a German invasion of Britain but rather a two year planned plot to start a mutiny by Indian troops against British rule in India. The German spy is tempted into thinking Ranjoor Singh, an Indian Sergeant and the novel’s hero, is a possible mutiny leader because he has read both Bernhardt and Nietzsche (to the spy’s great surprise). See Talbot Mundy, *Winds of the World* [1915], Cassell, London, 1932, 202, 205.

planning a war against Britain.⁵⁵³ Spy novels before the war had helped to establish this belief, which filtered down into the rest of British society, especially during the war, as evident by the home economist journalist Mrs D. C. Peel's memoir *How We Lived Then 1914-1918* (1929): 'It was suggested [during the war] that enamelled iron advertisements for "Maggi soup," which were attached to hoardings in Belgium were unscrewed by German officers in order that they might read the information about local resources which was painted in German on the back by spies who had preceded them....'⁵⁵⁴ While her story was not repeated with exact details elsewhere, nonetheless a variation of the same story did appear in Dorota Flatau's "*Yellow*" *English*. The narration claims while German companies were constructing Belgian railways they made offers to erect signposts throughout Belgium, which together were 'exceedingly elucidating maps' of the Belgian countryside, which the German army used when it was invading.⁵⁵⁵

It was not just rumours of spies in Belgium that gained currency. One rumour was that the British coast, especially the eastern side, was littered with German spies signalling out to German ships or submarines. This came to the fore with German naval raids on Scarborough, Whitby and Hartlepool in December 1914.⁵⁵⁶ The Navy League, in a letter

⁵⁵³ *The Price of Things* was serialised during 1918.

⁵⁵⁴ D. C. Peel, *How We Lived Then: 1914-1918, A Sketch of Social and Domestic Life in England during the War*, John Lane, London, 1929, 40-41.

⁵⁵⁵ Dorota Flatau, "*Yellow*" *English*, 8th ed., Hutchinson & Co., London, 1918, 33.

⁵⁵⁶ See [R. D. Blumenfeld], 'How to Deal with Spies', *The Daily Express*, 18 Dec. 1914, 4; Anonymous, 'Coached by Spies: Raiders Helped by Germans on the East Coast: Work of Kaiser's Agents in England', *The Daily Express*, 18 Dec. 1914, 5; Anonymous, 'Lights from the Cliffs: All Persons Showing Them to be Fired on', *The Daily Express*, 18 Dec. 1914, 5; Anonymous, 'East Coast Spies: No Mercy to be Shown', *The Daily Mail*, 11 Sept. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Spy Lights on the Coast: Search for Grey Car & Woman Driver: Armed Motor-Cycle Patrol: Mystery Sailing Ship', *The Daily Mail*, 9 Nov. 1914, 6; Anonymous, 'Spy Signals from our Cliffs: What Fishermen Have Seen: Ld Wolverhampton's Message', *The Daily Mail*, 11 Nov. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Search for Master Spy: Efforts to Track Down German System on East Coast', *The Daily Mail*, 22 Dec. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'East Coast Spies: Lord Leith's Protest: Information Signalled to the Enemy', *The Daily Mail*, 11 Sept. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Coast Lights for the Enemy:

to Sir Graham Greene, the Secretary to the Admiralty, suggested that signalling was taking place, asserting that ‘It is well known that persons describing themselves as subjects of neutral nations ... are in constant communications with alien enemies in this country and are the medium for the transmission of information which might prove of great injury to the operations of His Majesty’s Forces.’⁵⁵⁷ This notion is reflected in the plot of Mrs Belloc Lowndes’s *Out of the War?* (1918), where an American wife of a British naval officer is sent to stay at the Bungalow Hotel believing it is far removed from the war. However, the coastal hotel is owned by Germans with a staff of naturalised Germans while other German spies use it as a base to signal to German U-boats and to supply a secret petrol and food depot nearby for passing to the U-boats and their crew.⁵⁵⁸ The plot suggests that no one is removed from the conflict as there are spies throughout Britain making nowhere safe and the need to have all enemy aliens removed.

These claims as made by the Navy League and expressed in novels often went unchallenged, but not always. Lord Charles Beresford’s⁵⁵⁹ claim during a recruiting speech at Aberdeen on 2 October 1914, that the 22 September 1914 sinking of three British cruisers (the *Aboukir*, *Hogue* and *Cressy*) in the North Sea by German U-boats was successful because of ‘... information given [by German spies] from this country to

Incident at Officers’ Hotel: Turnpikes to Check Alien Motorists’, *The Daily Mail*, 16 Nov. 1914, 3; R. Rhodes, ‘Germans on the East Coast’, *The Daily Mail*, 8 Oct. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Signalling Sensation: Mystery of a House that overlooks a Harbour: The Red Light’, *The Daily Express*, 30 Nov. 1914, 5; A Coast Dweller, ‘Alien Doctor’s Boat’, 2 Dec. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘How Scarborough’ Suffered: Some Astonishing Escapes: Story of Spies Signalling from the Cliff’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 18 Dec. 1914, 9.

⁵⁵⁷ TNA HO 45/10756/267450, ‘Spies in England and the Spy Peril’.

⁵⁵⁸ Lowndes, *Out of the War?*, 32-33, 80, 271.

⁵⁵⁹ Beresford often spoke at rallies and demonstrations organised by the Navy League. See Anonymous, ‘At the Opera House: Great Demonstration Addressed by Lord Charles Beresford’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Oct. 1914, 5.

the German Admiralty' was challenged.⁵⁶⁰ While Beresford received support from like-minded politicians including Walter Long,⁵⁶¹ then a senior protectionist Unionist, who asserted that 'their [German spies'] existence are known by authorities....'⁵⁶² Not all did support Beresford's statement. It roused the interest of the Director of Public Prosecutions. Guy Stephenson, the Assistant Director of Public Prosecutions,⁵⁶³ in a letter to Beresford, requested: 'if you will be good enough to confidentially impart to me information upon which your statement was founded, or the source of it, in order that I may consider the evidence available with a view to taking action against the offender or offenders....'⁵⁶⁴ Stephenson received no reply. On 14 October 1914, he again wrote to Beresford, after he had been making more statements in the Press.⁵⁶⁵ This time, if ten days later, Beresford replied but failed to supply any evidence to support his assertions.⁵⁶⁶

Lord Leith of Fyvie, the president of the BEU and frequent speaker and writer about spies, was another whose spy claim was shown to be without foundation after he had written to McKenna in 1915 calling attention to the fact that 'Spies and alien enemies had been arrested along our south shores making communication with steamers'.⁵⁶⁷ He went

⁵⁶⁰ Quoted in Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 180. See also Anonymous, 'Spy Danger Lord Charles Beresford's Demand', *The Morning Post*, 3 Oct. 1914, 9; Haste, *Keeping the Home Fires Burning*, 114.

⁵⁶¹ Later Lord Long of Wraxall.

⁵⁶² Walter H. Long, 'Antwerp Blunder: The German Peril and Those Who Scoffed at it', *The Morning Post*, 14 Oct. 1914, 6. See also Gus Glen, 'The Enemy in Our Midst', *The Daily Mail*, 15 Oct. 1914, 4; Leith of Fyvie, 'The German Spy Danger: Removal Enemy Aliens', *The Morning Post*, 20 Oct. 1914, 10.

⁵⁶³ Later Sir Guy Stephenson.

⁵⁶⁴ TNA HO 45/10756/267450.

⁵⁶⁵ See Lord Charles Beresford, 'Alien Enemies: Real Danger to the State', *The Morning Post*, 13 Oct. 1914, 6; Lord Charles Beresford, 'The Enemy in Our Midst', *The Daily Mail*, 13 Oct. 1914, 4.

⁵⁶⁶ TNA HO 45/10756/267450.

⁵⁶⁷ Quoted in Haste, *Keeping the Home Fires Burning*, 117. See also Leith of Fyvie, 'The German Spy Danger', *The Morning Post*, 10; Leith of Fyvie, 'No Leniency for Enemy Aliens', *The Daily Mail*, 24 Oct.

on to claim that two spies in khaki uniform had been getting on a boat, and that it was only a good lookout at Folkestone that stopped these men. When the Liberal Lord Allendale challenged Leith in the Lords with the facts that the Home Office had made inquiries with the Folkestone Police, who knew nothing of the arrests, Leith admitted he had not personally witnessed the incident but the captain of the steamer *Onward* had done so. Further inquiries showed there had been one person, who had been stopped getting on the boat, but he was no spy but rather an overeager young man trying to get to the front. Beresford and Leith, just like Le Queux, could only make accusations without actually producing evidence, as their statements were expressing prejudices already held by them. However, unlike in the case of the *Onward*, often it was not possible to trace the source of a rumour.

Though Beresford and Leith had long established anti-German and scaremonger views, it was notable that even political moderates did share the view that there was a highly organised German spy system. One was Haldane, who in support of a spy claim (which was shortly afterwards debunked) made by Lord Crawford,⁵⁶⁸ declared in November 1914 ‘...there has been a most highly organised system for obtaining secret information not for a few months but for years before the war’, and since the ‘the outbreak of war it

1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Spies on the Coast: Lord Leith of Fyvie’s Warning’, *The Daily Mail*, 27 Oct. 1914, 3.

⁵⁶⁸ *The Daily Mail* claimed that Crawford’s statement ‘speaking from his own knowledge’ about a list of names of people in his home county of Fifeshire signalling out to sea was true. Similar *The Daily Express* supported Crawford’s claim. However, Thomas McKinnon Wood, the Scottish Secretary, pointed out that there were no enemy aliens in Fifeshire at the time of Crawford’s statement and the one naturalised enemy alien, who did live in the county was there at the time of the alleged incident. Furthermore McKinnon Wood asked Crawford for more information, as there had been no report given to the authorities. Crawford failed to provide any additional information. *The Daily Mail* did not report on the falsehood of Crawford’s statement or his failure to provide proof. See Anonymous, ‘Haphazard Way with Spies: Need for Central Control’, *The Daily Mail*, 25 Nov. 1914, 6; Anonymous, ‘German Spies and Official Secrets: Revelations by Earl Crawford’, *The Daily Express*, 12 Nov. 1914, 1; Anonymous, ‘Muddle in the Firth of Forth: Authorities who Disagreed’, *The Daily Express*, 18 Nov. 1914, 1, 5.

becomes very difficult to put your hand upon people who are giving real information....⁵⁶⁹ Haldane's statement shows how far he had moved from his initial scepticism to accepting that there was a large German spy network in Britain, which during the war was to be reinforced by revelations including those of Captain Karl Ed-Boy,⁵⁷⁰ German naval attaché to America from 1911 to 1917, who was in charge of a spy ring and sabotage in America, and Trebitsch Lincoln, the Hungarian-born former Liberal MP for Darlington, who offered his services to Germany to act as a spy.⁵⁷¹ Likewise Sir John Simon, another moderate Liberal politician and the Attorney General between 1913 and 1915, was convinced by the belief in German efficiency that there was an extensive espionage network. As he explained his position in a letter to L. T. Hobhouse, the Professor of Sociology at London University College and former Liberal MP:

Experience has shown that the German Navy is extraordinarily well informed of our movements, and though I have the greatest detestation of spy mania, I do not think it is open to doubt that there are a number of unidentified persons in this country, who have been making treacherous communications, and who were not known to us at the beginning of the war.⁵⁷²

The views of these moderate politicians suggested that the image of spies as portrayed in the many newspapers and in novels such as *The German Spy*, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, *Number 70*, *Berlin*, "Yellow" *English*, *The Messenger*, *The Spy in Black*, *The Scratch Park* (1916), *Out of the War?*, *Munition Mary* and *The Man from the Clouds* (1918), (all

⁵⁶⁹ Quoted in Anonymous, 'Parliament', *The Times of London*, 12 Nov. 1914, 12.

⁵⁷⁰ Ed-Boy's surname is Turkish in origin.

⁵⁷¹ See Bernard Wasserstein, *The Secret Lives of Trebitsch Lincoln*, Yale University Press, New Haven & London, 1988, 93-123; Anonymous, 'German Spy Plot in America: Attache Said to Have Sent Lody to England: More Revelations in the Passport Frauds', *The Daily News and Leader*, 27 Feb. 1915, 5; Anonymous, 'Germans in America', *Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 16, no. 783 (21 Feb. 1917), 380.

⁵⁷² Quoted in Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 19. See also Bird, *Control of Enemy Alien Civilians in Great Britain 1914-1918*, 66; Cameron Hazelhurst, *Politicians At War July 1914 to May 1915: A Prologue to the triumph of Lloyd George*, Jonathan Cape, London, 1971, 146.

of which portrayed spies signalling to German ships), was shared by much of British society.

There was not only a scare about spies signalling out to sea but a wireless scare as portrayed in *The German Spy*, *The Man who stayed Home*, *The Vanished Messenger*, *Number 70, Berlin* and “*Yellow*” *English*, where people believed that spies were using hidden wireless sets to communicate to the Germans, resulting in a number of houses being searched but often without any success.⁵⁷³ Sir Basil Thomson recalled after the production of the play *The Man who Stayed*, ‘where a complete installation was concealed behind a fireplace’ that two official British wireless operators in a car equipped with a Marconi apparatus ‘to intercept any illicit messages that might be passing over the North Sea’ kept getting arrested by various local police, which resulted in the operators refusing ‘to move without the escort of a Territorial officer in uniform, but on the following morning the police of another county had got hold of them and telegraphed, “Three German spies arrested with car and complete wireless installation, one in uniform of British officer.”’⁵⁷⁴ Typical of hysteria as recalled by Thomson is a letter by Charles Dawson, who wrote to *The Morning Post*: ‘It is suspected that wireless is now used by

⁵⁷³ Le Queux, *The German Spy*, 175. See also Le Queux, *Berlin, Number 70*, 109, 131, 201-212; Flatau, “*Yellow*” *English*, 76; E. S. Turner, *Dear Old Blighty*, Michael Joseph, London, 1990, 58; Anonymous, ‘Spies’ Secret Wireless’, *The Daily Mail*, 7 Aug. 1914, 7; G. Ward Price, “‘Shot!’ Paris Story of Hotel Manager”, *The Daily Mail*, 14 Aug. 1914, 2; Anonymous, ‘Basement Wireless: Charge Against Alien’s Son’, *The Daily Mail*, 2 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Basement in Wireless: Light Sentence on a Young Clerk’, *The Daily Mail*, 15 Oct. 1914, 7; Anonymous, ‘Wireless Raid: Installation Discovered Near the Firth of Forth’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Oct. 1914, 5; [Thomas Marlowe], ‘German Spies on the East Coast’, *The Daily Mail*, 12 Sept. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Wireless in the Chimney: Lady’s Discovery in a Liverpool House’, *The Daily Express*, 21 Dec. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Wireless in the Chimney: Woman’s Discovery: Spy Play Parallel’, *The Daily Mail*, 22 Dec. 1914, 3; Abinger, ‘The German Spy Peril: Wireless Message Sent From England: Indoor Aerials’, *The Daily Express*, 1 Sept. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘The Alleged Wireless Discovery Near Twyford’, *The Morning Post*, 19 Oct. 1914, 12; Harold S. Birdie, ‘Indoor Wireless’, *The Daily Express*, 2 Dec. 1914, 2.

⁵⁷⁴ Thomson, *Queer People*, 39. See also Anonymous, ‘Coast Spies: Motor-Car Wireless to the Enemy: Increased Vigilance’, *The Daily Mail*, 23 Dec. 1914, 7.

spies, and more than one recent disaster at sea may possibly be attributed to this fact, but especially as the days became darker airship raids can be assisted by wireless and other means.’⁵⁷⁵ Moreover such hysteria was encouraged by *The Daily Express* which in November 1914, following the earlier 1909 example of *The British Weekly*, offered £10 for information on spies in response to a letter that claimed that a wireless had been disguised as a flagstaff.⁵⁷⁶ Two days later this reward was raised to £20 as part of a demand from *The Daily Express* for the government to create a Committee for Public Safety for the purpose of control of all activities against foreign spies, which was being pushed by a number of scaremongers including Beresford, Joynson-Hicks, Sir Henry Dalziel, and Lord Harewood and campaigned for by *The Daily Express*.⁵⁷⁷

Elsewhere, the Reverend Andrew Clarke recorded first hand a rumour about a man called Seabrook being court-martialled and shot for having a wireless-installation in his car that was used to direct a German air raid. This rumour was proved false, as Clarke later wrote that Seabrook had ‘left [his home] because he has let, or sold, his house’ before the alleged incident.⁵⁷⁸ Clarke also noted locals who were convinced that they had encountered spies. One of these was Sir Richard Pennyfeather, the local squire of Little Waltham Hall, who was formerly involved with the Metropolitan Police. Pennyfeather

⁵⁷⁵ Charles Dawson, ‘The German Spy Danger’, *The Morning Post*, 19 Oct. 1914, 12.

⁵⁷⁶ W. A., ‘£10 for Information about Spies: Wireless on a Mast that Flew the Union Jack’, *The Daily Express*, 12 Nov. 1914, 5.

⁵⁷⁷ Anonymous, ‘The Spy Danger a Menace to Our Security: Immediate Government Action Required to Ease Public Mind: Appoint a Committee of Public Safety’, *The Daily Express*, 14 Nov. 1914, 1. See also Anonymous, ‘Remove the Spy Peril!: M.P.s Support The “Daily Express” Demand: Safety Committee: How Regulations Were Broken’, *The Daily Express*, 16 Nov. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘End the Spy Peril!: Question for the Prime Minister To-day: Official Confusion: A Committee of Public Safety’, *The Daily Express*, 18 Nov. 1914, 1.

⁵⁷⁸ Seabrook was not the only individual to be accused or believed guilty of signalling out to German ships or aircraft. Rolf Jonsson, a Swedish artist at Falmouth was acquitted by court martial at Falmouth of the charge of signalling by lights from his house. See Clark, *Echoes of The Great War*, 85-86; Anonymous, ‘Swedish Artist Acquitted by Court-martial’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 27 Feb. 1914, 3.

was obsessed with spies, using his position as the head of the local Special Constables to have people arrested on the suspicion of being spies. Those arrested included an elderly woman with a strong German accent, who sold lace at Little Waltham, but was released as her husband was a doctor from an east coast town, and a tramp, who was detained after being spotted sheltering beside a haystack during a rainy night.⁵⁷⁹

These rumours, beliefs and stories about German spies, with the notable exception of Alfred Leete's cartoon series *Schmidt the Spy* with its portrayal of inept spy in *The London Opinion*, reflected the idea that Germany was more efficient especially in military matters and planning than Britain. Therefore it was logical that it would have a spy system to match, rather than the reality of a small group of inept spies.⁵⁸⁰ While some adults before the outbreak of war already had fixed views of Germany and its abilities when reading spy stories, this was not the case with children, making them more susceptible to the anti-German messages. Novelist Graham Greene⁵⁸¹ observed that childhood books have a profound effect on our lives as 'in later life, we admire, we are entertained, we may modify some views we already hold, but we are more likely to find in books merely a confirmation of what is in our minds already.' But when we are children, 'all books are books of divination, telling us about the future, and like the fortune-teller who sees a long journey in the cards or death by water they influence the future.'⁵⁸²

⁵⁷⁹ Pennyfeather, despite evidence to the contrary, still believed in the guilt of those arrested. See Clark, *Echoes of The Great War*, 11-12.

⁵⁸⁰ Alfred Leete, *Schmidt the Spy and his Messages to Berlin*, Duckworth, London, 1916.

⁵⁸¹ Nephew of Sir Graham Greene.

⁵⁸² Quoted in Michael Dirda, *On Conan Doyle*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Oxford, 2012, ix.



"Martial law has been proclaimed, and all picture palaces are under the supervision of field-marshal."—SCHMIDT.



"Preparations are being made for the siege of London, and trenches are being dug in many of the principal streets."—SCHMIDT.



"The shortage of officers in the English Army is so great that women are now being employed as Generals."—SCHMIDT.

Some of example of Alfred Leete's cartoon series Schmidt the Spy, which was a notable exception against the belief that Germany was more efficient, especially in military matters and in planning, than Britain.

Source: Leete, *Schmidt the Spy and his Messages to Berlin*.

Greene's perspective seemed to be confirmed by Robert Roberts, a teacher, who grew up in working-class Salford and was an avid reader of boys' magazines and stories, he recalled that during World War I: 'Spies stories abounded. Germans who came here to "work," we were assured, could be spotted by a special button worn in the lapel. Each man had, we believed, sworn to serve Germany as a secret agent. With this, and innumerable myths of the same sort, the seeds of suspicion and hatred were sown.'⁵⁸³ Such views were encouraged by the children's adventure writer Captain F. S. Brereton,⁵⁸⁴ whose *With French at the Front* (1914) is a prime example of this encouragement as the story's hero, Captain Jim Fletcher, explains to the child reader that the German-British community is a network of spies:

...half the German men one meets in Britain are spies, paid or otherwise. The majority of the women are likewise. Business men, German Consuls, professional men, men of means who have settled down and live the life of country gentlemen in Britain are spies, working all the while for the day ... [This is a] disgusting abuse of the free hospitality Britain and the British race had shown the Germans who had come to their shores. Spies and news-gatherers ... They were watching our preparations on every hand and passing them on to Berlin, passing them by means of secret wireless installations, by carrier pigeons, by every conceivable device.⁵⁸⁵

This statement is made relatively early in the novel (as Fletcher escapes from Germany after being wrongly accused of being a spy) as a way of convincing juvenile readers that what they have heard about or read about spies is true, thus they should be wary of any German in Britain. Later in the novel when Fletcher is safely in Britain and has become a

⁵⁸³ Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford Life in the First Quarter of the Century*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1971, 180.

⁵⁸⁴ Though Brereton ended with the army rank of Lieutenant-Colonel (as a surgeon in the British army) he was published under Captain as that was his rank when he first published.

⁵⁸⁵ Captain F. S. Brereton, *With French at the Front: A Story of the Great European War down to the Battle of the Aisne*, Blackie & Son, London, Bombay, & Sydney, n. d. [1914], 39-40.

spy hunter, he reiterates the earlier point to reinforce the message that most Germans in Britain are spies: ‘thanks to the daily papers, each person looked closely at his neighbour to discover if he were German. Not all Germans were spies. But vast numbers were, without shadow of doubt—aye, and amongst them those duly naturalised—men who had eaten our salt and partaken of our hospitality for years.’⁵⁸⁶ Brereton with this statement like the similar ones made in 1910 justifies attacks made upon innocent Germans. He does this by suggesting more than once that sensational reports of spies in Unionist newspapers such as *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Express* and *The Morning Post* were true, thus providing children a simple demonstration between good ‘Us’ being the British, who are honest, as opposed to the bad ‘Other’ being the Germans who are naturally deceitful as evident by their abusing the hospitality given by their hosts.

Brereton was aiming at what Richard Usborne called the schoolboy desire of wanting ‘all his History to be a contest between Good and Bad....’⁵⁸⁷ Thus World War I was a historic struggle between good represented by the British Empire and bad represented by the German Empire that needs to be defeated to save civilisation. This is a recurring message that was reinforced in spy novels or stories aimed at children or young people throughout the war including *Munition Mary*, *A V.A.D in Salonika*, Beresford’s *On the Road to Baghdad* (1917) and Angela Brazil’s *A Patriotic Schoolgirl* (1918). Brazil’s story is a prime example being set in a girls’ public school where students regularly search for spies. At the end it is revealed one of the girls is actually a German spy, who manages to escape from the school before being captured. When her former friend asks

⁵⁸⁶ Brereton, *With French at the Front*, 168-169.

⁵⁸⁷ Usborne, *Clubland Heroes*, 14.

the Headmistress, “Is it right to forgive the enemies of our country?” The reply is “When they are dead.”⁵⁸⁸ The reply suggests that all Germans should be killed or removed from society as they are a disease in the British body for their only loyalty is to Germany.

Still there was an exception in this type of literature in the “Greyfriar’s School” stories. It is true that in these stories students, as part of their patriotic duty, spend their time capturing spies. However, not all Germans were portrayed as spies. Indeed the series’ author Frank Richards⁵⁸⁹ had one German, Herr Gans, a schoolmaster, suspected as a spy, being proved innocent. The reason for this portrayal was that though Richards was a nationalist and used various racial stereotypes, he had disliked the fierce anti-Germanism expressed during the war and sought to counter this feeling.⁵⁹⁰ As Richards’s fictional schoolboy Harry Wharton points out in the boys’ periodical *The Magnet* in 1916 ‘there are some decent Germans—Handel and Beethoven were Germans, you know, and it would be idiotic to call them “Huns”.’⁵⁹¹ This suggests that Orwell’s analysis of these stories containing political propaganda beneath the surface in order to shape boys’ minds into becoming future Conservative voters was not fully correct. Indeed, C. H. Rolph was an avid reader of Richards’s stories but this did not stop him becoming a pacifist and socialist. Yet Brereton’s comment praising newspapers’ reports about spies suggests he and other writers like Brazil believed that children should politically adhere to the

⁵⁸⁸ Angela Brazil, *A Patriotic Schoolgirl*, Blackie & Son, London, Glasgow, Bombay & Toronto, 1918, 286.

⁵⁸⁹ This was the series nom de plume for Charles Hamilton. He also wrote under the name of Martin Clifford (the St Jim’s stories), Owen Conquest (the Rookwood stories), Peter Todd (the Herlock Sholmes stories) and Ralph Redway (the Rio Rid stories).

⁵⁹⁰ Mary Cadogan & Patricia Craig, *Women and Children First: The Fiction of Two World Wars*, Victor Gollancz, London, 1978, 91. See also Michael Paris, *Over the Top: The Great War and Juvenile Literature in Britain*, Praeger, London & Westport (Connecticut), 2004, 131.

⁵⁹¹ Quoted in Mary Cadogan, *Frank Richards: The Chap Behind the Chums*, Penguin, London, 1988, 133. See also Paris, *Over the Top*, 131-132.

Unionist Party rather than the Liberal Party. Particularly so as newspapers including *The Daily News* and *The Manchester Guardian* that supported the Liberal Party were consistently critical of or simply did not report spy scares, or attacks upon Germans in Britain and were more cautious in reporting spy stories.⁵⁹² While *The Daily Chronicle* believed there was a German spy network nonetheless it was critical of the treatment of women married to Germans and of long-term German residents in Britain commenting ‘men of these types ought not to be treated as enemies. England has long been distinguished by the spirit of Chivalry even in times of acute international conflict. Let us not be unworthy of our traditions.’ Furthermore it pleaded that ‘amateur spy-hunting or alien-baiting ... does far more to hamper than to assist the police and special constables....’⁵⁹³ And when McKenna defeated Home Office measures towards enemy aliens in Parliament in November 1914, he received support from Harry Jones, the parliamentary correspondent for *The Daily Chronicle*, who wrote that McKenna had ‘made scaremongers look ridiculous.’⁵⁹⁴

There were others critical of the spy scare and its politics. *Punch*, though fully supportive of the war effort, produced a series of cartoons that mocked many aspects of the spy

⁵⁹² P. W. W., ‘Pictures in Parliamentary: More News from the Front: German Craft: Telegram that Berlin had not Published’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 29 Aug. 1914, 2; [A. G. Gardiner], ‘The Spy Scare’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Sept. 1914, 4; A. G. G. [A. G. Gardiner], ‘A Letter to Lord Northcliffe: “The Daily News”, “The Daily Mail” and the War’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 5 Dec. 1914, 4; [A. G. Gardiner], “‘Horrible Commercialism’”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 15 Dec. 1914, 4; Jerome K. Jerome, ‘How Not to be Useful in War Time: Talking and Done’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 4 Sept. 1914, 4; Arnold Bennett, ‘Recruiting: Some Agencies Against Success’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 5 Nov. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Spy Scare in Scotland: Charges Made by the Earl of Crawford: Mr. Kinnon Wood calls for Evidence’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Nov. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Aliens in Hotels: Protest Against Attacks on Loyal Germans’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Alien Enemies Bad Times: Thousands of Arrests Yesterday: Olympia as “Clearing House”’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 23 Oct. 1914, 5.

⁵⁹³ [Robert Donald], ‘Spies and Guy Fawkes Day’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 19 Oct. 1914, 4.

⁵⁹⁴ H. J. [Harry Jones], ‘House and Lobby: Critic of the War Office: Treatment of Aliens: Fewer Delays in Payment to Soldiers’ Wives’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 13 Nov. 1914, 5.

scare.⁵⁹⁵ An example is a cartoon by F. H. Townsend that satirises the fear about barbers with a bald-headed man, frightened by the physical appearance of a barber with an upturned moustache, declining to have a shave, fearing that his throat will be cut.⁵⁹⁶ This and other barber cartoons were ridiculing the paranoid belief that German barbers were sent by Germany to act as spies. Other *Punch* cartoons that mocked the spy scare include a black minstrel being forced to remove his make-up; scouts in sandhills searching for spies and a young girl holding all her destroyed dolls, who tells her nanny that ‘Charlie [her brother] killed them! He said they were made in Germany, and how were we to know they weren’t spies?’⁵⁹⁷ In addition there is a series of *Punch* articles called *The Spy Trail* about a boy called Jimmy, who believes his dog, Faithful, is a spy catcher rather than for the most part an uncontrollable dog that does by accident sometimes reveal a spy. This was a metaphor for the overzealous pursuit of spies by amateur spy hunters like Pennyfeather.⁵⁹⁸ This metaphor was also applied by N. R. Martin, a *Punch* writer, in the final months of the war producing a series that had a Boy Scout called Jim, who writes letters to his uncle, about his paranoid patrol leader, who is obsessed with the fear of invasion and spies.⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁵ Sir Owen Seaman, the editor of *Punch*, worked for Wellington House, the government’s unofficial propaganda department.

⁵⁹⁶ F. H. Townsend, ‘Teutonic Barber’, *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 147, 16 Sept. 1914, 238.

⁵⁹⁷ W. Bird, ‘Brother Sambo’, *Punch*, vol. 147, 21 Oct. 1914, 251; Lewis Baumer, ‘Taking no Risks’, *Punch*, vol. 147, 30 Sept. 1914, 271; Wilmot Hunt, ‘Boy Scout’, *Punch*, vol. 147, 21 Oct. 1914, 345; Frank Hunt, ‘Nurse’, *Punch*, vol. 147, 21 Oct. 1914, 343.

⁵⁹⁸ [W. St G. Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 148, 27 Jan. 1915, 66. See also [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 148, 3 Feb. 1915, 86; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 148, 7 April 1915, 273; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 148, 28 April 1915, 326; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 148, 19 May 1915, 396; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 148, 9 June 1915, 448; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail Again’, *Punch*, vol. 149, 8 Dec. 1915, 466; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 150, 1 Mar. 1916, 157-158; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 150, 3 May 1916, 292; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 150, 14 June 1916, 388-389; [Dennon], ‘On the Spy Trail’, *Punch*, vol. 152, 16 May 1917, 316-317. See more ‘On the Spy Trail’ articles in bibliography.

⁵⁹⁹ [N. R. Martin], ‘Letters of a Boy Scout’, *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 155, 24 July 1918, 55; [Martin], ‘Letters of a Boy Scout’, *Punch*, vol. 155, 31 July 1918, 66; [Martin], ‘Letters of a Boy Scout’,



SHASID'S MINISTER, SUSPECTED OF BEING AN ALIEN, IS MADE TO REMOVE THE BLACK FROM HIS FACE FOR PURPOSES OF IDENTIFICATION.



Teutonic Barber. "SHAPE, SIR?"
Customer. "YE-ES— THAT IS, NO!— I THINK I 'LL TRY A HAIR-CUT."



Boy Scout. "NODDS ME, MUM. 'AV YER BAIN AN' GERMAN ABOUT 'EM?"



Nurse. "GOODNESS ME! WHAT AVS YOU BAIN POINTS TO YOUR DOLL?"
John. "CHARLIE'S KILLED BROT! HE SAID HENK WERE MADE IN GERMANY, AND NOW WERE WE TO KNOW THEY WERE'S EYES?"

These series of Punch cartoons mocked many aspects of the spy scare.
Source: Townsend, 'Teutonic Barber', *Punch*, vol. 147, 1914, 238; Bird, 'Brother Sambo', *Punch*, vol. 147, 1914, 251; Wilmot Hunt, 'Boy Scout', *Punch*, vol. 147, 1914, 345; Frank Hunt, 'Nurse', *Punch*, vol. 147, 1914, 343.

While *Punch* used humour to criticise the spy scare others complained in a more serious manner. A. G. Gardiner, the editor of *The Daily News*, while in favour of limited action against alien enemies,⁶⁰⁰ commented on 9 October 1914, that ‘on the subject of [German spies] so far as our country is concerned ... however patriotic well-meaning spy hunters may be they are generally useless.’⁶⁰¹ What’s more, ten days later he attacked sensational newspapers for their anti-alien reports believing they encouraged rioting against Germans and the spy scare and the Home Office were guilty of not acting against this trend, as he commented on:

...that section of the Press which for days past has been assiduously inciting against unfortunate aliens in this country every cruel passion which insane suspicion can arouse and mean vindictiveness cherish into flame. How long the Home Office will suffer the continuance of the campaign which itself is an impudent incitement to the mob to usurp its function we do not know. The result of that campaign is now plain, and it is scarcely satisfactory that only the misguided dupes should have to pay for the unscrupulousness of its instigators.⁶⁰²

The Manchester Guardian, though supportive of limited internment, was highly critical of attacks upon Germans, commenting that ‘Only a few boyishly thoughtless and cruel people and a few papers written to please them, look on the “round-up” of all the luckless little German waiters and tailors as a kind of manly sport; rabbit-coursing in public-house yards is rather sickening to decent sportsmen.’⁶⁰³ The newspaper was reflecting its

Punch, vol. 155, 14 Aug. 1918, 104; [Martin], ‘Letters of a Boy Scout’, *Punch*, vol. 155, 18 Sept. 1918, 180; [Martin], ‘Letters of a Boy Scout’, *Punch*, vol. 155, 2 Oct. 1918, 212.

⁶⁰⁰ [A. G. Gardiner], ‘The Alien’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 6 Aug. 1914, 4.

⁶⁰¹ [A. G. Gardiner], ‘The German Spy’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 9 Oct. 1914, 4. See also [A. G. Gardiner], ‘The Enemy Alien’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 22 Oct. 1914, 4; [A. G. Gardiner], ‘Prince Louis Battenberg’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 30 Oct. 1914, 4.

⁶⁰² [A. G. Gardiner], ‘Pogrom Mongers’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 19 Oct. 1914, 6.

⁶⁰³ [C. P. Scott], ‘Alien Enemy Question’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 30 Oct. 1914, 6.

prominently liberal readership that complained of the treatment and internment of Germans in Britain and saw such treatment as similar to ‘...the spirit of indiscriminate savagery which has disgraced the German armies.’⁶⁰⁴ This readership included ‘An Englishman’, who complained that Manchester’s Germans deserved not to suffer as ‘All not Spies!’⁶⁰⁵ The historian and internationalist G. Lowes Dickinson, whilst believing there were German spies in Britain, defended long-termed British residents and their children as being loyal to Britain.⁶⁰⁶ In addition Arthur Conan Doyle criticised the dismissal of naturalised waiters from hotels.⁶⁰⁷ The reaction against German residents and those of German backgrounds in Britain resulted in N. von Nettlebladt writing to *The Morning Post* pleading for calm:

...I am confident that all respectable German residents in this country condemn and resent strongly any spying and all acts against the law of nations. This war has brought hardships, in many instances absolute ruin, to German residents, but the distress caused for us in consequence is little compared to the disgust and concern we feel in finding that we should be looked upon with suspicion by the people we learnt to love, with whom we made friends, and amongst whom we decided to live. Surely it is terrible enough to have one’s sympathies divided, to

⁶⁰⁴ Anonymous, “Correspondence: A Clean Sweep of Germans”, *The Manchester Guardian*, 24 Sept. 1914, 4.

⁶⁰⁵ An Englishman, ‘The Germans Among Us’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 17 Sept. 1914, 10. See also Scotsman, ‘The Germans Among Us’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 19 Sept. 1914, 4; An Englishman, ‘The Germans Among Us’, *The Manchester Guardian*, 21 Sept. 1914, 12; H. W. P., ‘The Enemy in Our Midst: Plight of Out-of-Work Germans: British Wives of Alien Husbands’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 6 Oct. 1914, 7; C. E. Maurice, “Enemy in Our Midst”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 6 Nov. 1914, 4; E. W. Lummis, “Enemy in Our Midst”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 4 Nov. 1914, 4; Frederic Mackarness, ‘The Interned Alien’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 27 Nov. 1914, 4.

⁶⁰⁶ G. Lowes Dickinson, “Enemy in Our Midst”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 3 Nov. 1914, 4. See also Jason Foster ‘Bond for Behavior’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 Oct. 1914, 3; E. S. Woodroffe, “Ruin Many Happy Homes”, *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 Oct. 1914, 3; Anonymous, ‘Predicament of English-born Wives’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 Oct. 1914, 3; J. V. D. Forest-Hill, “Children as Proof of Loyalty”, *The Daily Chronicle*, 24 Oct. 1914, 3; Judge Mackarness, ‘County Judge’s Plea’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 27 Oct. 1914, 7; F. C. Connolly, ‘Italians as “Enemies”’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 27 Oct. 1914, 7; E. Hayward, ‘The Question of Securities’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5; An Englishman, ‘Wanted, Discrimination’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5; Alfred Mew, ‘Tax on Loyalty’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5; Eva Stromberg, ‘Secret of England’s Greatness’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5.

⁶⁰⁷ Arthur Conan Doyle, ‘German Waiters’, *The Daily Mail*, 23 Oct. 1914, 4. See also Arthur Conan Doyle, ‘German Aliens’, *The Daily Mail*, 28 Oct. 1914, 4.

have friends and relations fighting on both sides, and to be condemned to inactivity and suspense. Must we endure suspicion and persecution as well?...⁶⁰⁸

Another critic of the spy scare was Harold Smith,⁶⁰⁹ the Unionist MP for Warrington and the Secretary of the Press Bureau, who wrote to *The Globe* requesting it to stop publishing letters about spies because of the paranoia it created. However, *The Globe* objected, replying that the government had done little to deal with the question of enemy aliens. The Press Bureau responded with the threat of prosecution but *The Globe* ignored this and continued to print letters.⁶¹⁰ These sorts of criticism against the fear of spies, especially from political radicals, would continue to the end of the war with Colonel Josiah Wedgewood,⁶¹¹ the radical Liberal MP for Newcastle-under-Lyme, commenting that ‘...the Government should explain to the country that the danger which has been conjured up before their eyes repeatedly by the whole of the Yellow Press in the country is not so great as they imagine at the present time. We are really getting into a condition of panic such as overwhelmed England at the time of the Popish Plot.’⁶¹² Wedgewood (with others like Gardiner) blamed sensational newspapers for creating the atmosphere of fear just as Guthrie had done with ‘The Yellow Patriots (A Fragment from some Future Historians)’.

⁶⁰⁸ N. von Nettleblatt, ‘A Plea for Resident Germans: To the Editor of The Morning Post’, *The Morning Post*, 14 Aug. 1914, 2. See also August Cohen, ‘Aliens in Britain: Plea for Justice and Fair Play: Views of a Judge’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 27 Oct. 1914, 7; S. K., ‘Do Not Separate Families’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5; ‘An Austrian Mother’, ‘Children Without Mother’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5; August Cohen, ‘Hotel Cecil License’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 16 Nov. 1914, 6.

⁶⁰⁹ Later Sir Harold Smith.

⁶¹⁰ Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 155. See also [Thomas Marlowe], ‘Are Cabinet Ministers Above Criticism?: Mr. McKenna and The “Globe”’, 25 Nov. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘Mr. McKenna and the “Globe”: Attempt to Suppress Criticism: Silencing of Public Opinion’, *The Daily Mail*, 25 Nov. 1914, 3; P. W. W., ‘Britain and the Balkans: Statement by Sir Edward Grey: Serbian Pledge: Government and the “Globe” Problem’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Dec. 1914, 2; [A. G. Gardiner], ‘The “Globe” Case’, 12 Nov. 1915, 4.

⁶¹¹ Later Lord Wedgewood.

⁶¹² *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Commons), 11 July 1918, col. 545.

Even though many critics of the spy scare were on the political left like Wedgewood, nonetheless there were left-wingers who did believe wealthy German immigrants were being protected. As H. G. Wells remarked to Northcliffe, 'I would intern every one of them [Germans] who had been naturalised within five years of the outbreak of the war ... The freedom of a good many of the Germans in England is due to snobbery and worse in *very high places*.'⁶¹³ Moreover George Lansbury, then the editor of the Labour *The Daily Herald*,⁶¹⁴ on 29 May 1915 declared; 'If there are dangerous aliens in our midst, I should expect to find them in high places.'⁶¹⁵

This view of a 'hidden hand', that had been suggested early on in the war, often had strong anti-Jewish overtones, which was far more prominent on the political right, especially the radical-right, than the left.⁶¹⁶ The basis of this feeling was the argument that Britain was controlled by wealthy German-Jews or 'cosmopolitan' financiers, who lacked a sense of national loyalty except to their fellow Jews but who were backing Germany as the country that could deliver them world power. As mentioned before, Maxse had expressed this view with his catchphrase of the 'Potsdam Party'. He continually expressed this view throughout the war and published articles by Ian Colvin, a lead writer for *The Morning Post*, which claimed there was a centuries old German conspiracy against England.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹³ Quoted in Pound & Harmsworth, *Northcliffe*, 649.

⁶¹⁴ *The Daily Herald* became *The Sun* in 1964.

⁶¹⁵ Quoted in Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 162.

⁶¹⁶ Anonymous, 'Arrested German: Man of High Social Position', *The Daily Mail*, 1 Sept. 1914, 5. See also Anonymous, 'Alien Shipper Arrested: Police Action Against Prominent German', *The Daily Mail*, 1 Oct. 1914, 3.

⁶¹⁷ Colvin before joining *The Morning Post* in 1909 had been a journalist in India and South Africa and during this time had developed protectionist views and after the war played a major role in spreading anti-

Colvin's *The Germans in England 1066-1598* (1915) argued that the economic situation in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries resembled the Middle Ages, when there had been a 'long, fierce, and irregular conflict which was waged between Germany and England for sea power and commercial supremacy.'⁶¹⁸ This was part of '...the first great conflict between England and Germany for supremacy in trade.'⁶¹⁹ Colvin saw that World War I was yet another episode in a struggle between England and Germany for economic supremacy. Colvin explained this by manipulating historic events to show there had been in different eras a German hidden hand in England that controlled English politics for the benefit of Germany. *The Times Literary Supplement* was unimpressed by this manipulation declaring 'Mr. Colvin's book is an improvisation of the war, but it is easier to improvise armies than it is to improvise the elements of historical scholarship or of common sense.'⁶²⁰ However, Colvin would continue to express a number of conspiracy theories including that Louis XVI of France had fallen from power because he 'listened to the economic and political philosophers who preached Free Trade and Democracy', and after the war would publicise the infamous 'Protocols of Zion' as being true. Colvin was typical of many including Sir George Makgill, a founder of and secretary to the BEU, Lord Leith of Fyvie, *The Morning Post* and Brigadier-General

Jewish ideas in Britain. See Keith Wilson, 'Colvin, Ian Duncan (1877–1938)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, vol. 17, Oxford & New York, 2004, 386 ; Ian D. Colvin, 'The Germans in England: An Historical Study', *The National Review*, vol. 65, no. 391 (Sept. 1915), 201-215; Ian D. Colvin, 'The Germans in England – 1915', *The National Review*, vol. 65, no. 394 (Dec. 1915), 529-541; Ian D. Colvin, 'Hammer or Anvil', *The National Review*, vol. 70, no. 415 (Sept. 1917), 53-60; Ian D. Colvin, 'The Freedom of the Baltic', *The National Review*, vol. 70, no. 418 (Dec. 1917), 495-501.

⁶¹⁸ Ian D. Colvin, *The Germans in England 1066-1598* [1915], Kennikat Press, Port Washington (New York) & London, n.d., xi.

⁶¹⁹ Colvin, *The Germans in England*, xxxi.

⁶²⁰ Anonymous, 'Improvisation of War', *The Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 14, no. 752 (18 Nov. 1915), 416.

Henry Page Croft, MP for Christchurch and co-founder of the ultra-nationalistic National Party in 1917,⁶²¹ favouring trade protection thus making them opposed to German-born Jewish plutocrats and the Liberal Party, especially those radical Liberals such as Sir John Brunner (his father was a Swiss-German but was often accused of being a German), who favoured free trade. Their views could be summed up by Makgill, who wrote in *The Daily Express* in November 1915: 'It is an open secret that the Free Trade campaign before the war was financed to a large extent by money supplied from sources with a German or pro-German taint, if not indirectly from German secret service funds.'⁶²²

Another who agreed was H. W. Steed, who on 31 July 1914 told Northcliffe that the war was '...a dirty German-Jewish international financial attempt to bully us into advocating neutrality....'⁶²³ Similarly L. Cope Cornford, the navy correspondent for *The Daily Express*, in a letter to *The Morning Post*, wrote '...the control exercised upon the Government by a group of international financiers alien to this country is very much more powerful than the public understand.'⁶²⁴ This was suggested by Lord Leith of Fyvie in November 1914 when he stated: 'At present the poor alien and the wage earner are interned, but the rich financiers, the contractors, and the big men in the city of London

⁶²¹ Later Lord Bournemouth.

⁶²² Sir George Makgill, 'Britain in the Web of the Pro-German Spider: A Decade of Decadence', *The Daily Express*, 9 Nov. 1915, 4. See also Stephen E. Koss, *Sir John Brunner: Radical Plutocrat, 1842-1919*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1970, 238; G. R. Searle, 'Critics of Edwardian Society: The Case of the Radical Right', ed. Alan O'Day, *The Edwardian Age: Conflict and Stability*, MacMillan Press, London & Basingstoke, 1975, 92; Peter Alter, 'German-speaking Jews as Patrons of the Arts and Sciences in Edwardian England', eds. Julius Carlebach, Gerhard Hirschfeld, Aubrey Newman, Arnold Paucker, Peter Pulzer, *Second Chance: Two Centuries of German-speaking Jews in the United Kingdom*, J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1991, 212.

⁶²³ H. W. Steed, *Through Thirtieth Years*, vol. 2, Heinemann, London, 1924, 9.

⁶²⁴ L. Cope Cornford, 'The German Spy Danger: Removal of Alien Enemies', *The Morning Post*, 20 Oct. 1914, 10.

escape. Those are the enemies....'⁶²⁵ Leith's opinion reflected the BEU's aim of 'the Extirpation – Root and Branch and Seed – of German Control and Influence from the British Empire.' The BEU was founded in 1915 as the Anti-German Union (changing its name shortly afterwards), whose supporters and members included Countess Bathurst (the proprietor of *The Morning Post*), Maxse, Beresford, Joynson-Hick, Page-Croft and Lords Wellington and Derby.⁶²⁶ These people were either members of the traditional landed classes or were trade protectionists like Leith, had made fortunes in industry and feared German industrial growth would undermine their businesses or investments by reducing their market share.⁶²⁷ Though the BEU was not aimed solely at German Jews or Liberals it did have strong focus upon them as Page Croft wrote 'Liberalism [had] allied itself with Cosmopolitanism [Jews]' and that Britain was under the control of Jewish-Germans.⁶²⁸ Suspicious feelings amongst many writers such as J. A. Hobson, T. H. S. Escott, G. K. Chesterton, Cecil Chesterton⁶²⁹ and Hilaire Belloc towards German-British Jewish plutocrats had existed before the war, especially as many were prominent Liberal MPs or supporters of the Liberal Party with the fact they were disproportionately represented amongst the non-landed wealthy and MPs.⁶³⁰ As William D. Rubinstein has

⁶²⁵ *The Parliamentary Debates* (House of Lords), Fifth Series, Fourth Session of the Thirtieth Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 18, 11 Nov. 1914, col. 47.

⁶²⁶ Anonymous, 'Mr. Maxse on The German Blight', *The Times of London*, no. 40884, 18 June 1915, 5.

⁶²⁷ Leith, who had been raised to the peerage in 1905, had made his money from working and investing in the Chicago steel industry before moving back to Scotland to buy Fyvie Castle in Aberdeenshire to emphasise his (distant) family connection to the Gordon clan in the region and to give the appearance of being a member of the traditional Scottish ruling classes. See Anonymous, 'Obituary: Lord Leith of Fyvie', *The Times of London*, no. 44120, 16 Nov. 1925, 16.

⁶²⁸ Quoted in William D. Rubinstein, 'Henry Page Croft and the National Party 1917-22', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 9, no. 1 (Jan. 1974), 140.

⁶²⁹ The younger brother of G. K. Chesterton.

⁶³⁰ Sir Ernest Cassel, one of the most prominent of these plutocrats was often believed to be a financial supporter of the Liberal party but was instead a financial supporter of the Unionist Party and Furthermore he did not consider himself Jewish (many German-Jews considered themselves belonging to a religious group rather than an ethnic group) as he had converted to Roman Catholicism on his marriage. This became widely known amongst the political and social elite when Cassel on becoming a Privy Councillor, to the

calculated, despite Jews counting for no more than 0.3 percent of the entire British population just before World War I, they made up over a fifth of all non-landed millionaires in Britain.⁶³¹

The Marconi Scandal that occurred in mid-1912, involved the acquiring of shares in an American subsidiary of the Marconi Company by prominent Liberal MPs including David Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Alexander Murray (the Master Elibank), the Chief Government Whip and Treasurer of the Liberal Party; Herbert Samuel,⁶³² the Postmaster General and his cousin Sir Rufus Isaacs,⁶³³ the Attorney General (whose brother Godfrey was the Managing Director of the Marconi Company) before the decision was announced on which company was to build the imperial wireless network. Many saw this action of politicians as illegal including Ellis T. Powell, the editor of *The Financial News*, then the biggest selling financial newspaper, was a vocal critic having investigated the scandal, believing the shares were purchased by a person or persons ‘in the know.’⁶³⁴ During the war Powell developed this theme further into the theory of a ‘hidden hand’ in the financial world that was blackmailing powerful people to allow German spies freedom of movement. Powell’s theory always returned to the

surprise of many, chose to swear on the Bible rather than the Torah. See T. H. S. Sweet-Escott, *Society in London: By a Foreign Resident*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1885, 86-87; Colin Holmes, ‘J. A. Hobson and the Jews’, ed. Colin Holmes, *Immigrants and Minorities in British Society*, George Allen & Unwin, London, Boston & Sydney, 1978, 137; Jay P. Corrin, *G. K. Chesterton and Hilaire Belloc: The Battle Against Modernity*, Ohio University Press, Athens (Ohio) & London, 1981, passim; Bryan Cheyette, ‘Hilaire Belloc and the “Marconi Scandal” 1913-1914: A Reassessment of the Interactionist Model of Racial Hatred’, eds. Tony Kushner & Kenneth Lunn, *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*, Frank Cass, 1990, 131-139; G. R. Searle, *Corruption in British Politics 1895-1930*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1987, 68.

⁶³¹ W. D. Rubinstein, *Men of Property: The Very Wealthy in Britain since the Industrial Revolution*, Croom Helm, London, 1981, 156.

⁶³² Later Lord Samuel.

⁶³³ Later Lord Reading.

⁶³⁴ Searle, *Corruption in British Politics 1895-1930*, 249.

Marconi Scandal as a way of explaining the failure of the British military to finish the war quickly, German military successes, submarine attacks and Kitchener's death, because somebody 'very high up' in the British Government knew everything about the Allied war plans.

Powell did not just express his theory in *The Financial News* but also wrote the financial chapter in Arnold White's *The Hidden Hand* (1917), which was dedicated to Powell for his work on the 'Marconi Scandal'. White had already come to the view at the beginning of the war that there was a vast German spy network from 1902 to carry out war against Britain by spending a million pounds on espionage with the use of German clerks to gain British trade secrets.⁶³⁵ Though White barely mentions German Jews, he, like other radical right-wing writers, used the term cosmopolitan and materialist as code for Jews to attack them especially as Samuel and the Isaac brothers were from prominent Jewish families of German origin. Moreover White writes that Jews possess the power of the 'art of hypnotising large communities of shareholders into the belief that something is to be made out of nothing' and '...since the fall of Barings the Jewish financial houses live in lonely supremacy.'⁶³⁶

As a result *The Hidden Hand* is aimed in part against Jewish-Germans in British finance, but unlike Powell, White did not attempt any detailed research to provide evidence to support his assertions. Instead he depended on recurring words or themes to continually make the same point over and over again. Indeed, discounting the chapter headings, the

⁶³⁵ Arnold White, 'Looking Around: Clear Thinking', *The Daily Express*, 22 Feb. 1915, 4.

⁶³⁶ Quoted in Holmes, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1939*, 65.

phrase of ‘the hidden hand’ is mentioned 305 times, its variations of ‘the unseen hand’⁶³⁷ are used a further six times and ‘the invisible hand’ three times, all of which are employed as a means to constantly reinforce the message that everywhere in society the hidden hand is at work.⁶³⁸

Though White was not taken seriously by some, nonetheless, these ideas of a Hidden Hand were expressed in World War I spy novels.⁶³⁹ Le Queux was the first with *The German Spy*. The story centres on a Jewish-German Briton as the head of a German spy network. Though Le Queux did not emphasise the villain’s Jewishness, nevertheless he fits into the mould of a German-Jewish spy. He is a seemingly respectable and influential immigrant who owns a manor at Clarges Street, Mayfair, which is in reality a clearing-house for German spies. The location in Mayfair, the most expensive and privileged London suburb, near Buckingham Palace, suggests that the German spy network as a hidden hand is at the very heart of the British establishment, influencing events for Germany’s benefit. Indeed, this is implied in the story when Whitmarsh discovers a safe containing the complete Russian military campaign plans in East Prussia as a way of Le Queux explaining the comprehensive German victory in the Battle of Tannenberg in August 1914. Le Queux uses this scenario as an example of the type of damage that these

⁶³⁷ The slight variation upon the term ‘the hidden hand’ is not surprising as a book called *The Unseen Hand* by Kirton Varley appeared in 1916 and others in 1918 would write on the same theme in reaction to the German spring offensive that gave the appearance that Germany was on the brink of victory. See Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 173-175.

⁶³⁸ Arnold White, *The Hidden Hand*, Grant Richards, London, 1917, 7, 49, 83, 90, 101, 123, 136, 198, 199.

⁶³⁹ Captain Richard Coke wrote to *The Referee*, a Sunday newspaper, of which White was a columnist, dismissing White’s ideas of the hidden hand. While Emmanuel White in *Punch* had mocked White’s *Is the Kaiser Insane?: A Study of the Great Outlaw* (1915): ‘...Mr. Arnold White has recently published a book to prove that the Kaiser is mad. We gather, however, that this must be a comparatively recent affliction, but it is stated in an article in *The Sunday Pictorial* that His Imperial Majesty once granted an interview to Mr. White.’ See Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 175; Emmanuel White, ‘Charivaria’, *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 148, 21 March 1915, 241.

spies can and are doing in real life.⁶⁴⁰ Le Queux uses other spy clichés popular before and during the war such as a hidden wireless set, maps of Britain drawn up by German spies, and spies signalling along the coast. In spite of this, he does not fully express the theory of a hidden hand until *The Zeppelin Destroyer*, where the term ‘the invisible hand’ is used thirty-one times, showing that by the middle of the war this idea had gained in popularity, allowing Le Queux to use it to emphasise the notion that there was a conspiracy against Britain’s war effort.⁶⁴¹

However, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, through Scudder’s warning to Hannay, was one of the first stories to capture the ideas of ‘the Hidden Hand’ as expressed by Colvin, Ellis and White.⁶⁴² Though, as mentioned earlier, during the course of the novel doubt is cast upon the anti-Jewish sentiment of Scudder’s theory, nonetheless it shows that the idea that Jews or wealthy German immigrants were involved in a conspiracy is a common theme throughout British spy literature during World War I. Also there are key differences between *The Thirty-Nine Steps*’s storyline and later novels dealing with the theme of the ‘hidden hand’ such as Oppenheim’s *The Kingdom of the Blind*. The former portrays the governmental authorities through the characters of Bullivant and MacGillivray, the head of Scotland Yard, as being competent, even efficient, in marked contrast to the latter novel where the authorities, with notable exceptions, are either corrupt or blind to the internal threat from Germans within Britain.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴⁰ Le Queux, *The German Spy*, 149.

⁶⁴¹ William Le Queux, *The Zeppelin Destroyer*, Hodder & Stoughton, 1916, 175.

⁶⁴² See Introduction and Literature Review for Scudder’s statement on page 3.

⁶⁴³ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1917, 138.

In *The Kingdom of the Blind*, which is set before the national Coalition government, the internal threat is based at the heart of the British political, economic and military establishment.⁶⁴⁴ This menace is embodied in the two villains, who have the outward appearance of being absolutely British but on the inside are truly German. One of these villains is Captain Ronnie Garnet, who has the appearance of an English gentleman due to his good looks, bravery, and being a sportsman, having played polo and university and county cricket.⁶⁴⁵ This is a false picture as he and his uncle Sir Alfred Anselman, ‘the greatest financier of the city’, are German agents.⁶⁴⁶ One of the reasons given for his working for Germany is that both have German ancestry with Garnet’s mother being a German Alsatian. He admits ‘the more dominant part of the personality which I have inherited comes to me from Alsatian ancestors.’⁶⁴⁷ But an even more pressing reason is that

He remembered his long travels in Germany, he remembered on his return his growing disapproval of English slackness, her physical and moral decadence. Her faults had inspired him not with the sorrow of one of her real sons, but with the contempt of one only half bound to her by natural ties. The ground had been laid ready for the poison. He had started honestly enough. His philosophy had satisfied himself. He had felt no moral degradation in wearing the uniform of one country for the benefit of another.⁶⁴⁸

Oppenheim is suggesting in this paragraph that the war happened in part due to Britain’s inefficiencies, which is symbolised by its failure (until 1916) to introduce national service

⁶⁴⁴ The Coalition government was formed in May 1915 when Unionist and Labour parties joined together the Liberals in government.

⁶⁴⁵ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 9.

⁶⁴⁶ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 130.

⁶⁴⁷ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 110.

⁶⁴⁸ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 300.

that would have made the populace fit and ready for war.⁶⁴⁹ In marked contrast, Germany was economically and militarily efficient, partly as result of national service that had led to economic growth and a fit population prepared for the day to challenge Britain's world position by going to war.⁶⁵⁰ Oppenheim's thinking was similar to many Victorian and Edwardian invasion/spy literature such as *The Battle of Dorking*, *When William Came*, *The Riddle of the Sands, 1910* and *An Englishman's Home*, all of which called for greater national efficiency, with national service or at least military training seen as a key component to counter the growing economic and military power of rival countries.

In addition *The Kingdom of the Blind* often argues that politicians, particularly Liberals, and to a lesser extent the Unionist leadership, are under the influence of foreign-born or foreign-heritage plutocrats and thus are to blame for public apathy. This is because the politicians make decisions based on popularity rather what is in the national interest, in order to gain votes. This message is reinforced further in the novel when the hero, Major-Surgeon Hugh Thomson (secretly the head of military intelligence), attacks politicians:

These damned civilians! ... They've done their best to ruin Great Britain by crabbing every sort of national service during the last ten years. They feed and pamper the vermin who are eating away the foundations of the country, and, damn it all, when we put a clear case to them, when we show them men whom we know to be dangerous, they laugh at us and tell us that it isn't our department! They look upon us as amateurs and speak of Scotland Yard with bated breath. My God! If I had a free hand for ten minutes, there'd be two Cabinet Ministers eating bread and water instead of their dinners to-night.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁹ National service or conscription was never introduced in Ireland during World War I.

⁶⁵⁰ Arnold Bennett was one of the few with a contrasting view arguing in November 1914 that '...when we say that a thing is efficient we mean that it is capable of producing a desired effect. The German Army has most emphatically not produced the desired effect [winning the war]. Germany therefore was not in a state of military efficiency.' See Arnold Bennett, 'Military Efficiency: The Leave-to-us School', *The Daily News and Leader*, 26 Nov. 1914, 4.

⁶⁵¹ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 68.

Thomson also describes politicians as ‘black-coated parasites’ and goes on to say that ‘One of those very blatant idiots whose blundering is costing the country millions of money and thousands of brave men, has still enough authority to treat our reports as so much waste paper.’⁶⁵² The last comment seems to be directed at Haldane. Though Haldane had ceased to be War Secretary in 1912, nonetheless he was continually attacked during the war for being pro-German and undermining the military due to his army reforms. The film *Wake Up!: A Dream of To-morrow* was one such attack.⁶⁵³ Haldane was portrayed as Lord Pax [Peace], the ‘feeble War Minister’, who opposes conscription and ‘sleeps while our enemies seek to destroy us’. This film was about a German invasion with marked similarities to *1910* as both stories involved the British army being defeated, civilian guerrilla warfare in London, executions by Germans regardless of sex or age, babies being bayoneted and Germans bombarding London. Both stories attacked Haldane’s military reforms, were produced by a Unionist newspaper and boys were planted in audiences to encourage patriotic responses. In the case of *Wake Up!* it was by *The Daily Express* (Laurence Cowen⁶⁵⁴ was hired to novelise the film version), which was serialised between 5 January and 25 February 1915 with wounded veterans and Boy Scouts attending free matinees, while military bands played and local officials delivered

⁶⁵² Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 68.

⁶⁵³ Released in December 1914.

⁶⁵⁴ Cowen also wrote a novel called *It is for England!* (1917), that contained references to naturalised Germans working for Germany. As well he wrote a play called *The Hidden Hand*, which was first staged in Liverpool in early June 1918, which *John Bull* described in a review as ‘the best piece of War propaganda we have yet struck ... It represents, in dramatic form, what we have warned for many years – and makes us think.’ When the play opened at the Strand Theatre in London in early July it was staged every evening, as well as on two afternoons per week, showing the popularity such ideas had amongst the public. In marked contrast *The Times* mistakenly reviewed it as a comedy thinking it was a piece of irony ‘written to poke fun at the worthy folk who are obsessed with what newspaper headlines frequently call “The German peril in our midst.”’ While *The Daily News* was unimpressed but noted because of the subject matter the play would be popular as it commented: ‘The play is old fashioned in style and runs very slow but no doubt it will be popular, especially if the last act can be shorn of its absurdities.’ See Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 175; Anonymous, “The Hidden Hand”: Spy Play At The Strand Theatre’, *The Times of London*, no. 41834, 5 July 1918, 9; E. A. G., “Hidden Hand”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 4 July 1918, 6.

patriotic speeches during screenings. One of these screenings was at Covent Garden Opera in late January as part of the ‘Wake Up!’ festival, where singers appeared on stage singing patriotic songs and Boy Scouts would hiss when the villain spy appeared and at other screenings the Mayors of Kentish Town (London) and Poplar (London) attended screenings to rouse interest.⁶⁵⁵ To increase the numbers attending, with each appearance of the story in *The Daily Express* the cinemas showing the film were advertised. Reinforcing the recruiting message the first instalment had an illustration of a boy being shot dead by an invading soldier after he pointed a toy gun at him.⁶⁵⁶ The fourth instalment was placed beneath a photograph of Rheims Cathedral on fire after being hit by German shells with a list of casualties and advertisement for home defence with the words ‘After Reading the Above: No Man Worth the Name must Remain Untrained’.⁶⁵⁷ These words⁶⁵⁸ and casualty lists would ten times accompany the story during serialisation to pressure the male reader into volunteering.⁶⁵⁹ The only genuine difference between *1910* and *Wake Up!* is the latter is placed within a dream in which Lord Pax awakes to realise that Britain is vulnerable to attack.⁶⁶⁰ Thus the film has a positive

⁶⁵⁵ *The Daily Express* produced the film with the cooperation of the War Office (it likely was a vehicle to encourage recruits) with the involvement of 2000 Boy Scouts and veteran sailors and soldiers. See Anonymous, ‘New “Daily Express” Serial: Lessons from the War for Britain’, *The Daily Express*, 1 Jan. 1915, 5; Anonymous, ‘Mayors See Film’, *The Daily Express*, 11 Jan. 1915, 6; Anonymous, “‘Wake Up! Festival’: Enthusiasm at Convent Garden Matinee: Patriotic Rally’, *The Daily Express*, 25 Jan. 1915, 5; Anonymous, ‘Col. Jessel’s Appeal for Men’, *The Daily Express*, 5 Feb. 1915, 5; Anonymous, “‘Wake Up!’ Film at Balham’, *The Daily Express*, 6 Feb. 1915, 3; Anonymous, “‘Wake Up!’ Recruits’, *The Daily Express*, 10 Feb. 1915, 2; Anonymous, ‘If You Can Go, Go!’, *The Daily Express*, 12 Feb. 1915, 3; Anonymous, ‘Recruiting by Film’, *The Daily Express*, 24 Feb. 1915, 7.

⁶⁵⁶ Lawrence Cowen, ‘Wake Up!: A Dream of To-morrow’, *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 2.

⁶⁵⁷ See *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 2.

⁶⁵⁸ See *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 2; 7 Jan. 1915, 2; 9 Jan. 1915, 5; 12 Jan. 1915, 2; 15 Jan. 1915, 2; 19 Jan. 1915, 2; 22 Jan. 1915, 3; 29 Jan. 1915, 2; 1 Feb. 1915, 2.

⁶⁵⁹ See *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 2; 7 Jan. 1915, 2; 9 Jan. 1915, 5; 12 Jan. 1915, 2; 16 Jan. 1915, 6; 19 Jan. 1915, 2; 30 Jan. 1915, 2; 12 Feb. 1915, 3; 24 Feb. 1915, 7.

⁶⁶⁰ Lawrence Cowen, ‘Wake Up!: A Dream of To-morrow’, 26 Feb. 1915, 7. See also W. Ingram-Lyons, ‘The Volunteer Training Corps: New London Recruiting Scheme: Stimulus Wanted’, *The Daily Express*, 10 Feb. 1915, 3.

message (unlike *1910*) as it suggests that the British government had woken up in enough time to be able to prepare for an invasion. Though the film was produced in cooperation with the War Office as a vehicle to encourage recruits, and despite its conclusion, the film is attacking Haldane's earlier army policies. This is evident by the fact that *The Daily Express* continually produced cartoons and articles accusing Haldane of being pro-German and having deceived 'the public about the Army, about Germany and about spies.'⁶⁶¹ Indeed, *The Daily Express* before and coinciding with the serialisation ran a series of articles including a number by Arnold White, and front page headlines denouncing Haldane's role as War Secretary and his interest in Germany as being responsible for making Britain vulnerable to invasion. This was used as a means of pushing *The Daily Express* and Blumenfeld's pre-war agenda of introducing national service, to force Haldane from office⁶⁶² and the internment of all naturalised and unnaturalised aliens.⁶⁶³ Additionally *The Daily Express* serialised *The Beautiful Spy*, which at one stage has Professor Jabbs explaining why he has set up a German spy

⁶⁶¹ See Anonymous, 'Three Sacks', *The Daily Express*, 16 Jan. 1915, 5; Anonymous, 'Woodman Spare that Tree', *The Daily Express*, 12 Jan. 1915, 5.

⁶⁶² *The Daily Express* denied Haldane was targeted because he was a Liberal. Though it is notable that one letter published defending Haldane for trying to seek peace with Germany and condemning *The Daily Express*'s campaign as being hypocritical was attacked by Blumenfeld with the comment 'Mr. Armstrong's letter answers itself'. See [R. D. Blumenfeld], 'Lord Haldane and his Apologists', *The Daily Express*, 8 Jan. 1915, 1; Ed Noel Armstrong, 'Another Champion', *The Daily Express*, 7 Jan. 1915, 5; Percy G. Banter, 'Question and Answer', *The Daily Express*, 9 Jan. 1915, 4; Workman, 'Open to All' *The Daily Express*, 9 Jan. 1915, 4.

⁶⁶³ Anonymous, 'Lord Haldane', *The Daily Express*, 24 Dec. 1914, 1. See also Arthur T. Todd-White, 'Lord Roberts on Recognition', *The Daily Express*, 2 Dec. 1914, 2; C. L. Drawbridge, 'More Recruiting Meets', *The Daily Express*, 2 Dec. 1914, 2; C. M. 'Ignoring the Spy Peril: Carelessness that May Lead to Disaster', *The Daily Express*, 1 Sept. 1914, 4; T. L. Roberts, 'What Would German Do?', *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 5; J. W. M., 'Something Must Done', *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 5; Harold Wade, "'Strategic Errors'", *The Daily Express*, 6 Jan. 1915, 5; A Mother of England, 'From a Mother', *The Daily Express*, 7 Jan. 1915, 5; D. G., "'Sickening'", *The Daily Express*, 7 Jan. 1915, 5; Herbert Cardin, 'Kaiser's Statuette', *The Daily Express*, 7 Jan. 1915, 5; Violet Beaumont, 'Question and Answer', *The Daily Express*, 9 Jan. 1915, 4; T. Garland Bryan, 'Effect on Recruiting', *The Daily Express*, 9 Jan. 1915, 4; [R. D. Blumenfeld], 'Matters of Moment: Our Citizen Army', *The Daily Express*, 14 Jan. 1915, 4; Arnold White, 'Looking Around: Compulsory Service – Lord Haldane and the Duke of Bedford', *The Daily Express*, 7 Dec. 1914, 4; Arnold White, 'Looking Around: The Case Against Lord Haldane', *The Daily Express*, 18 Jan. 1915, 4. See bibliography for more articles on this subject.



cr. London Daily Express, January 16, 1915

"WOODMAN, SPARE THAT TREE"

"Sturdy looking tree this! Wonder if I dare have a cut at it, or perhaps I could graft on an olive branch or two"



cr. London Daily Express, January 12, 1915

The cartoons are expressing the same argument as *Wake Up!* and right-wing periodicals and opinion makers that Haldane's pre-war defence policy and admiration for German culture had failed to prepared Britain for war against Germany and now in a time of war was a threat to Britain.

Source: Anonymous, 'Three Sacks', *The Daily Express*, 12 Jan. 1915, 5; Anonymous, 'Woodman Spare that Tree', *The Daily Express*, 16 Jan. 1915, 5.

network against his country of Britain, and which uses the words of Haldane, who before the war had said that ‘Germany is my spiritual home.’ If this is not enough for the reader to make the association with Haldane the next sentence says ‘I’m not the only Englishman who’s said that, you know.’⁶⁶⁴ While Jabbs is actually playing a game of double bluff with the Germans nonetheless his statement is made early on in the novel and was expressing the view about Haldane held by many on the right-wing side of politics.

Indeed, many Unionist and radical right-wing newspapers and periodicals and correspondents shared *The Daily Express*’s view.⁶⁶⁵ Also MI5 received letters against Haldane including one from a British army officer claiming ‘Haldane is the first and foremost spy. His houses should be raided, as he has got a wireless set behind the cupboard in one of his bedrooms.’⁶⁶⁶ As Haldane noted in his autobiography: ‘Every kind of ridiculous legend about me was circulated: I had a German wife; I was an illegitimate brother of the Kaiser; I had been in secret correspondence with the German government; I had been aware that they intended war and withheld this from my colleagues; I had

⁶⁶⁴ W. Holt-White, ‘The Beautiful Spy’, *The Daily Express*, 4 March 1915, 3.

⁶⁶⁵ See [Geoffrey Robinson], ‘Lord Haldane or Lord Kitchener?’, *The Times of London*, no. 40595, 5 Aug. 1914, 7; L. J. Maxse, ‘Episodes of the Month’, *The National Review*, vol. 65, no. 393 (Nov. 1915), 332-333, 342, 345-46, 357, 359, 367-68; Spenser Wilkinson, ‘Mr. Arnold Bennett on Conscription: Mr. Spenser Wilkinson and the Volunteer System’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 14 Nov. 1914, 4; [Thomas Marlowe], ‘What is Lord Haldane doing at War Office’, *The Daily Mail*, 5 Aug. 1914, 4; A Member of the Opposition Front Bench, ‘The War, What it is, and What it Means’, *The Daily Mail*, 27 Aug. 1914, 4; Edith Glanusk, ‘An Appeal to the Women of England: Lady Glanusk’s Protest against the Alien Enemy’, *The Daily Express*, 10 Feb. 1915, 5; F. J. Kingsley, ‘Lord Haldane: His Reflections on the Anglo-Saxon Race: Working Men’, *The Daily Express*, 16 Jan. 1915, 4; M. D., ‘The German Peace Party’, *The Daily Express*, 16 Jan. 1915, 4; H. B. Lane ‘A Patriot’s Dilemma’, *The Daily Express*, 13 Feb. 1915, 6; H. M. C. M. ‘Aliens in Hotels’, *The Daily Express*, 13 Feb. 1915, 6; J. Henry Thornhill, ‘Lord Haldane and German Prisoners’, *The Morning Post*, 14 May 1915, 10; Citizen, ‘Lord Haldane and German Prisoners’, *The Morning Post*, 14 May 1915, 10. See bibliography for more articles on this subject.

⁶⁶⁶ Quoted in Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 54.

delayed the dispatch and mobilisation of the Expeditionary Force.⁶⁶⁷ Haldane was supported by more Liberal-minded people including George Riddell, the manager of *The News of the World* and a close friend of Lloyd George.⁶⁶⁸ Riddell noted in his diary that Haldane ‘has been treated disgracefully by the public, who are firmly convinced that he is a German spy, whereas he is one of the most patriotic persons in the country, which owes him a great deal.’⁶⁶⁹ Despite this the overall portrayal of Haldane was that he was pro-German and had left Britain unprepared for a war with Germany, which is suggested by Oppenheim in *The Kingdom of the Blind*.⁶⁷⁰

The other Liberal politician attacked in *The Kingdom of the Blind*, was Lloyd George, under the name of Gordon Jones, the Chancellor of the Exchequer between 1908 and 1916. In one scene Jones talks earnestly with Sir Alfred Anselman of how he [Jones] has been hated by financial circles (a reference to ‘The People’s Budget’ and the Parliament Act [1911]) to which Anselman agrees that he was hated, and to which Jones replies

⁶⁶⁷ Richard Burdon Haldane, *An Autobiography*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1929, 282-283.

⁶⁶⁸ Lloyd George was Liberal Prime Minister with Unionist support between 1916 and 1922.

⁶⁶⁹ George Riddell, *Lord Riddell’s War Diary 1914-1918*, Ivor Nicholson & Watson, London, 1933, 66. See also G. W. E. Russell, ‘War and Freedom: The Supreme Issue’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Oct. 1914, 4; A. G. G. [A. G. Gardiner], ‘Lord Northcliffe’s Reply and A Rejoinder’, 14 Dec. 1914, 1; [A. G. Gardiner], ‘A Military Critic’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 15 Jan. 1915, 4; A. W., ‘Lord Haldane on his Defence: Cabinet Warned About Germany: “We did our Best”: His Vindication in the State Records’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 18 Nov. 1915, 1-2; Anonymous, ‘An Example of Efficiency’, *The Daily Chronicle Daily*, 22 Aug. 1914, 2; [Robert Donald], ‘Lord Haldane and His Critics’, *The Daily Chronicle Daily*, 8 Dec. 1914, 6; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane and the War: Calumnies Refuted’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 5 Jan. 1915, 7; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane and the War: His War Office Work’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 6 Jan. 1915, 7; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane and the War: Tributes to his Work’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 8 Jan. 1915, 7; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane and the Army: Anglo-German Relations’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1915, 5; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane and the Army: Genesis for a Phrase’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 11 Jan. 1915, 5; [Robert Donald], ‘Lord Haldane and the Army’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 12 Jan. 1915, 6; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane: His Work at the War Office’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 15 Jan. 1915, 7; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane and the Army: His Mission to Berlin: How Lord Kitchener Became Minister for War: The Last of the Calumnies Refuted’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 18 Jan. 1915, 7; Anonymous, ‘Lord Haldane & The Army: Creator of a Better Military Machine: Carrying out the Cardwell Idea’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 21 Jan. 1915, 4.

⁶⁷⁰ It is notable that Oppenheim wrote poetry about the war for *The Daily Express* that showed his anti-Germanism and Unionist political views [see Appendix 10].

‘...However, those days have passed. You bankers have made my task easier at every turn. You have met me in every possible way. To you personally, Sir Alfred, I feel that some day I shall have to express my thanks—my thanks and the thanks of the nation—in a more tangible form.’⁶⁷¹ This comment seems to be a veiled reference to the Marconi Scandal, that had involved Lloyd George, and the trip he took with a number of British bankers to New York in 1915 to secure war loans from American bankers. And that plutocrats represented by Anselman used their financial power to gain control of government decisions for their own benefit, namely by extending the war to enrich themselves.⁶⁷² Oppenheim implies the failure of a quick British victory was due to German spies, especially those in high places, because

Their [the Germans’] actual information as regards every detail of our military condition is simply amazing. They know exactly what munitions are reaching our shores from abroad, they know how we are paying for them, they know exactly our financial condition, they know all about our new guns, they know just how many men we could send over to France to-morrow and how many we could get through in three months’ time. They know the private views of every one of the Cabinet Ministers. They knew in Berlin yesterday what took place at the Cabinet Council the day before.⁶⁷³

This statement further suggests that the political system is corrupt as politicians protect those in high financial circles from investigation because they depend on bankers for money. It is only those above party politics that act in the best interest of the country. Therefore it is no accident that Kitchener, apart from Thomson, is the one person portrayed as being a true patriot. In the story, he is simply known as ‘the Chief’, who

⁶⁷¹ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 130.

⁶⁷² See L. Raven-Hill, ‘Common Ideals’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 152, 13 June 1917, 379. This cartoon has a wealthy man with a larger money bag than a German, who is chained to a wall. It is a comment that there a number of wealthy plutocrats enriching themselves at the expense of the rest of Britain, who are free from arrest unlike German immigrants because of their links to the political elite.

⁶⁷³ Oppenheim, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, 216.

grants Thomson unlimited powers to act above the law to break up Anselman's spy ring. Kitchener like Roberts was an iconic national hero from colonial wars as evident by the famous war recruiting poster making him often seen as being beyond criticism.⁶⁷⁴ Certainly Le Queux in *Britain's Deadly Peril* criticised the Director of Military Operations' efforts against spies but Kitchener is excluded from blame because if 'he [Kitchener] alone, was responsible for the surveillance of enemy aliens in our midst, then I would instantly lay down the subject....'⁶⁷⁵ Oppenheim's story reflects this belief and suggests that Kitchener's drowning death in 1916 was actually the result of the hidden hand because of his incorruptible patriotism, rather than simply his ship hitting a German mine. This was the view of the BEU and *The Evening News*, which wrote: 'It is felt over London that Lord Kitchener met his death through foul or treacherous spying. Everyone believes that his voyage to Russia was communicated by spies to the German authorities.'⁶⁷⁶ Horatio Bottomley, owner of the radical right-wing Sunday tabloid *John Bull* and Independent MP, blamed 'The Unseen Hand ... which renders it possible for the Hun to roam at will in our cities and towns, which seems to enfeeble all our efforts and to weaken the aim of the Executive?'⁶⁷⁷ And Reverend Andrew Clark recorded a rumour that Lady Jellicoe (the wife of Sir John Jellicoe, the First Sea Lord from 1915) was a spy involved in the death of Kitchener.⁶⁷⁸ Oppenheim's story continually expresses concerns about efficiency, spy networks and politicians' incompetence and corruption as well as

⁶⁷⁴ Kitchener's iconic status was so much beyond reproach that when on 21 May 1915, *The Daily Mail* revealed that the British Army was short of high-explosive shells for which Kitchener as War Secretary was responsible, the newspaper suffered a severe backlash by members of the public. *The Daily Mail* lost at least 100,000 subscriptions, it was banned at the Service clubs at Pall Mall and at the Stock Exchange there were public burnings of copies of *The Daily Mail*. See Riddell, *Lord Riddell's War Diary 1914-1918*, 93; Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 243.

⁶⁷⁵ Le Queux, William, *Britain's Deadly Peril: Are We Told the Truth?*, Stanley Paul, London, 1915, 107.

⁶⁷⁶ Quoted in Panayi in *Enemy in Our Midst*, 170.

⁶⁷⁷ Quoted in Panayi in *Enemy in Our Midst*, 173.

⁶⁷⁸ Clark, *Echoes of The Great War*, 194.

new concerns that espionage existed in high places in society and government. Indeed, though Thomson destroys the Anselman spy ring, the story's conclusion indicates there are other spy networks yet to be discovered. This is given as a reason why the war continues despite the best efforts of British intelligence. Thus Oppenheim was suggesting as did Maxse earlier that 'spies in high positions have been detected though not always denounced.'⁶⁷⁹

The belief in a hidden hand was further strengthened by the German offensive during spring 1918 that seemed to offer a German victory and is reflected by the infamous Billing libel trial that was held between 29 May and 4 June 1918. The case involved Noel Pemberton Billing, an Independent MP for Hereford and publisher of the radical right-wing newspaper, *The Imperialist* (formerly *The Vigilante*), who was sued for libel by the dancer Maud Allan and the theatre producer and *The Sunday Times* drama critic J. T. Grein. Billing had founded his journal in 1917 to promote 'purity' in public life and root out 'mysterious influences', namely the hidden hand.⁶⁸⁰ Billing had on 16 February 1918, made the accusation in his journal that Allan had given a private performance of Oscar Wilde's *Salome* in front of members of a 'Black List' of 47,000 traitors and spies in high positions in Britain.⁶⁸¹ These traitors and spies included 'privy councillors, cabinet ministers and their wives, diplomats, poets, bankers, newspaper editors and proprietors' being used or blackmailed by Germany, thus protecting Germans', especially German Jews', espionage activities. Allan and Grein responded to the accusation by suing him for

⁶⁷⁹ [L. J. Maxse], 'Episode of the Month', *The National Review*, vol. 66, no. 391 (Sept. 1915), 57.

⁶⁸⁰ Margaret FitzHerbert, *The Man who was Greenmantle: A Biography of Aubrey Herbert*, John Murray, London, 1983, 202.

⁶⁸¹ Anonymous, 'Mr. Billing Summoned: Charge of Libelling Miss Maud Allen', *Times of London*, no. 41758, 8 April 1918, 2.

libel. Billing took the opportunity to elaborate his conspiracy theory to include Justice Charles Darling,⁶⁸² the presiding judge, as being on the 'Black List'. Captain Harold Spencer, an American-born British Army officer, who had been viewed as mentally unfit after trying to arrest his commanding General in Salonika, claimed to have seen the list in a book when he was aide-de-camp to William of Wied, the former King of Albania. He claimed that the book revealed there was a German led plot which centred on returning Asquith, Joseph Caillaux, the former French Prime Minister and Giovanni Giolitti, the former Italian Prime Minister, to power to make a quick peace in Germany's favour and that there was a danger to Spencer's life because Major Evelyn de Rothschild and Captain Neil Primrose had been killed by hidden elements because at one stage they had held the Black Book and had known the names in the book (Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. Cripps, their commanding officer in Palestine refuted this assertion as both had fallen in battle). Spencer said the book was in the possession of a Prussian Guardsman, in Berlin.⁶⁸³ And that Lloyd George, in contrast to other leading public figures, was fighting pro-German elements.⁶⁸⁴ Billing's own mistress, Mrs Eileen Villiers-Stuart, as witness supported these allegations and named a number of leading Liberal politicians as being on the list, including Asquith and his wife Margot (who with others had been subjected to accusations of this type in a letter that was found by the MPSB as having little or no

⁶⁸² Later Lord Darling.

⁶⁸³ Anonymous, 'More "Plot" Stories in Billing Trial: Mrs George Keppel to Give Evidence: "A Political Camarilla"', *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 June 1918, 3-4. See also Anonymous, 'Strange Things at Billing Trial: Lord A. Douglas Denounces the Judge', *The Daily Chronicle*, 3 June 1918, 4; Anonymous, 'The Billing Case: Foul Suggestion Denied', *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 June 1918, 4.

⁶⁸⁴ In December 1916 Lloyd George with the support of the Unionist party had in a Parliamentary coup toppled Asquith as Prime Minister. This resulted in a major split in the Liberal Party with many remaining loyal to Asquith resulting in Lloyd George becoming reliant on Unionist support to remain in power. An effect was Lloyd George became lauded by Unionist supporters where once they had detested him because of his radicalism and as a driving force behind the 'People's Budget', and the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales.

foundation in fact), R. B. Haldane, and the presiding judge Mr Justice Darling.⁶⁸⁵ Though Spencer and Villiers-Stuart's evidence was laughed at in court by those in attendance and this evidence and especially Billing's had been criticised by Darling in his summing up of the evidence to the jury nonetheless the jury, acquitted Billing.⁶⁸⁶ The fact that the jury found in his favour revealed that there was genuine belief that the 'Hidden Hand' existed and was responsible for the continuation of the war.⁶⁸⁷ The Liberal press blamed the tabloid press for creating the atmosphere that resulted in allowing Billing to be able to convince the jury, with *The Daily Chronicle* commenting: '...It is the way in which the Yellow section of our Press has, for its own profit, been sedulously walking for years. Now that it recognises the parlousness of Mr. Billing's case it would be well, we suggest, if it paid some attention to its own.'⁶⁸⁸ While *The Daily News* saw the trial as basically part of the political process that had been aimed against the Liberal Party under Asquith, it commented: 'The proceedings of the past week are only the culmination of the torrent of cowardly intrigue and slander which for three years has been directed against Mr Asquith and those associated with him.'⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁵ TNA HO 267/450/533 Letter signed George Mears Making Accusations Mrs. Asquith and Others', 17 July 1916. See also William Barry, 'Pro-Germanism in High Places', *The National Review*, vol. 56, no. 391 (Sept. 1915), 57.

⁶⁸⁶ Anonymous, 'Mr. Billing's Defence: The German Black Book: Attack On The Judge', *The Times of London*, no. 41804, 31 May 1918, 4. See also Anonymous, 'Acquittal of Mr. Billing: Scenes in Court: The Summing-Up.', *The Times of London*, no. 41808, 5 June 1918, 4; Anonymous, 'More "Plot" Stories in Billing Trial', *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 June 1918, 4; Anonymous, 'Mr. Billing Found "Not Guilty": Remarkable Scenes at the Old Bailey: Two Witnesses Rejected', *The Daily Chronicle*, 5 June 1918, 1, 4; Anonymous, 'Pemberton Billing's "German Blackbook" Says Mr Justice Darling is on the List: Officer who saw the Volume', *The Daily Chronicle*, 31 May 1918, 3. See also Anonymous, 'More Sensations in Billing Trial: Threat to Shoot Lady in Court: K.C. Promised a Good Thrashing', *The Daily Chronicle*, 4 June 1918, 3.

⁶⁸⁷ [Geoffrey Dawson], 'A Scandalous Trial', *The Times of London*, no. 4108, 5 June 1918, 7.

⁶⁸⁸ [Robert Donald], 'The Press of Mr. Billing', *The Daily Chronicle*, 6 June 1918, 2.

⁶⁸⁹ [A. G. Gardiner], 'The Billing Case', *The Daily News*, 5 June 1918, 4.

Another event reflecting anxiety about the ‘Hidden Hand’ in mid-1918 was a Hyde Park rally on 24 August 1918, which was organised by the National Party,⁶⁹⁰ where prominent speakers called for the destruction of the hidden hand and the complete internment of all alien enemies.⁶⁹¹ After the meeting there was a march involving various political groups and servicemen, and a petition with 250,000 signatures calling for a crackdown on German spies was sent via a lorry to Downing Street.⁶⁹²

Two spy novels at the end of the war reflected this alarmist mood – “*That Goldheim!*” and “*Yellow*” *English* – as both had at the centre of their respective plots the hidden hand and concerns about German-born plutocrats. The difference between “*That Goldheim!*” and “*Yellow*” *England* is that the former involved the BEU. Indeed, “*That Goldheim!*” had an advertisement from the BEU that publicised its demands, which were ‘1 The Internment of All Enemy Aliens; 2 The Suppression of Pacifism and Pro-Germanism; 3 The Winding up of Enemy Businesses; 4 A World-wide Boycott of Germany; 5 Absolute British Control over all International and Commercial Enterprise Throughout the British

⁶⁹⁰ The meeting was supported by the BEU.

⁶⁹¹ Speakers or those in attendance included Leo Maxse, Arnold White, Ellis T. Powell, Henry Spencer Wilkinson, William Ferguson Massey, the New Zealand Prime Minister and J. G. Jenkins, the former protectionist Premier of South Australia.

⁶⁹² Not all were impressed by the rally and petition as William Sutherland, Lloyd George’s private secretary, remarked to Michael MacDonagh: ‘The dustmen will have it [the petition].’ Nor was A. G. Gardiner, he viewed that such activities with their catchphrase of ‘Intern them all’ had ‘no meaning’ as those Germans in Britain who could be possibly a threat had been interned. Furthermore the BEU had attempted earlier petitions such as the one attempted by the Oxford branch of the BEU, which could only collect twenty-six signatures from twelve addresses (one of these seems to be from Gloucestershire). As a result the branch made the excuse that they had not ‘canvassed the whole city as we found the working-classes so eager to sign whose signatures would have turned into several [of the same signature]’. See Anonymous, ‘Hyde Park Meeting To-day: The Petition to Mr. Lloyd George’, *The Times of London*, no. 41877, 24 Aug. 1918, 3; Anonymous, ‘The German Influence: Petition with 1,250,000 Signatures’, *The Times of London*, no. 41878, 26 Aug. 1918, 3; Anonymous, ‘Enemy Aliens: London Agitation for Internment’, *The Glasgow Herald*, 26 Aug. 1918, 6; MacDonagh, *In London during the Great War*, 309-311; TNA HO45 10756/26740/721 ‘Petition to His Majesty’s Secretary of State for Home Affairs, The Rt. Hon. Sir George Cave, K.C., M.P.’; [A. G. Gardiner], ‘The Vanishing Aliens’, *The Daily News*, 27 Aug. 1918, 4.

Empire’, and Lord Leith of Fyvie was thanked by F. E. Eddis, the author. These factors suggest that Eddis was a member of the BEU and agreed with its views that Britain was controlled by German elements, thus it was weak in dealing with Germans and Germany. Eddis’s involvement with anti-alien opinion went back to when he was the secretary to the Royal Commission on Aliens of 1902-1903, which led to the Aliens Act (1905), which sought to restrict the intake of refugees and was a change from previous open door policy.⁶⁹³ Eddis believed there had been an arrangement between the major political parties to control the Commission’s investigation so as to enable alien immigration, especially of Jewish refugees, to continue, while giving the appearance of restricting it.⁶⁹⁴

In line with his belief in May 1904 he drafted a pamphlet critical of the Commission’s workings but permission to publish was denied by Lord Hereford, Chairman of the Commission.⁶⁹⁵ It was not until “*That Goldheim!*” that Eddis was able to express his opinion publicly, which is summed up by the character of Watson, who states that the Aliens Act of 1905 was ‘The most rotten Act ever passed’.⁶⁹⁶ Moreover Watson

⁶⁹³ Shortly after the Act was passed the Liberals came to power and adopted a lenient approach, giving the benefit of the doubt to aliens’ status as victims of political or religious persecution. See Geoffrey Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1992, 150; John A. Garrard, *The English and Immigration 1880-1910*, Oxford University Press, London & New York, 1971, 505; Bernard Gainer, *The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905*, Heinemann Educational Books, London, 1972, passim.

⁶⁹⁴ There had been an earlier Aliens Bill (1894) that had been supported by members of the Anglo-Jewry notably Benjamin Cohen, then Unionist MP for East Islington and President of the Board of [Jewish] Guardians from 1897 to 1900, Harry S. Samuel and Harry H. Marks, the then editor of *The Financial News*. Many Anglo-Jews, who (or whose families) originally came from Germany, were overall wealthy and religiously liberal or non-practicing Jews, who had little in common with newly arrived Eastern European Jews, who were generally poor and religiously orthodox or ultra-orthodox. Some Anglo-Jews saw these newly arrived Eastern European Jews as undermining the position of Jews in wider British society because of their very different cultural habits and dress from larger British society. See Alderman, *Modern British Jewry*, 135; Todd M. Endelmann, *The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000*, University of California Press, Berkeley (Los Angeles) & London, 2002, 173.

⁶⁹⁵ TNA HO 45/10241/B.37811

⁶⁹⁶ E. F. Eddis, “*That Goldheim!*”: *A Spy Story Exposing a Special Danger Resulting From Alien Immigration*, Selwyn & Blount, London, 1918, 45.

expresses the view that the Act allowed for the possibility of the ‘hidden hand’ to be established:

I believe South Wales to be chock full of aliens, and I should not be surprised if this Goldheim is found to be an organiser sent to pave the way for Germany at the right time. He could tell us a lot more about our workers [Welsh miners] than we know ourselves. You mark my word, when Germany wants a strike, as likely as not there will be a strike, and Germany will only want a strike at a critical moment. God save us from a German war when all our irregularities will be brought to light, and we have learned where incompetence had brought us.⁶⁹⁷

As evident in the final line of the paragraph above, Eddis, like Oppenheim in *The Kingdom of the Blind*, returns to the theme that the failure to achieve national efficiency has resulted in war. Though both Unionist and Liberal are seen to be at fault, the main focus of the attack is the Liberals for reducing the ‘... British army and [having] taken no pains to check the continual flow of German influence into England...’⁶⁹⁸ The first half of the comment, as with others writers, is aimed at Haldane in his role as War Secretary which saw streamlining of the militias by founding the Territorial Army. This is further highlighted when a Belgian character says ‘Your Lord Haldane is a great statesman, is he not?’ and the reply from Hubert Vanlithen, the hero, is ‘We have our doubts in England.’⁶⁹⁹ The second part of the comment is referring to the fact that the Liberal government kept in effect an open door immigration policy, which to Eddis’s thinking allowed the German influence to grow in Britain such as by establishing a spy network, which is namely the hidden hand. He established the novel’s tone of conspiracy in a prefatory note by stating his belief that ‘To the dullest brain one lesson of the war must

⁶⁹⁷ Eddis, “*That Goldheim!*”, 46.

⁶⁹⁸ Eddis, “*That Goldheim!*”, 115-116.

⁶⁹⁹ Eddis, “*That Goldheim!*”, 65.

be apparent that Germany's long preparation' has not only involved military training, creating hatred amongst German people 'and in diplomatic intrigues, but also in the permeation of her influence within the ordinary activities of British trade and British life. That she is still carrying on her insidious policy is proved by the constant repetition of social and industrial outbursts.'⁷⁰⁰ The story's setting in pre-war southern Wales is likely an allusion to the fact that there were a series of miners' strikes in the Rhondda Valley between 1910 and 1912.⁷⁰¹ The location suggests that the strikes (and other industrial strikes in Britain at the time) were the responsibility of German agents manipulating miners in order to weaken Britain's industrial capacity to fight a future war. Moreover that strikes during the war were again the result of German agents inciting miners into demanding an increase in wages. This idea was also expressed in "*Yellow*" *English* where a British traitor comments: 'this increase to be paid for unskilled labour will cause trouble in the near future, and eventually led the country in a rebellion— those unions are playing into the hands of the enemies.'⁷⁰² Furthermore Eddis was not alone in using a troubled industrial setting in a spy novel. *Mr. Standfast* suggests German agents were manipulating industrial workers into strike action such as Clydeside socialists and workers in order to gain higher pay as part of a German master plan to undermine Britain's fighting capacity. The character of Abel Gresson, an American, is fictional example of these agents, who appears in Clydeside encouraging industrial unrest after being mixed up with cases of sabotage in Colorado. Gresson is not a free agent as he is being controlled by Graf von Schwabing, the German master spy disguised as a pacifist

⁷⁰⁰ Eddis, "*That Goldheim!*", 1.

⁷⁰¹ This expression that German ownership of Welsh coal mines was part of plot to undermine British economic strength to the pave the way for an German attack upon Britain had appeared earlier in Edwardian novels such as R. W. Cole's *The Death Trap*. See Cole, 'The Death Trap', 315.

⁷⁰² Flatau, "*Yellow*" *English*, 162.

called Moxon Ivery.⁷⁰³ There is a notable difference between *Mr. Standfast* and “*That Goldheim!*”, as the former novel has sympathetic working-class characters like Andrew Amos in contrast to the latter where there are no sympathetic working-class characters barring Jorkins, a German-Polish miner, but his portrayal is unflattering as a socialist fanatic. Nevertheless both novels do reflect governmental concerns about wartime industrial action as in May 1917 alone there were strikes involving 200,000 men equalling a loss of 1.5 million working days with overall 5.5 million working days lost in 1917 with mining strikes involving 750,000 men.⁷⁰⁴ Besides this there were concerns amongst many officials before the war that Germans were behind Welsh mining strikes rather than the unions seeking better wages and conditions. For instance in 1911 Kell received information that four Germans were visiting the strike area in the Welsh coalfields. Professor Richard Redmayne, Chief Inspector of Mines, after interrogating suspects, came to believe the Germans must be political agitators attempting to exploit the strike for Germany’s advantage and as a result a permanent detective force was placed at the Welsh coalfields although they could not find an actual German agent. Despite this, half a year later, a Home Ports Defence Committee memorandum reported German espionage in South Wales, and the local military commander was of the opinion that the Labour movement could not be ‘relied upon not to utilise the fact of war being imminent to enforce their demands for improved wages or other conditions.’⁷⁰⁵ Not all shared this view as Lord Willoughby de Broke, a prominent die-hard Unionist, argued

⁷⁰³ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 67-70.

⁷⁰⁴ Trevor Wilson, *The Myriad Faces of War: Britain and the Great War, 1914-1918*, Polity Press, Cambridge (England), 1986, 536. See also Richard van Emden & Steve Humphries, *All Quiet on the Home Front: An Oral History of Life in Britain during the First World War*, Headline, London, 2003, 245-247.

⁷⁰⁵ Boghardt, *Spies of the Kaiser*, 118. See also Porter, *Vigilant State*, 169.

that the working-classes were very resentful of the implication that every striker was in German pay, and that they lacked patriotism.⁷⁰⁶

Nevertheless “*That Goldheim!*” does reflect the overall opinion of most ‘die-hards’ like Lords Crawford and Leith of Fvyie, organisations such as the BEU and many right-wing periodicals including *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Express*, *The National Review* and *The Daily Mail*. These people and groups argued or suggested that free trade was in part responsible for the war situation as it had helped Germany to grow economically whilst maintaining its tariffs and thus help pay for its large army while undermining British economic strength.⁷⁰⁷ Still Britain’s liberal open port policy had allowed German immigrants, most notably merchant bankers and investors, such as Sir Ernest Cassel, Baron Bruno Schröder, and Sir Edgar Speyer,⁷⁰⁸ to provide a cover for their secret German work as represented by Gottlieb Goldheim, the chief villain in “*That Goldheim*”, who is described as ‘...a German; one of your beastly, grubbing financiers, whose very flabbiness shakes with his money bags.’⁷⁰⁹ Likewise his son Heinrich, despite having an English mother, is equally ugly with the same characteristics as his father suggesting that even if Germans are British-born and bred their loyalties lie with Germany. The novel’s

⁷⁰⁶ Thurlow, *The Secret State*, 108.

⁷⁰⁷ [R. D. Blumenfeld], ‘Matters of Moments: War and Cobdenism’, *The Daily Express*, 12 Jan. 1915, 4. See also [R. D. Blumenfeld], ‘Matters of Moments: Et tu, Mr. Wells’, *The Daily Express*, 20 Jan. 1915, 4; [R. D. Blumenfeld], ‘Matters of Moments: All Tariff Reformers Now’, *The Daily Express*, 26 Jan. 1915, 4; [R. D. Blumenfeld], ‘Matters of Moments: Mr. Cobden’s Orders’, *The Daily Express*, 23 Feb. 1915, 4; [R. D. Blumenfeld], ‘Matters of Moments: Alfred Hyde and Mond Jekyll’, *The Daily Express*, 24 Feb. 1915, 4; Arnold White, ‘Looking Around: Food and the Cabinet’, *The Daily Express*, 25 Jan. 1915, 4.

⁷⁰⁸ Speyer was New York-born American of German parentage and in 1915 returned to New York as a result of the anti-German campaigns, for which he was one of the main targets. He with Cassel, Schröder and other Anglo-German financiers founded the German Union Club, and one of its goals was to create greater understanding in Anglo-German relations. See Richard Roberts, ‘Schröder, (Rudolph) Bruno (1867-1940)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, vol. 49, Oxford & New York, 2004, 272; Anonymous, ‘Baron Bruno Schröder: Naturalised After War Declared: Protest Made by the Court Alderman’, *The Daily Express*, 17 Nov. 1914, 5.

⁷⁰⁹ Eddis, “*That Goldheim!*”, 13.

reasoning as with other invasion/spy novels believed protectionism and immigration restrictions would not only maintain Britain's economic lead but would have prevented the establishment of a German spy network and in turn World War I.

Indeed, "*Yellow*" *English*, which was published in October 1918, follows a similar line to other spy literature. Flatau attacks both alien immigration and free trade as one patriotic British character claims: 'England is free, a deuced sight too free; her doors are open for all the scum of the world to enter, and batten on us....'⁷¹⁰ The plot centres on Otto Friedrich Schultz, a German immigrant, and his spy network.⁷¹¹ Flatau plays upon a number of stereotypes before and during the war. Firstly, Schultz, without any money, in the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, is sent by German authorities to become the head of a spy network as part of a long-term German plan to prepare for a war with Britain. Yet Schultz (just as Goldheim does with Heinrich), has a son, Freddie, who as soon as he talks is trained to loyally serve Germany as a spy, while hating Britain and his British mother. Freddie being taught to hate Britain as a child by a parent is not unique. It is part of the plot of *That "Goldheim!"* and Le Queux's *Beryl of the Bi-plane* (1917) where Hans Leffner, an American-German spy was taught from infancy to hate Britain, while the German children in *What I Found Out* play war games as a means of training them for the planned war.⁷¹²

⁷¹⁰ Flatau, "*Yellow*" *English*, 116.

⁷¹¹ He later anglicises his name to Frederick Scott.

⁷¹² This notion of children being trained to hate Britain was expressed in Sir W. M. Ramsey's 'Prussian Espionage' articles and a range of others periodicals that expressed the given view that Germans had developed a sense of ingrained hatred towards Britain. See William Le Queux, *Beryl of the Biplane: Being the Romance of an Air-woman of To-day*, C. Arthur Pearson, London, 1917, 54; [Williamson], *What I Found Out*, 119; W. M. Ramsey, 'Prussian Espionage: How the German Boy is Taught to Spy', 15 Jan. 1915, 6; W. M. Ramsey, 'Prussian Espionage: Its Educational Basis', 16 Jan. 1915, 6; W. M. Ramsey, 'Prussian Espionage: How the German Child is Trained in "Frightfulness"', 8 Feb. 1915, 6; [A. G. Gardiner], 'The Creed of Hate', *The Daily News and Leader*, 9 Nov. 1914, 4; Anthony Hope, 'A Challenge

The second recurring spy stereotype in “*Yellow*” *English* is that Schultz begins his career as a clerk who then becomes a successful and influential banker moving in high political and social circles. This fits into the notion that clerical work before the war had been dominated by Germans, and German-born plutocrats, especially bankers before and during the war, through their financial power were able to control the political and social elite’s thinking and actions. This was based on some truth, if exaggerated, as historian Gregory Anderson has shown by 1914 nearly half of foreign correspondent clerks, the top end of clerical work, were German (the next largest nationality was Swiss), with no British clerks, as it required a foreign language, making foreign clerks desirable. What is more Germans disproportionately made up 5.8 percent of all merchants because they were more willing to move into their own businesses, thus creating the picture of them dominating clerical and merchant occupations.⁷¹³ In the story so as to express this misleading view of the influence of German clerks and the fact a number of German-British plutocrats received honours, Schultz is firstly knighted, then raised into the peerage as Lord Wellock and marries into the British aristocracy with his wedding to

to Prussian “Tradition”: Why Germany Hated England’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 9 Dec. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘The German View Professor’s Rebuke to Preachers of Hate: Junker Dream of World Empire’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 5 Feb. 1915, 3; Mary F. Macarthur, ‘Middle-Class Women in Factories: A Word of Friendly Counsel’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Dec. 1915, 4; Anonymous, ‘False Doctrine’, *Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 13, no. 672 (3 Dec. 1914), 433; Anonymous, ‘How Germans Hide the Truth: Soldiers’ Letters from Outside Paris: Englishwoman’s Experience in Prussia’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 1 Dec. 1914, 5; [Robert Donald], ‘The German Chancellor’s Attack on Britain’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 4 Dec. 1914, 6; Jerome K. Jerome, ‘A Fight to a Finish—And Then?: Give Back Germany to the German People’, 7 Oct. 1914, 4; P. Handel Haswell, ‘German Hatred of England: Not a Thing of Yesterday’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 19 Jan. 1915, 6.

⁷¹³ Gregory Anderson, ‘German Clerks in England, 1870-1914: Another Aspect of the Great Depression Debate’, ed. Kenneth Lunn, *Hosts, Immigrants and Minorities: Historical Responses to Newcomers in British Society 1870-1914*, Folkstone (England), 1980, 205- 210.

Lady Mary.⁷¹⁴ He uses too his money to bribe and influence politicians and union leaders to go on strike to weaken the British economy and uses his spies to blackmail others for the benefit the Germany. This plot is similar to *The Kingdom of the Blind* where Sir Alfred Anselman uses his wealth as a corrupting influence on the political elite, especially the ruling Liberal Party, to maintain their free trade and immigration policies. Flatau's attack on the Liberal Party, especially its radical wing and the 'Blue Water School', is evident by the following sentence from the novel's narrative that comments after Wellock has argued against a large army that 'His [Wellock's] argument was that the money spent on the upkeep of a useless army could be profitably employed in teaching them [soldiers] to become good artisans....⁷¹⁵

This line of reasoning is similar to those given by Sir John Brunner, who in keeping with his radical Liberal thinking had openly campaigned in parliament and his newspapers against conscription, compulsory rifle training, for naval reductions, and free trade. Besides the tone of '*Yellow*' *English* suggests that those wealthy individuals like Brunner who campaigned over these issues were doing so out of self-interest either to enrich themselves or to leave Britain vulnerable to German attack.

⁷¹⁴ Sir Ernest Cassel may have been the or one of the inspirations for Schultz as he arrived in Britain in 1869 without money before joining a bank that saw him in Paris before the Franco-Prussian War which resulted in him going to London and joining a London bank from which point through a number of successful investments he made his fortune. Through his wealth he became a close friend of Edward VII, received a knighthood and Baronetcy, became a Privy Councillor and his only child Amalia Cassel married Lord Mount Temple creating a link between himself and the British aristocracy. See Pat Thane, 'Cassel, Sir Ernest Joseph (1852-1921)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000*, eds. H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison, vol. 10, Oxford & New York, 2004, 488-491.

⁷¹⁵ Flatau, "*Yellow*" *English*, 10.

The undercurrent theme within the idea of a German hidden hand is the notion of Germany as the model of efficiency or, as Arnold White described it, ‘scientific’.⁷¹⁶ It does not matter if a character is pro or anti-German, there is admiration of Germans, even if it is backhanded. An illustration of this attitude is Lady Mary’s daughter (from her first marriage), Marigold. Though she is wary of Germany and thinks Germans are barbaric, nonetheless she praises German cultural and scientific achievements, writing to her mother, that Herr Professor Graffen ‘is awfully clever and talked most learnedly about microbes....’⁷¹⁷ However, the professor’s interest is not positive, instead it is driven by seeing how microbes can be used in biological warfare. Again like previous invasion/spy novels, in the portrayal of Germans being efficient though containing admiration, there is an underlying fear that it has always been aimed towards conquest through war rather than peaceful endeavours. While *The Riddle of the Sands* was not overtly anti-German, in its praise of German efficiency it nonetheless portrayed Germans plotting against Britain.

British spy literature of World War I, as with national efficiency, often covered the same ground as before the war, namely that waiters and other immigrants were spies, part of a large German spy network, and that Germany had been planning a war against Britain. Thus the pre-war literature had helped create the frame of mind that resulted in the early and later war spy scare. But amongst the same themes there were new ones that included hidden wirelesses, signalling along the British coast to the enemy, the belief in a hidden hand, political corruption and demands for the internment of all enemy aliens, which all reflected concerns brought about by the war. All these beliefs and demands were given

⁷¹⁶ White, ‘Looking Around: Clear Thinking’, 4.

⁷¹⁷ Flatau, “Yellow” *English*, 10.

favourable coverage in Unionist periodicals that included *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Mail*, *The National Review* and *The Daily Express* and journalist works of Le Queux and Arnold White. This was no accident as many World War I spy novels such as those of Le Queux, *The Kingdom of the Blind*, *With French at the Front*, *Wake Up!*, *That "Goldheim!"* and *"Yellow" English* followed the pre-war tradition of this literature being overwhelmingly Unionist or radical right-wing in their political messages. In some way or another they attacked the Liberal Party for its pre-war policies towards immigration, the armed forces, Haldane's role as war secretary (criticism of these arguments rarely appeared in spy literature), or demanded a new form of government. This does not mean those who supported the Liberal Party or even the Labour Party did not read these novels. After all Haldane and Simon accepted there was an all encompassing German spy network, but the political message in the literature suggests the targeted audience were either the same as that of Unionist or radical right-wing periodicals or it attempted to persuade readers to a unionist and nationalistic viewpoint. The most obvious examples were the marked similarities between *Wake Up!* and *1897* as both were produced by Unionist newspapers as part of deliberate political campaigns using the fear of invasion to convey their message. Whereas in the cases of *With French at the Front* and *A Patriotic Schoolgirl* these were attempts to influence a young readership to be patriotic in a manner that would make them want to do their duty for King and Country but also to become future Unionist voters. These stories may have had some effect at least in grabbing the imagination of the targeted youth audience as evident by Robert Roberts but only to a limited extent as C. H. Rolph was to become a Socialist rather than a Conservative. Nonetheless spy literature does reflect social views and opinions and one

of these was the concept of the gentleman that was used in novels during World War I to distinguish between Briton and German, and which shall be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter III

The Concept of the Gentleman in British Spy Literature

This chapter will analyse the concept of the gentleman as expressed in British spy literature. The concept varied greatly from one person to another, often depending on their social background. Whatever the interpretation there were some general characteristics or virtues seen as being embodied in the gentleman. These included self-control (particularly in crisis, consistency), keeping one's integrity (namely honour), which was shown by deeds not just words, being respectful to others, defending the weak and fulfilling obligations. These virtues were seen originally by the aristocracy and gentry as being natural hallmarks of their rank or class. In the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, there was a gradual shift where these virtues became associated with the term 'gentleman', which was open to anyone rather than just a man from the upper-classes. This shift is shown in two different editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The 1817 edition stated a gentleman was 'one who without any title bears a coat of arms, or whose ancestors have been freemen.'⁷¹⁸ In contrast the 1856 edition had changed the classification 'to all persons above the rank of common tradesman when their manners and deportment are indicative of a certain amount of refinement and intelligence.'⁷¹⁹ This latter moralised view was expressed by Samuel Smiles in *Self-Help* (1866). He claimed there was a marked difference between a genuine gentleman and one called a 'gent' who claimed the title merely on the basis of his social class. 'A gentleman'

⁷¹⁸ Quoted in Paul Nash, *The English Public School Gentleman: An Examination of his nature, training and influence with special reference to the 19th and 20th centuries*, unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University, 1959, 37.

⁷¹⁹ Quoted in Nash, *English Public School Gentleman*, 8.

wrote Smiles 'will be merciful to his dog; the gent is not merciful even to his wife.'⁷²⁰

This idea of a moral gentleman was common up to World War I with Baden-Powell in *Scouting for Boys* saying:

A knight (or Scout) is at all times a gentleman. So many people seem to think that a gentleman must have lots of money. That does not make a gentleman. A gentleman is anyone who carries out the rules of chivalry of the knights. A London Policeman, for instance, is a gentleman, because he is well disciplined, loyal, polite, brave, good-tempered, and helpful to women and children.⁷²¹

This moral gentleman was found in British spy literature in the way it depicted the British as being gentlemen indicating civilisation, in marked contrast to Germans, who were often portrayed as being barbarians threatening the world. This marked contrast in representation between the Briton and the German will be analysed through a focus on the public school ethos and its expression through sport in selected British spy stories during World War I. In addition, the chapter will discuss the fact that being a spy or member of a police force and using disguises became more acceptable. Earlier, these occupations, organisations or activities were looked down upon as something a gentleman should not be involved in. With increased concern about internal and external threats this outlook changed.

The early wariness about spies and using a disguise was captured in 1844 by an editorial in *The Times* in 1844 when it commented there is 'something repugnant to the English

⁷²⁰ Samuel Smiles, *Life and Labour; or Characteristics of Men of Industry, Culture and Genius*, John Murray, London, 1887, 38.

⁷²¹ Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 214-215.

mind in the bare idea of espionage’, in that it is ‘liable to great abuse.’⁷²² This was a reaction to the revelation that the Royal Post Office had been opening the letters of the exiled Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini. This led to public and parliamentary protests.⁷²³ Indeed, there was suspicion towards having a police force and the use of disguise by the police or others was seen as being unacceptable by government officials.⁷²⁴ This suspicion about spies and secrecy was felt even in the British military with a British officer during the Crimean War (1854-1856) writing: ‘The gathering of knowledge by clandestine means was repulsive to the feelings of an English gentleman.’⁷²⁵ This feeling of unease was expressed in literature with Walter Hartright, the hero in *The Woman in White* (1860), refusing to wear a disguise when in the pursuit of a villain as the idea is ‘repellent’ to him.⁷²⁶ ‘Mrs Gladden’ from *The Female Detective* (1864), does not use a disguise but does view herself as a spy because she enters into people’s private lives without revealing her employment as a police detective and acknowledges that ‘...there is something peculiarly objectionable in the spy ... [and] society looks upon the companionship of a spy as repulsive....’⁷²⁷

⁷²² [John Delane], ‘It is much to be Regretted when any Public Body...’, *The Times of London*, no. 19096, 2 Dec. 1845, 4.

⁷²³ See Anonymous, ‘Post-Office Espionage: Report From The Secret Committee Relative To The Post-Office’, *The Times of London*, no. 18682, 7 Aug. 1844, 7; [John Delane], ‘Editorial’, no. 18860, 1 March 1845, 5 [John Delane], ‘Editorial’, no. 18861, 3 March 1845, 4; [John Delane] ‘The Post-office Affair has been Dexterously Shuffled’, *The Times of London*, no. 18654, 5 July 1844, 5; Somerhill, ‘Post-Office Espionage: Protests’, *The Times of London*, no. 18942, 5 June 1845, 4; Ranor & Denman, ‘Post-Office Espionage: Protests’, *The Times of London*, 5 June 1845, 4; Ranor, Denman, Campbell, Kinnaird, & Rosie, ‘Post-Office Espionage: Protests’, *The Times of London*, 5 June 1845, 4.

⁷²⁴ John Stuart Mill, the liberal philosopher, called a disguise ‘a badge of slavery.’ And in 1845 Sir James Graham, the Conservative Home Secretary, wrote that ‘Police Constables must on no account be allowed to use artifices of this description.’ See David Vincent, *The Culture of Secrecy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998, 5; Bernard Porter, *The Origins of the Vigilant State: The London Metropolitan Police Special Branch Before the First World War*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1987, 5.

⁷²⁵ Quoted in James Morton, *Spies of the First World War: Under Cover for King and Kaiser*, The National Archives, Kew (London), 2010, 9.

⁷²⁶ Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White* [1860], Penguin Classics, London & New York, 2009, 482.

⁷²⁷ Andrew Forrester, *The Female Detective* [1864], The British Library, London, 2012, 2-3.

After the 1860s there was a shift in accepting the need for a secret police and such institutions, with the foundation of the Irish Special Branch in 1881.⁷²⁸ This organisation was tantamount to a secret police force. Such a change was partly the influence of the Irish police. Whereas in England, Wales and Scotland, the police were unarmed, lived at home and were organised at a local level, the opposite was true in Ireland. The Royal Irish Constabulary were armed with rifles and bayonets, housed in barracks, organised at a national level and acted as spies and had paid agents disguised as butchers, servants or labourers across the country sending back information. The Irish police would even go as far as sending a number of spies over to Britain to keep watch on suspected Irish there. Moreover, by 1868 in Britain this change was evident as the senior police officer, Robert Anderson,⁷²⁹ an Anglo-Irishman within the Home Office, acted as a spymaster. Anderson used Thomas Beach as an undercover agent under the alias of 'Henri le Caron' to penetrate American Fenian lodges to gain information on their support to the Irish Fenians and the movement of Fenians in Britain and the Empire.⁷³⁰ This was after the failure by the Metropolitan Police to stop the December 1867 bombing of Clerkenwell prison because they had taken literally the warning from Dublin Police that Fenians were to 'blow up' the prison. Consequently, the Metropolitan Police placed officers under but not around the prison.⁷³¹ This was a reaction firstly to Fenian terrorist acts symbolised by

⁷²⁸ There still remained suspicions beyond the 1860s of the police becoming secretive in the French manner of policing. See [Grenville Murray], 'The French and English Police Systems', *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. 42, (Oct. 1882), 423.

⁷²⁹ Later Sir Robert Anderson.

⁷³⁰ Beach was so successful in his position that he became a high ranking American Fenian. After he was revealed to be Henri le Caron, his role and name entered popular culture as demonstrated by fact that famous in Louis Tracy's *The Invaders*, one hero uses the name of Henry le Caron when in enters the invading French army as a spy. See Tracy, *The Invaders*, 325. See also Henri Le Caron, *Twenty-Five Years in the Secret Service: The Recollections of a Spy*, William Heinemann, London, 1903, passim.

⁷³¹ Twigge, Hampshire & Macklin, *British Intelligence*, 19.

the use of Thomas Beach as ‘Henri le Caron’ to penetrate American Fenian lodges.⁷³² The foundation of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch (MPSB) in 1887, which replaced the Irish Special Branch, acted like a secret police force to work against Irish terrorism and perceived threats from anarchists.⁷³³ This acceptance of a need for greater security and even the use of disguise and spies were expressed in literature.⁷³⁴ In *The Dynamiter* (1885) by Robert Louis Stevenson and Fanny van de Grift Stevenson, Somerset, one of the heroes, comments that detective work with use of disguises is ‘the only profession for a gentleman.’⁷³⁵ Moreover Holmes, in *The Sign of the Four* (1890), uses a disguise (as in other stories) to help him discover those who have committed a murder.⁷³⁶ Likewise Lady Molly Robertson-Kirk, Judith Lee and V. L. Whitechurch’s Thorpe Hazell use disguises to solve crimes, arrest anarchists or recapture stolen secret government documents.⁷³⁷ The increasing acceptance of disguises is found in Kipling’s writing, firstly in his short stories that involved Strickland, an Anglo-Indian police officer, and secondly *Kim*.⁷³⁸ Strickland uses disguises (as did a number of British Army officers when scouting in Central Asia) to blend with the local Indian population in an

⁷³² After Beach was revealed to be Henri le Caron that entered popular culture as demonstrated by the fact that in Louis Tracy’s *The Invaders*, one hero uses the name of Henry le Caron when he enters the invading French army as a spy. See Tracy, *The Invaders*, 325. See also Henri Le Caron, *Twenty-Five Years in the Secret Service: The Recollections of a Spy*, William Heinemann, London, 1903, passim.

⁷³³ In 1881 when it was originally founded it was known as the Irish Special Branch. In 1887 it became known as Special Branch as Fenian activities faded and focus had shifted upon all terrorist activities, especially by anarchists, and providing bodyguards to the Royal family and visiting foreign dignitaries.

⁷³⁴ John Buchan, ‘The Power-House’, *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 194, no. 1178 (Dec. 1913), 729.

⁷³⁵ Robert Louis Stevenson & Fanny van de Grift Stevenson, *The Dynamiter: More New Arabian Nights* [1885], Longmans, Green, & co., London, 1895, 8.

⁷³⁶ Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Sign of the Four* [1890], John Murray, London, 1967, 93; V. L. Whitechurch, *Stories of the Railway* [1912], Routledge & Keegan Paul, London, 1977, 105-106.

⁷³⁷ V. L. Whitechurch, *Stories of the Railway* [1912], Routledge & Keegan Paul, London, 1977, 105-106.

⁷³⁸ Strickland was based on Charles Forjett, Bombay’s Commissioner of Police, who was born and bred in India and by his own account was ‘a master of guise [sic]’ who would mingle with alleged conspirators and encourage them to speak against the Government, before throwing off his disguise and arresting them the moment they did so. See Charles Allen, *Kipling Sahib: India and the Making of Rudyard Kipling*, Little, Brown, London, 2007, 24.

attempt to understand them and India as he ‘held the extraordinary theory that a Policeman in India should try to know as much about the natives as the natives themselves.’⁷³⁹ It is no accident that Strickland appears in *Kim*, a novel that does not question or discuss the morality of the use of disguises, deception or spies by authorities. Indeed, spying is glorified as a means of helping British officials have a greater understanding of the ‘Indian mentality’. Colonel Creighton is just one official who uses espionage to greater understanding of India. He cultivates Kim by refining the boy’s skills of observation and deception. This is done initially by enrolling him in St. Xavier’s College, a Catholic school at Lucknow. Here Kim receives a western-style education, especially in mathematics and geology, so that he can qualify for the Ethnological Survey, which is a front for spies. But Creighton also allows Kim to roam the countryside during the school holidays, so that he can maintain his direct connection with wider Indian society. The secretive nature of Creighton and his work is further suggested by his membership of a Masonic Lodge, which is a secret society.⁷⁴⁰ Masons pay for Kim’s education and training as a spy, while acting as if they are an extension of London clubs, which had many attributes of secret societies with their own traditions, idiosyncrasies and secret languages exclusive from the rest of society. A secret service is similar as it too has its own language and signs, which only its members can recognise. For instance, Kim can recognise ‘E.23’ in the train because the agent wears a black and silver amulet. Such an

⁷³⁹ Rudyard Kipling, ‘Miss Youghal’s Sais’, *Plain Tales from the Hills* [1888], Capuchin Classics, London, 2008, 31. See also Rudyard Kipling, ‘The Bronckhorst Divorce-Case’, *Plain Tales from the Hills* [1888], Capuchin Classics, London, 2008, 205-210; Rudyard Kipling, ‘The Mark of the Beast’, *Life’s Handicap: Being Stories of Mine Own People* [1891], MacMillan, London, 1964, 240-259; Rudyard Kipling, ‘The Return of Imray’, *Life’s Handicap: Being Stories of Mine Own People* [1891], MacMillan, London, 1964, 260-277; Rudyard Kipling, ‘A Deal in Cotton’, *Actions and Reactions* [1909], MacMillan, London, 1954, 173-198.

⁷⁴⁰ Kipling knew of the secretive nature and rituals of the Masonic Lodge as he was himself a mason in India. See Allen, *Kipling Sahib*, 213. See also Peter Hopkirk, *Quest for Kim: In Search of Kipling’s Great Game*, John Murray, London, 1996, 194.

amulet is unusual, thus a signal to Kim that E.23 is a fellow British spy, but because it is such a minor detail the other passengers in the carriage fail to notice the significance.⁷⁴¹ These secretive elements and the spy's ability to observe are celebrated in the novel as demonstrating British power in India. Yet the British did not have the intimate knowledge of ordinary Indians nor was espionage as sophisticated or as far-reaching as depicted by Kipling.⁷⁴²

It is notable that reviews of *Kim* in *Blackwood's*, *The Morning Post*, *Punch* and *The Times* praised Kipling for providing a realistic picture of India and secrecy used 'for preservation of the Indian Empire.'⁷⁴³ Nonetheless there was a review by G. M. R. in *The Nursing Record and Hospital World*, which was very different from other reviews of *Kim*.⁷⁴⁴ Indeed, it condemned Kim as a hero (a bad characteristic is that he knows how to swear in the local language) and the glorification of spying:

He [Kim] is entirely unprincipled and wholly irreligious, altogether unscrupulous, with no standard of conduct whatever except loyalty to his friends. This admixture turns him out a charming person and we have him on the threshold of a very great

⁷⁴¹ Rudyard Kipling, *Kim* [1901], Macmillan, London, 1929, 283.

⁷⁴² The British did use institutions such as the Ethnological Survey and individual military officers to conduct espionage missions often when on shooting leave. However, it was not until after *Kim* was published that in 1904 a genuine secret service came into the existence with the creation of the tiny Director of Criminal Intelligence and Criminal Investigation Department in various British Indian provinces to investigate extreme nationalists, which was later expanded to investigate extreme Indian nationalists living and working outside India. See Andrew, *Secret Service*, 5; Peter Hopkirk, *The Great Game: On Secret Service in High Asia*, John Murray, London, 1990, 422-423; Robert Johnson, *Spying for Empire: The Great Game in Central and South Asia, 1757-1947*, Greenhill Books, London, 2006, 21-216; Richard J. Popplewell, *Intelligence and Imperial Defence: British Intelligence and the Defence of the Indian Empire 1904-1924*, Frank Cass, London, 1995, 22-23, 44-52; Stephen Wade, *Spies in the Empire: Victorian Military Intelligence*, Anthem Press, London & New York, 2007, passim; John Ure, *Shooting Leave: Spying Out Central Asia in the Great Game*, Constable, London, 2009, 1-132, 145-194, 205-222, 237-272; .

⁷⁴³ Anonymous, 'Kim', *The Times of London*, no. 36574, 1 Oct. 1901, 8. See The Baron de Bookworm, 'Our Booking-Office', *Punch; or the London Charivari*, vol. 121, 18 Oct. 1901, 284; Millar, 'Recent Novels', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 170, no. 1034 (Dec. 1901), 795; Anonymous, "'Friend of the All the World": Published To-day', *The Morning Post*, 1 Oct. 1901, 7.

⁷⁴⁴ The original name for *The British Journal of Nursing*.

career. No doubt he was admirably fitted for the kind of part which the British Government apparently wished him to play; and that part was anything but an exalted one. This book is a saddening one, and in spite of all its seductions ... you are left with much the feeling that Browning had when he stood among the masterpieces of Greek art, and owned that what the artist had attempted he had perfectly achieved: but saw more to admire in the feeblest strivings of the man who had something higher to express, and struggle through failure to make himself understood...⁷⁴⁵

G. M. R. viewed Kim as a thief with a sense of honour amongst thieves and believed that being a spy is tantamount to being a thief. A major problem for G. M. R. is that the novel celebrates the use of espionage as a means of defending British power in India and a person who does not conduct himself according to rules of society. The suspicion of their behaviour still survived into the First World War. This wariness is captured by Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's⁷⁴⁶ comment that 'I would not authorise my men being used as spies. Officers must act straightforwardly and as Englishmen. "Espionage" among our men was [as] hateful to us Army men.'⁷⁴⁷ What is more in an letter dated 17 October, 1916, Henry Le Roy Lewis, a British diplomat, complained to Lloyd George about the conduct of novelist Compton Mackenzie:

I saw yesterday a young man called Captain Compton Mackenzie who has been employed for the last year in Secret Service at Athens. This young man is, I am told, a novelist of some repute and certainly his stories lose nothing in his telling of them, but his conversation was in my opinion, most unwise as he emphasised the fact that we have apparently been guilty of most un-neutral acts in Greece. If we have to have Secret Service Agents, it is just as well to employ discreet people. We have in Spain a certain Captain [A. W. E.] Mason, also a distinguished novelist whom I cannot reproach with indiscretion, but whose conduct, I am informed by our Spanish Embassy, has given rise to spirited protest

⁷⁴⁵ G. M. R., 'A Book of the Week: Kim', *The Nursing Record and Hospital World*, vol. 27, no. 708 (26 Oct. 1901), 347.

⁷⁴⁶ Later Lord Haig.

⁷⁴⁷ Quoted in Michael Smith, *The Spying Game: The Secret History of British Espionage* [1996], Politico's Publishing, London, 2003, 398.

on the part of King of Spain. If we must employ Secret Service Agents and I very much doubt their utility – I should suggest that the profession of novelists might be avoided that less brilliant and more discreet persons should be chosen.⁷⁴⁸

Lewis's complaint implies spies are not gentlemen because they do not necessarily say who they are which he regards as tantamount to lying and also they pry into other people's business. He also questions whether these novelist-spies are gentlemen as one of the hallmarks of a gentleman is to be discreet. For instance Mackenzie through his careless conversation and the novelist A. E. W. Mason (he had been recruited as a spy by the NID) through upsetting the Spanish King had shown a lack of tact.⁷⁴⁹ However G. M. R's opinion was in a minority view in literature and amongst the political and military elite. They saw or it was expressed that the protection, of Britain and the Empire from invasion was a good cause and being a spy did not affect one's standard as a gentleman or challenge its concept.

This is found in World War I British spy literature. The fictional heroes that include Hannay, Norgate, Abercromby, Desmond Oakwood, Haystoun, Davies and Carruthers are gentlemen and mainly amateurs as they found themselves accidentally caught up in events. Some of these use disguises or covers such as Hannay using the cover of being an

⁷⁴⁸ PA Lloyd George Papers E/3/14/14.

⁷⁴⁹ Moreover, their indiscretions were further revealed in that their and fellow author W. Somerset Maugham, all wrote novels or short stories closely based on their own experiences. Mackenzie's case, his novel *Extremes Meet* (1928) used actual code names or nicknames of informants such as Davy Jones for the porter at the German embassy at Athens. In addition the second volume of his war memoirs *Greek Memories* (1932) disclosed that Mansfield Cumming Smith's code name was C and that he used green ink when signing documents, all of which was top secret. As a result Mackenzie was taken to court under the Official Secrets Act and heavily fined. Mackenzie responded by writing *Water on the Brain* (1933) that satirised the British intelligence organisations as being utterly incompetent. See Compton Mackenzie, *Extremes Meet*, Cassell, London, 1928; A. E. W. Mason, *The Summons*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1920; W. Somerset Maugham, *Ashenden; or The British Agent*, W. Heinemann, London, 1928; Andro Linklater, *Compton Mackenzie: A Life*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1987, 155, 163. See also David Thomas & Joyce Thomas, *Compton Mackenzie: A Bibliography*, Mansell Publishing, London & New York, 1986, 31, 34; Compton Mackenzie, *Water on the Brain* [1933], Chatto & Windus, London, 1967, passim.

anti-British Boer called Cornelius Brandt, and Norgate fools the Germans into believing that he is a British traitor working for them. There are exceptions such as Surgeon-Major Thomson in *The Kingdom of the Blind*, Francis Oakwood and Athelstan King from *King of Khyber Rifles*, but they do not represent the majority of fictional British spy heroes before or during the war. This use of amateurs in spy stories is a piece of repetition to distinguish between the British, who play by the rules by not spying in other countries or who only take up spying when forced to, and the German hidden hand with its network of professional spies. As one character tells Neil Lyndon in *A Rogue by Compulsion*, ‘... [We are] professional spies. Of course it sounds absurd and impossible to you—an Englishman—but all the same it’s the truth....’⁷⁵⁰ This view was typical of many in British society as evident in 1908, when the British consul in Cherbourg refused an offer (for payments) of plans of French submarines, on the grounds that it was ungentlemanly. A *Punch* article in July 1918 had one junior British officer say to his superior ‘we’re [the British] not so good as they [the Germans] are in spying, because we insist on fighting in a gentlemanly way....’⁷⁵¹ In addition, when professional British spies were portrayed such as Thomson, King, and Kim, they were seen as protectors of Britain or the Empire at times of war, or threat of invasion or to maintain stability. Even so, these professional spies in the land of fiction have the hallmark of the amateur clubman such as with Colonel Creighton’s membership of a Masonic Lodge.

⁷⁵⁰ Victor Bridges, *A Rogue by Compulsion: An Affair of the Secret Service*, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, London & New York, Fifth Impression, 1915, 285.

⁷⁵¹ See Porter, *The Origins of the Vigilant State*, 153-154; R. C. Lehmann, ‘The Rumourist’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 155, 3 July 1918, 13.

Moreover the use of amateurs working as spies was a widespread practice in the British intelligence services especially during World War I. There was no advertising as recruits were enlisted through their social connections as members of London clubs or the old school tie or public figures were recruited because of their specialised skills. The NID was typical of this practice with their recruits including Claud Serocold, James Randall, Thomas Inskip,⁷⁵² Algernon Cecil, and Sir Philip Baker Wilbraham, all of whom came from the genteel occupations of finance, law, academia or the wine trade, or from the aristocracy.⁷⁵³ One of the most famous real life amateur spies and clubmen employed by the NID was the novelist A. E. W. Mason. Mason had been recruited because it was believed as a successful author he could mix with people of influence, compensating for the lack of any espionage experience. Another reason for his recruitment was that in keeping with his image of a gentleman of leisure he owned a yacht and regularly took long holiday trips along the Mediterranean coastline. This provided a cover for his mission of keeping track of German agents in neutral Spain.

After the war, Mason, as a writer of adventure and detective stories, liked to talk exaggeratedly in a *Boys' Own* manner about these adventures as a way to entertain fellow members at his club.⁷⁵⁴ Such action reinforced the image portrayed in spy stories that

⁷⁵² Later Viscount Caldecote.

⁷⁵³ Deacon, *A History of the British Secret Service*, 218.

⁷⁵⁴ Arnold Bennett bore this out when he noted in his journal: '[Sir Nigel] Playfair [actor-manager] and A. E. W. Mason dined with me at the Garrick. Mason told us some of his secret service adventures in Mexico. He was very good as a *raconteur*, and evidently has a great gift for secret service though he said he began as an amateur. Mason said that practically all the German spies and many of the Zeppelin men carried a packet of obscene photographs on their persons. I fully expected he would laugh at the reputation of German Secret Service for efficiency, and he did. I felt sure the German temperament is not a good secret service temperament. Too gullible and talkative. Mason said their secret service was merely expensive. Money chucked away idiotically.' See Arnold Bennett, *The Journals of Arnold Bennett: 1911-1921*, ed.

spying was all action rather than being dull. Mason to a great extent lived up to his own adventure stories as in one case in Mexico during the war. He used Robert Baden-Powell's famous disguise (as described in *My Adventures as a Spy*) as a lepidopterist (butterfly collector) that had been inspired originally by Stapleton's disguise in *The Hound of the Baskervilles* to be able to get close enough to destroy a wireless station at Ixtapalapa that was being employed by the Germans to receive messages.⁷⁵⁵

This romantic view of war where gentlemen were playing a game existed in the real world of spies. Espionage was seen as being a sport that should be treated like a serious game of hide-and-seek where people are hiding their identities while others seek them out. George A. Hill, a British army officer, who acted as a spy in Russia after the Bolsheviks came to power, viewed his activities as a 'joyful adventure' and a 'sport'.⁷⁵⁶ According to Compton Mackenzie this was a view shared by Cumming Smith, who believed that spying was a 'capital sport'.⁷⁵⁷ Another example of Cumming Smith's playfulness was given by Valentine Williams, the author of *The Man with the Clubfoot*, a *Daily Mail* war correspondent, soldier and intelligence officer. He recalled that Cumming Smith once produced 'a photograph of a heavy-built German-looking individual in unmistakably German clothes and was entranced when I failed to recognise the party in question – it was himself, disguised for the purposes of a certain delicate mission he once

Newman Flower, Cassell, London, Toronto, Melbourne & Sydney, 1932, 247; Roger Lancelyn Green, *A. E. W. Mason*, Max Parrish, London, 1952, 162.

⁷⁵⁵ Conan Doyle, *The Hound of the Baskervilles*, 89. See also Green, *A. E. W. Mason*, 150; Andrew, *Secret Service*, 119.

⁷⁵⁶ George A. Hill, *Go Spy the Land: Being the Adventures of I. K. 8 of the British Secret Service*, Cassell, London & Toronto, 1932, 7.

⁷⁵⁷ Compton Mackenzie, *Greek Memoirs* [1932], University Publications of America, Frederick (Massachusetts), 1987, 325.

undertook on the continent before the war.’⁷⁵⁸ This romantic British view was held by many. Writer Jerome K. Jerome expressed such a notion in his war propaganda article, *The Greatest Game of All*, where he saw war as ‘the greatest of games’ because ‘as a game it can be respectable; as a business it is contemptible. Wars for profit ... degrade a people. It is like playing cricket for money. A gentleman—or nation—does not do such things. But war for love ... played for hope, a vision, a faith, with life and death as the stakes! Yes, there is something to be said for it!’⁷⁵⁹

It is noticeable that the term ‘game’ is evident in many spy stories. The most obvious example is the term ‘The Great Game’ in *Kim* that is used seventeen times,⁷⁶⁰ or simply as ‘The Game’ another eight times,⁷⁶¹ in reference to the Anglo-Russian struggle in relation to India, which is a significant element of *Kim*. Indeed, the word ‘game’ is used fifty-eight times and different types of games are mentioned including ‘King-of-the-castle game’, ‘game of make-believe’, ‘polo-game’, ‘a hidden game’, ‘Jewel game’, and ‘a game of hiding’ to emphasise that while Kim has been playing games all his life for the love of it, without realising he has been training to play his part in ‘The Great Game’.⁷⁶² Likewise ‘game’, is used in *The Riddle of the Sands*, when Davies talks of the small German boats being used for an invasion and Carruthers tells himself to ‘play the game’ to focus his mind on his mission to gather information from conspirators’ headquarters.⁷⁶³ *Greenmantle* is an example of the use of the word ‘game’ in British

⁷⁵⁸ Valentine Williams, *The World of Action*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1938, 338.

⁷⁵⁹ Jerome K. Jerome, ‘The Greatest Game of All: The True Spirit of War’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 5 Jan. 1915, 4.

⁷⁶⁰ Kipling, *Kim*, 167, 191, 229, 231, 247, 260, 262, 288, 293, 322-323, 334, 352.

⁷⁶¹ Kipling, *Kim*, 265, 271, 288, 293, 371.

⁷⁶² Kipling, *Kim*, 6, 67, 140, 152, 205, 264.

⁷⁶³ Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 111, 188, 190.

World War I spy stories. Game is mentioned fifty-eight times, often in reference to the playing of games such as Hannay's friend and colleague John S. Blenkiron's games of Patience, which he plays throughout the novel. The playing of Patience has symbolic meaning as a metaphor for Hannay's mission being a game involving patience as he with the aid of Blenkiron and others attempts to discover the meaning of a fragmented message. Furthermore *Greenmantle* was not the only Hannay novel to give the term 'game' prominence. It is used fifty-nine times in *Mr. Standfast* to describe the work of Hannay and his allies or that of the Germans such as when Hannay has to play the role of a pacifist to establish his credentials by giving a passionate anti-war speech where he says 'I was playing the game.'⁷⁶⁴ The use of 'playing the game' was not unique to spy novels during World War I.

The notion that spying or war was a game or sport for a wealthy gentleman or some higher notion was derived from the public schools. These schools helped to create the broader perspectives of who was a gentleman. One cornerstone to the concept of the gentleman, which the public schools were responsible in creating, was the ideal of fair play that was expressed in the written and unwritten rules of sports as a means to bring about a sense of honesty, fairness, loyalty, cooperation, physical and moral courage. This was aimed at encouraging Christian ethics that would develop character and leadership particularly for civil and military service.⁷⁶⁵ The emphasis of sport as setting a good

⁷⁶⁴ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 50.

⁷⁶⁵ Sport was compulsory at these schools from the 1870s with vast sums spent on sporting facilities. However historian J. A. Mangan has pointed out, there were large numbers exempted from participation for a range of reasons. Nonetheless large numbers did play organized sport even if they were reluctant in participating. The influence these schools of considerable. In 1914 seventy-one percent of civil servants had attended public schools as compared to the sixteen percent in the army (most if not all was officers had a public school education). See J. A. Mangan, *Athleticism in the Victorian and Edwardian Public School*:

example for people to follow in life was seen as something that could be understood by anyone from any class.

The broad appeal of sport as developed by public schools was shaped by novels such as *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (1857) and, most importantly, boys' magazines with their public school stories, especially those that appeared in *The Magnet* and *The Gem*. As Robert Roberts recalled, he and other boys would wait outside their local newsagency for the latest copies of *The Magnet* and *Gem* to read, which affected the way he and others boys looked at the world:

Fights—ideally, at least—took place according to Greyfriars [one of the fictional schools in the stories] rules: no striking an opponent when he was down, no kicking, in fact no weapon but the manly fist. Through the Old School we learned to admire guts, integrity, tradition; we derided the glutton, the American and the French. We looked with contempt upon the sneak and the thief. Greyfriars gave us one moral code, life another, and a fine muddle we made of it all.⁷⁶⁶

Likewise Edward Ezard recalled that he and friends were ardent readers of these magazines and that he and his friends' fights were conducted in the same manner as Roberts and his friends' fights, showing these stories' influence.⁷⁶⁷

These and other earlier boys' adventure periodicals such as *BOP* while varying in popularity, convey the message of fair play as being part of being a gentleman.⁷⁶⁸ This

The Emergence and Consolidation of an Educational Ideology, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, London, & New York, 1981, 71, 81; Peter Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos*, Constable, London, 1987, 55; Simon Glasscock, 'Buchan, Sport and Masculinity', *Reassessing John Buchan: Beyond the Thirty-Nine Steps*, ed. Kate Macdonald, Pickering & Chatto, London & Brookfield (Vermont), 2009, 41.

⁷⁶⁶ Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, 127.

⁷⁶⁷ Edward Ezard, *Battersea Boy*, William Kimber, London, 1979, 98.

⁷⁶⁸ Paris, *Over the Top*, 83.

message was often conveyed in spy literature. Chapman, the Labour politician, in *The Power-House*, accuses Leithen with other Unionists of being unfair towards Trade Unions saying ‘You [Unionists] can’t fight fair; always digging up dirt on the [trade] unions.’⁷⁶⁹ If fair play was not adhered to, sport would not exist, because it would have to be an unequal contest. Therefore it was implied that by giving some a sporting chance; a gentleman does not take unfair advantage of an opponent. Hannay at one stage in *Mr. Standfast* has Schwabing in the sights of his gun but he cannot shoot him as ‘It seemed like potting at a sitting rabbit. I was obliged, though he was my worst enemy, to give him a chance, while all the while my senses called me a fool.’⁷⁷⁰ Hannay cannot shoot because Schwabing is unaware and has no sporting chance of escaping or fighting back. As it is against his sense of honour, as it is cowardly to attack your enemy unaware. He learns this from sport which guides him not only on the sporting field but how to conduct his life. In reading such stories anyone from the lower classes could believe that acting like a gentleman they could gain the respect of their peers and community. Other factors in these stories were the sense of loyalty to the group and comradeship; the individual may achieve great things but it is for others, the team or the nation not for personal glory. This was similar to a sporting team where all the individuals work together to attain a goal, and a certain person may have outstanding abilities, however, it is not for individual glory but for the good of the team.

Lloyd George, as War Secretary, expressed all these ideals in a 1916 interview with Roy W. Howard, president of the United Press of America:

⁷⁶⁹ Buchan, ‘The Power-House’, 718.

⁷⁷⁰ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 244.

The British soldier is a good sportsman. He enlisted in this war in a sporting spirit—in the best sense of that term. He went in to see fair play to a small nation [Belgium] trampled upon by a bully. He is fighting for fair play. He has fought as a good sportsman. By the thousands he has died a good sportsman. He has never asked anything more than a sporting chance. He has not always had that. When he couldn't get it he didn't quit. He played the game. He didn't squeal, and he has certainly never asked anyone to squeal for him.⁷⁷¹

However, having played sport did not guarantee a person to be of good character. Oppenheim's *The Vanished Messenger*, which is set before World War I, is used to demonstrate this possibility. Gerald Fentolin, a full time amateur golfer, kidnaps the American John P. Dunster, who has been sent on a mission to maintain peace in Europe. Gerald later redeems himself by helping Richard Hamel, the hero, as he had been forced to kidnap Dunster by his murderous crippled uncle, Miles Fentolin. This Fentolin, a traitor, who sends secret wireless messages to the Germans, once played Varsity cricket (matches played between Cambridge and Oxford universities) and cricket for his county.⁷⁷² The implication is that Fentolin may own an estate, have wealth and have played cricket at a high level, but he does not fulfil the requirements of a gentleman as he lacks the required virtues.

Nor were all sports universally agreed upon as being suitable pursuits for a gentleman. Oppenheim often has his heroes such as Richard Hamel playing golf (a sport he played),

⁷⁷¹ Anonymous, "“Never Again!”: Battle-Cry of the Allies: No Time for Peace Talk: Mr. Ll. George's Warning to Neutrals', *The Times of London*, no. 41285, 29 Sept. 1916, 7.

⁷⁷² E. Phillips Oppenheim, *The Vanished Messenger* [1914], The Review of Reviews Co., New York, 1920, 109.

or tennis, another genteel sport.⁷⁷³ However, Buchan had less regard for golf or tennis as they did not necessary guarantee man being a gentleman.⁷⁷⁴ For example, when Hannay in *Mr Standfast* is looking at Schwabing, the German master spy, disguised as a pacifist called Moxon Ivery, he describes him as ‘nothing much to look at, you say. A common, middle-aged, pie-faced, golf-playing high brow [sic], that you wouldn’t keep out of a Sunday school.’⁷⁷⁵ This suggests golf though popular (at least amongst the upper and upper-middle-classes) lacks physical requirements to test a gentleman’s courage and endurance as there is no genuine risk of physical injury. Instead it is a game showing physical decline, or in the case of a German/pacifist, moral decline because of the lack of courage involved. This is hinted at earlier in the novel when Hannay, walking around the pacifist community of Biggleswick, meets ‘...parties of returning tennis-players and here and there a golfer. There seemed to be an abundance of young men, mostly rather weedy-looking, but with one or two well-grown ones who should have been fighting.’⁷⁷⁶ Meanwhile in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, the German Black Stone conspirators masquerade as a group of middle-class English playing tennis beneath a limp British flag.⁷⁷⁷ This scene recalls pre-war criticism symbolised by *An Englishman’s Home*, that argued the general British population were too interested in watching and following sport to notice

⁷⁷³ Oppenheim listed that his three favourite ‘outdoor amusements’ were shooting, golf and cricket. See Robert Standish, *The Prince of Storytellers: The Life of E. Phillips Oppenheim*, Peter Davies, London, 1957, 45.

⁷⁷⁴ Buchan made a strong differentiation between games and sports. He saw sport being activities such as shooting, fishing, hunting, sailing, mountain climbing, walking – where people competed against nature. Whereas games such as tennis, golf, football, rugby, and cricket were competitions between people. See William Buchan, *John Buchan: A Memoir*, Buchan & Enright Publishers, London, 1982, 92.

⁷⁷⁵ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 65.

⁷⁷⁶ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 40.

⁷⁷⁷ Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, 152.

the German danger, indeed even when the threat was right under their noses.⁷⁷⁸ Another thing which brought golf into question as a gentlemanly sport was, as with tennis, that Germans played it. In the case of Seligman, he plays a game of golf in Belgium where he tries to bribe a pro-German Belgian aristocrat (who refuses) into betraying his country to help prepare the way for the invasion of Belgium. This action is to show that the Germans are not gentlemen, therefore no ‘sportsmen’, as they do not play by the rules of the game. Indeed, Germany’s breaking of the 1839 treaty that guaranteed Belgian neutrality and the remark by the German Chancellor Theobald von Bethman Hollweg that the treaty was a ‘scrap of paper’, was given as evidence of the Germans’ inability to abide by the rules.⁷⁷⁹ Thus sport was widely used in Britain during World War I to illustrate that Germans were not gentlemen.

Punch, in its 1916 almanac played to this notion in a series of cartoons called ‘Prussianised Sport’ that showed Germans being violent or cheating at sport by such

⁷⁷⁸ This same criticism of the lack of British physical well-being and military readiness and awareness is found in “*That Goldheim*” through the characterisation of Basil Barton, a socialist intellectual and believer that there will be no war between Britain and Germany. Barton is described as being ‘slouched’ and short sighted though he enjoys ‘watching a cricket match.’ This is contrast to Hubert Vanlithen, the anti-German hero, who, hunts, dances, and plays cricket and is thus viewed as being handsome, upright and manly. See Eddis, “*That Goldheim*”, 8, 19, 30.

⁷⁷⁹ F. Burgess, ‘A Scrap of Paper’, *The Clarion*, no. 1193, 16 Oct. 1914, 5. See also [Geoffrey Dawson], ‘In Defence of Aggression’, *The Times of London*, no. 40610, 20 Aug. 1914, 7; Anonymous, ‘The Eve of War: German Emperor’s Angry Message: The “Scrap of Paper”: Important Dispatch’, *The Times of London*, no. 40618, 28 Aug. 1914, 7; Vidi, ‘The Kaiser and The War. The Effect of a Prophecy’, *The Times of London*, 40621, 31 Aug. 1914, 3; [Geoffrey Dawson], ‘The Call to the Country’, *The Times of London*, no. 40626, 5 Sept. 1914, 9; Anonymous, ‘Another Scrap of Paper’, *The Daily Express*, 7 Dec. 1914, 1; Anonymous, ‘Their “Second Time on Earth”’, *The Daily Express*, 5 Oct. 1914, 6; Anonymous, ‘The “Loot” and the “Lyre”’, *The Daily Express*, 7 Oct. 1914, 5; Anonymous, ‘Britain’s Honour Rests of Scraps of Paper’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 14 Dec. 1914, 2; [R. G. Gardiner], ‘The “Scrap of Paper”’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 26 Jan. 1915, 5; [Robert Donald], ‘Rules of Law’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 Aug. 1914, 2; W. W. Lucas, ‘Honouring a Scrap of Paper’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 17 Nov. 1914, 8; Mary Farrah, “‘A Scrap of Paper’”, *The Daily Chronicle*, 15 Sept. 1914, 4; Anonymous, ‘The Office Window’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 15 Sept. 1914, 4; Henry B. Clayton, ‘Britain and Germany’s Secret Treaty’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 23 Oct. 1914, 4; Edward Cook, ‘The Scrap of Paper: A Point from the North Sea’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 22 Oct. 1914, 4; See bibliography on this topic.

means as using an exploding cricket ball or poison gas, as a way of gaining victory.⁷⁸⁰ Cricket, being unique to the British Empire, was seen as a way to emphasise the difference between the British and Germans as gentlemen. It was seen as a gentleman's game because the most important thing was the acceptance of the unwritten rules, such as the batsman accepting the fielder's honesty when claiming a catch, rather than the result. Cricket was used as a means of portraying Germans' lack of understanding of sport. *Yellow English* is one spy story that uses cricket to illustrate this point when Herr Müller (a German army officer), the tutor to Freddie Schultz, says '... you [Freddie] think only of this silly sport [cricket], you, you numbskull; that is what you live for, stupid games, that is why we [Germany] will win; while you play, we think and plan and prepare. We teach our boys to fight and be soldiers in our schools...'⁷⁸¹ Müller's comment is to illustrate the point that the Germans fail to understand that sport is a means of educating a gentleman or others how to fight in war by learning discipline, teamwork and rules. By Germans failing to have this education means all they know is how to plot and kill.⁷⁸²

⁷⁸⁰ Frank Reynolds, 'Prussianised Sport', *Punch's Almanack for 1916*, vol. 150, (Jan. – June 1916), p.n. (xxx – xxxi).

⁷⁸¹ Flatau, '*Yellow English*', 61.

⁷⁸² There were those in Britain, who believed the British population had an unhealthy obsession with sport that resulted in the neglect rifle training as a means of preparing boys for a future war. A notable example is Kipling's *The Islanders* [Appendix 11], which criticised this obsession with sport fearing it came at the cost of military training leaving Britain vulnerable to attack. Likewise Baden-Powell, another advocator of rifle training for boys shared Kipling's concerns, commenting 'Cricket doesn't matter a hang-though it is a jolly good game to play, and comes in useful to a certain extent in training a fellow's eye, nerve, and temper. But, as the American would say, "it isn't a circumstance" to scouting which teaches a fellow to be a man.' Kipling's *The Islanders* led to a debate about the benefit of sport in preparing boys to defend Britain. See Kipling, 'The Islanders', 9; Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys*, 22. See also Herbert Stephen, "'The Islanders': To the Editor of Letter of The Times', *The Times of London*, no. 36657, 6 Jan. 1902, 4; T. Miller, "'The Islanders': To the Editor of Letter of The Times', *The Times of London*, no. 36658, 7 Jan. 1902, 10; L. B., 'War Games for Children', *The Times of London*, no. 36658, 7 Jan. 1902, 10; Alfred Ainger, "'The Islanders': To the Editor of Letter of The Times', *The Times of London*, no. 36659, 8 Jan. 1902, 6; Alan Field, "'The Islanders': To the Editor of Letter of The Times', *The Times of London*, no. 36659, 8 Jan. 1902, 6; H. H. Almond, "'The Islanders': To the Editor of Letter of The Times', *The Times of London*, no. 36660, 9 Jan. 1902, 10; Charles Waldstein, 'England and Germany', *The Times of London*, no. 36666, 16 Jan. 1902, 12. See more in Bibliography on this topic.

PRUSSIANISED SPORT.



ASPHYXIATION ON THE FOOTBALL FIELD.



TO BRIGHTEN CRICKET, THE EXPLOSIVE BALL.



TORPEDOING SALMON IN THE HIGHLANDS.

The series of cartoons called 'Prussianised Sport' that showed that Germans failed to understand the true nature of sport. This suggests that they were not a nation of gentlemen as they could not follow the rules in sport or anything else as their sole focus was to win at all costs.
Source: Reynolds, 'Prussianised Sport', *Punch's Almanack for 1916*, vol. 150, (xxx - xxxi).

A part of the reason Germans were portrayed in this way was due to cultural differences. As Christine Eisenberg has pointed out, in imperial Germany the emphasis on sport was placed upon the achievement of the individual in contrast to Edwardian Britain where the emphasis was on the success of the team. Additionally ‘in Germany it was felt there was nothing shameful in accepting money or selling off trophies immediately after the events’ and Germans used the ‘latest technology, including a sporting research laboratory’ to achieve success. In contrast in Britain the amateur sportsman was upheld as the ideal notion of sport as somebody who competes for the mere enjoyment or honour of it rather than possible material gain.⁷⁸³ In British spy literature during World War I, the British spy is overwhelmingly an amateur, being a spy purely for the love of his country. The German spy, by contrast is portrayed a professional, often arrogant and fanatical as part of a network of spies acting for personal glory.⁷⁸⁴ A number of German spies captured by the British were criminals or others, who had become spies for money rather than any sense of duty. This type of German is often portrayed in British spy literature such as Schwabing in *The Thirty-Nine Steps* and Mr. Standfast, Doctor Grundt, the German spy master, known as ‘Clubfoot’ in *The Man with the Clubfoot*, Ronnie Garnet, Frederick and Freddie Schultz. They are professionals, who do things for their own personal gain as if they were ‘playing cricket for money’ and do not play by the rules because winning is all that matters not how the game is played.

⁷⁸³ Christine Eisenberg, “‘Representing the very best’: Anglo-German Competition and Transfers in Sport”, eds. Dominik Geppert & Robert Gerwarth, *Wilhelmine Germany and Edwardian Britain: Essays on Cultural Affinity*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008, 396, 400.

⁷⁸⁴ These included John Hahn, Ernst Melin, Anton K pferle, Fernando Buschman, Robert Rosenthal, Albert Meyer. See Morton, *Spies of the First World War*, 111, 113, 115, 119-120; Andrew, *Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*, 185-186.

Grundt is an example of a German not playing by the rules by breaking the code of honour amongst spies – both British and German. Grundt as a result suffers the consequences. Francis Oakwood brutally bashes Grundt and as he is crippled on the floor from the bashing, Francis shoots him a number of times at point blank range. The reason for such action is given earlier in a conversation in which Francis states that Grundt has broken the code of honour amongst spies:

“There is a code of honour in our game, old man” he said “and there are lots of men in the German secret service who live up to it. We give and take plenty of hard knocks in the rough-and-tumble of the chase, but ambush and assassination are barred.”

He took a deep breath and added:

“But the man Clubfoot doesn’t play the game!”

“Francis,” I said “I wish I’d known something of this that night I had him at my mercy at the Esplanade. He would not have got off with a cracked skull ... with one blow. There would have been another blow for Tracy, one for Arbuthnot [British spies killed by Grundt], one for the other man ... until the account was settled and I’d beaten his brains out on the carpet. But if we meet him again, Francis ... as, please God, we shall! ... there will be no code of honour for *him* ... we’ll finish in cold blood as we’d kill a rat!”⁷⁸⁵

After Francis (seemingly) has killed Grundt, he doubts his actions saying worryingly “Des it seems rather like murder.” Desmond replies “No, it was Justice!”⁷⁸⁶ Both Oakwood brothers would see themselves as gentlemen and are portrayed as such, with honour being an important part, which has unwritten rules that are agreed upon and honoured by everyone just like the unwritten rules of cricket. Grundt has not abided by these rules, therefore he has lost his integrity (if he had any) as a gentleman. Consequently, as the text suggests, Grundt has forfeited his life. Most spy novels would not have the hero act like the Oakwood brothers, as it is against the unwritten laws of a

⁷⁸⁵ Williams, *Clubfoot*, 237.

⁷⁸⁶ Williams, *Clubfoot*, 280.

gentleman to kill an unarmed opponent. As Germans (or at least powerful Germans) are seen as not playing by the rules, then they are modified for those who are not gentlemen but are gents or bullies, who only understand violence.

Though Hannay as a spy never kills an enemy (if he did it would be in self-defence), in *Mr. Standfast* he does a similar thing. He orders the captured Schwabing to be placed in a frontline trench knowing there is a distinct possibility that the forthcoming German army will kill him by mistake, which actually does happen. A more striking example of the use and justification of violence in a British spy story is “*Yellow*” *English*.⁷⁸⁷ Freddie, at the novel’s conclusion, is thrown off a cliff in revenge by the female relatives of dead British sailors whose ship he has helped to sink. To further emphasise their right to retribution, at the same time as Freddie’s death, his baby son is killed when a piece of shrapnel from a Zeppelin bomb pierces the child’s heart. ‘H. H.’, the reviewer for *The British Journal of Nursing*⁷⁸⁸ praised the ending with its attack on German immigrants as being spies that needed to be dealt with harshly: ‘The author ends with an impassioned appeal “to tear out this canker that we have weakly fostered.” We mourn our valorous dead; but can we mourn them honourably if we hold the hands, kiss the lips, nurture in our bosoms, the vipers that have caused their deaths? “Tear out this canker. Tear it out. Tear it out.”’⁷⁸⁹ Again the British are stereotyped as being honourable, while the Germans are depicted in opposite fashion, therefore deserving to be treated differently. Buchan’s novels were never as crude as “*Yellow*” *English* or indeed *The Man with the Clubfoot*. Hannay, by having a lack of self-control, is made more of an in-depth character than other heroes

⁷⁸⁷ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 373-374, 396-397.

⁷⁸⁸ An organ for the Royal College of Nursing.

⁷⁸⁹ H. H., ‘Book of the Week: “Yellow English”’, *The British Journal of Nursing*, vol. 61, no. 1602 (14 Dec. 1918), 377.

who are usually above reproach in their behaviour. However, Hannay's violence is part of a shift in attitude during the war so that a gentleman or British person can act differently towards a German who continually fails to live up to acceptable standards as expressed earlier by *Punch's* 'Prussianised Sport'. Such an attitude was akin to *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, where Tom Brown, the hero, takes on bullies especially Flashman in physical fights to defend weaker students. The honourable schoolboy fighting was repeated throughout in boys' periodicals within certain rules that were followed. Hannay and the Oakwood brothers belonged to this tradition of the hero taking on a bully (this being a German) because of their ungentlemanly behaviour. The expansion of violence with the hero taking on a bully or bullies in physical fights would continue after the war with the character of Bulldog Drummond typifying this shift. He unlike World War I heroes, does enjoy committing violent acts outside the law as a form of justice against those he and his friends deem as being guilty of crimes against Britain and the Empire.⁷⁹⁰

Yet, even those who do not express an interest in sport or are not actually British could act in a gentlemanly manner. There is Sergeant Ranjoor Singh, the hero of *The Winds of the World*, whose commanding officer, Colonel Kirkby, views him as and calls him a 'gentleman' as he possesses virtues such as 'honour' and 'loyalty'.⁷⁹¹ Indeed, Kirkby at one stage humiliates himself by getting on his knees (with a fellow British officer) and begging to Yasmini, a female ruler of tribesmen of the north-west frontier of India, for

⁷⁹⁰ See Sapper, *Bulldog Drummond*, [1920], London & Melbourne, Dent, 1983, passim; Sapper, *The Black Gang*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1922, passim; Sapper, *The Third Round* [1924], London & Melbourne, Dent, 1984, passim; Sapper, *The Final Count* [1926], Dent, London & Melbourne, 1985, passim.

⁷⁹¹ Mundy, *The Winds of the World*, 43, 66, 78, 107, 109, 146.

Ranjoor's life saying 'Ranjoor Singh's honour and mine are one!'⁷⁹² Certainly Ranjoor lives up to Kirkby's opinion by not being seduced into betraying the Empire by Yasmini. Instead he helps to defeat a German spy's plot of causing a second Indian Mutiny.⁷⁹³

In *The Thirty-Nine Steps* when Hannay is on the Scottish moors suffering from malaria after his escape from captivity, he comes across the local roadman Mr. Turnbull's cottage. Mr. Turnbull (being in his Sunday best and sober [he is usually drunk]) takes care of Hannay for ten days and is insulted by Hannay paying for the service. As Hannay comments, 'When I told him how much I owed him, he grunted something about "ae guild turn deservin' anither."' You would have thought from our leave-taking that we had parted in disgust.'⁷⁹⁴ Mr. Turnbull's rejection of money is comparable to Fred Mills's (a son of an Essex labourer) uncle, who refused a tip for holding a local gentry's horse because '...he thought that Mr Maskell had already paid him for his job, he didn't want the penny, it was dishonest to take it. So that's the stock we come from.'⁷⁹⁵ Thus the message with Mr. Turnbull is that anyone, even the least sympathetic character, is capable of acting as a gentleman or at least possessing aspects of gentlemanly behaviour.

One such character for instance is Launcelot Wake, a pacifist, in *Mr. Standfast*. Though at the start he appears to be an unsympathetic character to the reader because of his pacifist beliefs, this idea is challenged as through the course of the novel Wake reveals

⁷⁹² Mundy, *The Winds of the World*, 107.

⁷⁹³ Ranjoor Singh's gentleman-like qualities which include killing 'only when the rules [of war] permits' were praised by *The Times Literary Supplement* in its review of *Hira Singh's Tales*, a sequel to *The Winds of the World*. See Anonymous, 'Hira Singh's Tales', *The Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 17, no. 859 (27 June 1918), 300.

⁷⁹⁴ Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, 114-116.

⁷⁹⁵ Paul Thompson, *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (1975), Weidenfeld & Nicolson, London, 1984, 147.

himself to be a gentleman because of the help he gives to Hannay. Wake is a faulty gentlemanly character as he is obsessive rather than passive in expressing his views.⁷⁹⁶ Nonetheless Wake has physical qualities required for a sportsman, which is first suggested on his introduction as he had just ridden a bicycle for ten miles. Besides Wake's sporting qualities are confirmed by his being a passionate mountaineer like Hannay. These qualities are demonstrated by Wake's actions and like any gentleman he has principles which are not self-serving as he puts himself in danger by giving up his safe civil servant position to join the Labour Company to seek physical activity and to help others. When Hannay finds Wake working near the front he tells him he should become an officer and indeed offers a position in his own brigade but is rejected on the grounds of principle. Hannay's intuition of Wake's qualities are proven correct when Wake is able to use his mountaineer skills to help drag Hannay over the Collies and Schwarzsteinthor glacier in a blizzard in pursuit of Schwabing, who has taken Mary Lamington (Hannay's future wife) to his Swiss hideout. It is an unselfish act as Wake is Hannay's rival for Mary's affections but as a gentleman he sees that she is in love with Hannay and that it would be wrong to let him die. Another unselfish act conducted by Wake is in the manner in which he dies in the final chapter. This occurs under fire when he swims across a river and despite being hit in the groin without complaining gives a vital message to another line of British troops to help stop the British army from collapsing in the face of the German offensive.⁷⁹⁷ Wake, even though he is unorthodox, is a gentleman because he is plucky, true to his principles and allows the hero to have the heroine.

⁷⁹⁶ Another hint to Wake's faulty gentlemanly character is the name he shares with Sir Lancelot of the Arthurian legends. Both have faults but their final action redeems any character faults.

⁷⁹⁷ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 383.

Wake is not the only unsympathetic character who fulfils gentlemanly requirements. A number of Germans fit into this category. This includes Lensch, the German ace in *Mr Standfast*. As Hannay says ‘Lensch was a mighty man of valour and a good sportsman after his [Hannay’s Boer hunter friend Peter Pienaar] fashion.’⁷⁹⁸ He follows the same rules as Peter with both having mutual respect for each other, just as sportsmen do for each other on the playing field. Peter, after being released from a German army hospital, makes this point to Hannay:

“He is a white man [a term for being civilised], that one,” he said. “He came to see me in hospital and told me a lot of things. I think he made them treat me well ... He said he was sorry I was lame, for he hoped to have more fights with me ... I hope he will come through this war, for he is a good man, though a German....”⁷⁹⁹

Lensch despite being German is a good sport which makes him a gentleman as he fights to the rules of combat that may not be written down but are agreed upon by fellow pilots be they friend or foe. These are, as H. G. Wells called them, the ‘aristocracy of the army’ because of the way in which they conduct themselves.⁸⁰⁰ Buchan was expressing such an attitude with the comments about Lensch. Furthermore, Lensch was not the only German to be seen as a gentleman in the Hannay novels. Another is Gaudian, a German officer in *Greenmantle*. Hannay sees him as ‘clearly a good fellow, a white man and a gentleman. I could have worked with him for he belonged to my own totem.’⁸⁰¹ Part of the appeal for Hannay is that Gaudian has things in common with him such as being an engineer in

⁷⁹⁸ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 24.

⁷⁹⁹ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 282.

⁸⁰⁰ H. G. Wells, ‘Looking Ahead: The Most Splendid Fighting the World’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 9 Sept. 1914, 4.

⁸⁰¹ Buchan, *Greenmantle* [1916], Hodder & Stoughton, London, New York & Toronto, 1961, 94.

Africa and he is later revealed in *The Three Hostages* (1924) (when he helps Hannay) as a fisherman, making him a sportsman. Gaudian's sportsman-like qualities are displayed as he has no hard feelings about Germany losing the war. Though Gaudian is a gentleman he still reinforces the belief that Germans, particularly those of the ruling classes just like Freddie Schultz's teacher, are brainwashed with militarism to the point of fanaticism. Hannay, on seeing Stumm and Gaudian salute each other, comments '... I realised something of the might of Germany. She produced good and bad, cads and gentlemen, but she could put a bit of the fanatic into them all.'⁸⁰² Nonetheless this view is balanced out by the woodcutter's wife's care for Hannay after he falls seriously ill (after his escape from Stumm), despite a shortage of food. Her kindness towards Hannay changes his view of Germans as being a sub-human race and that Germany should be destroyed. He concludes that Britain should 'keep our hands clean from the ugly blunders to which Germany's madness had driven her. What good would it do Christian folk to burn poor little huts like this and have children's bodies by the wayside? To be able to laugh and to be merciful are the only things that make man better than beasts....'⁸⁰³ This relative tolerance towards Germans was expressed by British soldiers on the Western front. Private Dalling of the 1st Somerset Light Infantry, in a letter published in the newspaper *The Western Times* on 11 January 1915, noted: 'They [the Germans] are not all so black as they are sometimes painted.' He repeated words 'honourable' and 'gentlemanly' about the Germans. *Punch* noted that Hannay stories held this same view as expressed by

⁸⁰² Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 98.

⁸⁰³ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 142.

soldiers like Dalling: ‘Mr. Buchan has a soldier’s tolerance for a tough enemy and real admiration when he happens to be a sportsman.’⁸⁰⁴

It was not only soldiers that expressed tolerance towards Germans but those in Britain not directly involved in the fighting. This included Carl Hans Lody, who though he was executed for espionage was praised by *The Daily News* for his ‘courageous demeanour’ in court and doing his duty as a patriot and facing the firing squad calmly, which earned praise.⁸⁰⁵ Basil Thomson later wrote, ‘He never flinched, he never cringed, but he died as one would wish all Englishmen to die – quietly and undramatically, supported in his courage by the proud consciousness of having done his duty.’⁸⁰⁶ It is how Lody conducted himself thus fulfilling the requirements of gentleman therefore honourable foes worthy of praise.

However the portrayal of some Germans as fellow human beings in both fiction and reality goes against the overall trend as depicted in British spy stories during World War I. Germany instead of being a nation of gentlemen is a nation of gents and bullies. This view was not only expressed in spy stories. In a *Punch* cartoon called ‘The Detective on the German Spy-Trail’, a detective follows a man suspected of being a German spy. However after the suspect commits a number of gentlemanly acts, the detective concludes ‘This has been a wasted day’.⁸⁰⁷ The cartoon suggests that Germans are absolutely incapable of acting as a Gentleman. This view was commonly depicted in spy

⁸⁰⁴ Anonymous, ‘Our Booking-Office’, *Punch*, 15 Nov. 1915, 355.

⁸⁰⁵ Anonymous, ‘German Spy Shot: Carl Lody’s End at the Tower of London’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 11 Nov. 1914, 3.

⁸⁰⁶ Thomson, *Queer People*, 125.

⁸⁰⁷ George Morrow, ‘The Detective on the German Spy-Trail’, *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 151, 16 Aug. 1916, 129.



Detective. "I'M AFRAID I'M ON THE WRONG TRACK. THAT DOESN'T LOOK MUCH LIKE A GERMAN."



"I HOPE I'M AFTER THE RIGHT MAN. HE DOESN'T SOUND A BIT LIKE A GERMAN."



"HE GETS LESS LIKE A GERMAN EVERY MINUTE. BUT PERHAPS IT'S HIS ARTFULNESS."



"I'D BETTER GO HOME. THIS HAS BEEN A WASTED DAY."

'The Detective on the German Spy-Trail'
 Source: Morrow, *Punch*, vol. 151, 1916, 129.

novels of Germans is expressed when John Carey, the hero and all-round sportsman in *The Secret Service Submarine*, says that the Germans are ‘utter soulless beasts... It is a pity that we are not at war with a nation of gentlemen, like the French, if we have to be at war at all!’⁸⁰⁸ In *The Cruiser on Wheels* when Mark Mallory, the hero, first comes across Stauffen, the villain, in a Belgian restaurant:

He [Stauffen] took his knife and deliberately cut off the heads of all the asparagus, piling them on his own plate with a spoon. He left absolutely nothing but stalks, and immediately began to eat with a noise just like Waterloo station. Now there were three ladies present, and I did not want to make a row before them. Otherwise, of course, I should have taken such steps as the action demanded.⁸⁰⁹

This quotation is reinforced with a footnote by Thorne claiming that the incident ‘actually happened in the author’s presence in a Belgian hotel.’⁸¹⁰ And this claim of German ill-manners is further emphasised when Stauffen makes insulting comment towards a woman in the restaurant. Here Germans are portrayed, in the words of Smiles, as being a nation of ‘gents’.

This view of Germans disrespecting women was suggested and encouraged earlier by Elizabeth von Arnim⁸¹¹ in various novels. These include her autobiographic *Elizabeth and Her German Garden* (1888) where the narrator fifty-four times refers to her husband as ‘The Man of Wrath’ and *The Caravaners* (1909) where the narrator is an arrogant German officer, who continuously makes disparaging comments about his wife and other

⁸⁰⁸ Guy Thorne, *The Secret Service Submarine: A Story of the Great War* [1915], Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., London, Edinburgh & New York, n.d., 42.

⁸⁰⁹ Guy Thorne, *The Cruiser on Wheels*, T. C. & E. C. Jack, London & Edinburgh, 1915, 22.

⁸¹⁰ Thorne, *Cruiser on Wheels*, 22.

⁸¹¹ Her maiden name was Mary Annette Beauchamp.

women. Both these stories suggest that women are more oppressed in Germany than in Britain.⁸¹²

This view of German men mistreating their women was expressed in *The Man with the Clubfoot*. Desmond Oakwood remarks on his brother Francis's American childhood sweetheart Monica's broken German marriage: 'I had supposed that the German man's habitual attitude of mind towards women had not suited the girl's independent spirit on hearing that Monica, a few years after her marriage, had left her husband and gone to live in America....'⁸¹³ As she says later of her husband '...Karl is not a bad man, as German men go, and he's a gentleman, but his love affairs and his drunken parties and his attitude of mind towards me ... it was so simply different to everything I had been used to....'⁸¹⁴ In reality Karl is no 'gentleman'. While not abusive towards Monica he takes her for granted rather than worshipping her. And the only reason that Monica returned to him when war broke out was a sense of duty that her place was to be at her husband's side. However, this does not stop her helping Desmond and Francis escape from Germany.

Another example in spy stories of Germans' ungentlemanly behaviour towards women is found in *The Double Traitor*. At the beginning Norgate is a British diplomat in Berlin, and when he is dining with the Baroness von Haas, a Prince demands he vacate his seat for him.⁸¹⁵ Norgate refuses, telling the Prince 'apparently [he] has not learnt how to

⁸¹² Elizabeth von Arnim, *Elizabeth and Her German Garden* [1898], Virago, London, 1990, passim; Elizabeth von Arnim, *The Caravaners* [1909], Wildhern Press, Teddington (London), 2007, passim.

⁸¹³ Williams, *Clubfoot*, 154.

⁸¹⁴ Williams, *Clubfoot*, 169-170.

⁸¹⁵ The Baroness works as a courier to the German Court for her cousin the Austrian Emperor.

behave himself in a public place.’⁸¹⁶ As a result Norgate is expelled from Germany, being told by the British Ambassador ‘...It is perfectly correct for young Prince Karl to behave, as you put it, like a bounder. The people expect it of him. He conforms entirely to the standard accepted by the military aristocracy of Berlin. It is you who have been in the wrong – diplomatically.’⁸¹⁷ This comment is saying that Germans or at least the German ruling elite believe that their word is law, in marked contrast to Britain where the aristocracy treats all people with respect and women of all classes with reverence. This is expressed in *What I Found Out*, where General Bernhardt is portrayed as not being a gentleman as he viewed ‘women were not much higher than the “four footed animal kingdom”... [as] he loudly contradicted his wife even at hotel tables, when they travelled together: that he always walked ahead of her in the street, and pushed past her or even other ladies (if strangers to him) in order to go first through a doorway.’⁸¹⁸ Also it is often suggested, if not described, that Germans are physically abusive towards women but “*Yellow*” *English* does described it. This shows Freddie hitting his wife a number of times out of anger when she rips down a picture of the Kaiser in response to his neglect as a husband.⁸¹⁹ Freddie’s violent actions towards his wife are used to demonstrate that German men see their wives as being just another piece of property rather than a person who should be worshipped.

In contrast Britain is portrayed as a place of order marked by the rule of law, which treats people as equals before the law, so that the aristocracy are not a law unto themselves.

⁸¹⁶ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 8.

⁸¹⁷ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 15.

⁸¹⁸ [Williamson], *What I Found Out*, 80.

⁸¹⁹ Flatau, “*Yellow*” *English*, 235.

British spy literature of World War I and British propaganda are similar in that they claim violence is ingrained into Germans' (especially Prussians') thinking and their institutions. Chesterton writes in his *The Barbarism of Berlin* (1914) that the Prussian war-lords go 'everywhere and impose a hopeless slavery upon everyone, for they have already imposed a sort of hopeful [hopeless] slavery on their own simple race.'⁸²⁰ Buchan, who from 1917 headed the Department (later Ministry) of Information, in *Greenmantle*, has Stumm expressing the same mentality when he is pointing to a world map: 'South Africa is coloured green. Not red for the English, or yellow for the Germans. Some day it will be yellow, but for a little it will be green—the colour of neutrals, of nothings, of boys and young ladies and chicken-hearts.'⁸²¹ Hannay later comments:

But the other [Stumm] was an incarnation of all that makes Germany detested, and yet he wasn't altogether the ordinary German, and I couldn't help admiring him. I noticed he neither smoked nor drank. His grossness was apparently not in the way of fleshly appetites. Cruelty, from all I had heard of him in German South West [Africa], was his hobby; but there were other things in him, some of them good, and he had that kind of crazy patriotism which becomes a religion.⁸²²

This is a reference directed at German reprisals against the Hereros after they rebelled against colonial rule in German South-West Africa.⁸²³ *Greenmantle* is not the only spy story to make this link. In *Zenia*, there are numerous references to the way which the Germans have behaved in their African colonies making them turn into barbarians. At one stage the narration says that 'precious water had been fully poisoned in German South West Africa – an atrocious method the “cultured” Teuton had copied from the

⁸²⁰ G. K. Chesterton, *The Barbarism of Berlin*, Cassell, London, New York, Toronto & Melbourne, 1914, 77.

⁸²¹ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 73.

⁸²² Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 94.

⁸²³ Now Namibia.

Hereros in their former war.’⁸²⁴ These references were linked to the reported massacres and rape of women in Belgium and northern France by German soldiers.⁸²⁵ Thus Hannay’s comments about his admiration of Stumm’s single-mindedness are to show the difference between Hannay’s gentleman status and Stumm’s gent status as the latter bullies anyone to achieve his goal whatever the cost. Hannay’s gentleman status is confirmed later in the story when, working on a barge on the Danube River, he refuses to take a bribe from Rasta Bey, the Turkish officer and villain, who seeks to purchase the weapons being transported on the barge.⁸²⁶ Even though this would benefit the British cause as it would prevent the weapons making way to their destination point of Gallipoli, such a corrupt action goes against Hannay’s integrity.

Indeed, Hannay maintains his integrity and shows respect towards women such as the woodman’s wife or towards Mary. In fact he shows too much respect for women as Mary reminds him ‘I am a member of the team, you know and I must play up to my form.’⁸²⁷ This concern for women is expressed by both Davies and Carruthers, who worry about being cads for the hurt that will be felt by Clara Dollmann when they reveal that her father is not a German patriot but rather a British traitor.

However, not all British heroes in the British spy stories treat women according to the rules. Neil Lyndon in *A Rogue by Compulsion* is one such. An example of his

⁸²⁴ Charlotte Cameron, *Zenia: Spy in Togoland* [1915], T. Werner Laurie, London, n.d., 177.

⁸²⁵ Many liberals believed this was typical behaviour that occurs during war rather than particular of Germans. See H. N. Brailsford, ‘The Truth about Atrocities’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 16 Sept. 1914, 4; James Douglas, “‘The Truth about Atrocities’”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 17 Sept. 1914, 4; C. D. Renold, ‘Atrocities Stories’, *The Daily News and Leader*, 21 Oct. 1914, 4; Leonard Doncaster, “‘Germany and the Laws of the War’”, *The Daily News and Leader*, 12 Feb. 1915, 4.

⁸²⁶ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 172-173.

⁸²⁷ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 271.

ungentlemanly behaviour is his kissing of Sonia, the daughter of one of the villains, despite the fact that he is in love with somebody else. He rationalises his action by thinking: ‘I suppose I ought to have felt rather ashamed of myself but I think I was too interested in what she was going to say [to her father] to worry much about anything else.’⁸²⁸ However, Lyndon later admits he really kissed her for the enjoyment. As a gentleman he should not take advantage of a woman for sheer pleasure; even though it may be of help to him it is as bad as telling a vulgar joke in front of a woman. Hence Lyndon may be a hero, but he is a rogue as he cannot control his emotions or actions and is selfish. As the theatre historian and publicist Walter MacQueen-Pope commented in his recollection of the Victorian and Edwardian middle-classes: ‘...no male with any pretence to the name of “Gentleman” – a title all liked to claim – would have dreamed of telling even a slightly *risqué* story in front of women who ranked as “ladies”’.⁸²⁹

Lyndon is not the only British hero who does not fully live up to being a gentleman. Hubert Vanlithen, the hero of “*That Goldheim!*” is likewise ungentlemanly in the way in which he conducts himself. As *The Times Literary Supplement* noted, though Vanlithen ‘is supposed to stand for noble British patriotism, [instead he] is a blusterer and bully.’⁸³⁰ This is because he is rude and patronising not only to Goldheim or his son Henry (Heinrich) Goldheim but also to Goldheim’s English wife. He mocks other peoples’ opinions that do not match his own. Another example is Mark Mallory, a son of Baronet, who does not act like a gentleman as he exploits Tom Bennett, his loyal manservant,

⁸²⁸ Victor Bridges, *A Rogue by Compulsion: An Affair of the Secret Service*, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, London & New York, Fifth Impression, 1915, 284.

⁸²⁹ W. MacQueen-Pope, *Twenty Shillings in the Pound*, Hutchinson & Co., London, New York, Melbourne, Sydney & Cape Town, 1948, 14.

⁸³⁰ Anonymous, ““That Goldheim””, *The Times Literary Supplement*, vol. 17, no. 875 (31 Oct. 1918), 526.

loses his temper, enjoys killing, kills defenceless enemy soldiers and a swan, and is lazy for most of the novel. Thus Mallory is merely a gentleman due to his rank not because of his manners. An example of this is when Stauffen insults the lady in the Belgian restaurant. Mallory wants to punch the villain, but instead gets Bennett to do the deed. When Bennett asks Mallory why he did not punch Stauffen, the reply is ‘Private reasons, Bennett,’ which Bennett accepts saying ‘Yes, sir, very good, sir, thank you, sir.’⁸³¹ The reasoning is that a gentleman does not fight in public. As Bennett is from the working-classes and this deemed not to be a gentleman, therefore he can act rough. Another example of Mallory’s exploitation of Bennett is that when he is disinherited by his baronet father because of an unacceptable marriage, Mallory has to work as a taxi driver and becomes a lodger of Bennett’s sister. Nonetheless Mallory does not pay any rent for months. Indeed in the novel it is portrayed that the social elite is superior to the lower classes in every way. Mallory is always the master and Bennett is always the servant, who accepts this as the natural order of the things as he looks at Mallory ‘as a dog looks into his master’s eyes.’⁸³²

Though the contemptuous way Mallory treats Bennett is unusual in British spy stories, the belief that the higher social classes were superior and thus more likely to be gentlemen, was even held, if subconsciously, by some from the lower classes. Fred Benson, a son of a Bolton iron moulder, said as much in that he was taught to tip his cap ‘as a mark of respect’ to those he considered gentlemen in his local community namely

⁸³¹ Thorne, *The Cruiser on Wheels*, 39-40.

⁸³² Thorne, *Cruiser on Wheels*, 177.

mill-owners, industrialists and the clergy.⁸³³ Such a sense of respect for social superiors was deep rooted throughout society as evident with Will Askham's father, a Primitive Methodist railway guard, who despite being a dedicated unionist still viewed his company superior as 'a gentleman' to be respected because of his position.⁸³⁴

This is a marked contrast from Hannay. He is to a certain degree emblematic of the crossing of the barriers between the two different types of gentleman. Hannay is not, at least, at the beginning, a gentleman of class but one of manners, if imperfect, making him more realistic than most spy heroes. Through his gentlemanly manners, his sportiness and actions he is accepted by the British elite without having received the education, privileges or mannerisms of an old public school boy. Hannay, unlike the other spy heroes during World War I, is almost classless in outward appearance. In *The Thirty-Nine Steps* this is reinforced by his treatment of Mr Turnbull, and the innkeeper, who desires to be a writer. Hannay treats them with the same politeness and respectfulness as he does Sir Walter and MacGillivray. Hannay's attitude is much like that of Fred Mills, who said: 'I could call anybody "sir"' be he 'a tramp' or 'the King of England....'⁸³⁵ This behaviour of treating all people with the same respect comes to Hannay's advantage as people are willing to help him get out of trouble. This makes Hannay fall into the Smiles's category of a gentleman of manners as well as the self help man, as he has achieved wealth and success through hard work from being a mining engineer in Rhodesia⁸³⁶ to have enough money to afford a manservant and move to London's West End to give the appearance of a man of leisure. However, during the course of the Hannay novels he is transformed into

⁸³³ Thompson, *Edwardians*, 126.

⁸³⁴ Thompson, *Edwardians*, 160.

⁸³⁵ Thompson, *The Edwardians*, 147.

⁸³⁶ Now Zambia and Zimbabwe.

an almost stereotypical image of the country gentleman. He is a member of a London club, living on the land in a manor and receives honours and titles. In fact Hannay's son Peter John who is born after the war seemingly will attend Eton as all Hannay's aristocratic friends have done.⁸³⁷ As a result Peter John will be a gentleman in every sense of the word having the demeanour of his father but with the education to give that gentlemanly aura the public schools hoped to produce. Hannay's transformation in his social status is not surprising as to a degree he mimics Buchan's own experience of joining the English social elite after he came to Oxford University. As Gertrude Himmelfarb commented about Buchan's acceptance by the English social and political elite:

The Scot is neither an outsider nor an interloper in the sense in which a Cockney or provincial might be. Like the American, he is alien enough to be assimilated without prejudice, and socially mobile enough to expect to be assimilated. His culture is not a despised subculture but a culture in its own right. His accent and schooling are token of national peculiarity, not of class inferiority.⁸³⁸

Therefore it is unsurprising that Hannay's social transformation fitted into the idea of a gentleman of manners, while at times appearing to reinforce the image of the standardised gentleman hero from high social background. He becomes a country gentleman as much as Baden-Powell presumed that natural leaders were more likely to come from the higher classes. This belief of the upper-class being naturally superior is revealed by Frank Benson who was taught to always tip his cap 'as a mark of respect' to his social superior.⁸³⁹ Moreover there is no moral questioning about Hannay or any other

⁸³⁷ Buchan's own sons were sent to Eton.

⁸³⁸ Gertrude Himmelfarb, *Victorian Minds*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1968, 263.

⁸³⁹ Thompson, *Edwardians*, 126.

hero of the literature during World War I being a spy and the effect upon their status as gentleman. This marked a shift from the nineteenth century when there was uneasiness in both the real and fictional world evident by the review of *Kim* by G. M. R about the nature of spying and the use of disguises. While this questioning remained like that of the letter protesting about Compton Mackenzie the mood against the use of spies and disguises had greatly weakened. Indeed, the greatest of issues with regards to Mackenzie was his indiscretion in activities as a spy rather than him being one, which placed bigger doubt upon him being a gentleman. There were other notions that were expressed as part of the concept of the gentleman. Sport was a key element that was used time over time to emphasise the differences between the British and Germans. Furthermore as most fictional (indeed real) British spies were amateurs they gave the appearance of the amateur sportsman, who played for the honour as suggested by Jerome K. Jerome's article, in marked contrast to the German spies who were professional, and who played in an underhand manner. There were exceptions where British spies were professional or ungentlemanly in the same way there were German gentlemen. But the overall opinion expressed in the stories as in propaganda was that the British were gentlemen or 'sportsmen' while the Germans were gents and bullies. Another portrayed difference was the treatment of women as nearly all the British heroes are courteous towards women while in marked contrast Germans are shown as behaving in the opposite way. This makes them uncivilised and a threat to civilisation. The next two chapters further examine this point by looking at the way in which women were portrayed in selected British spy novels during World War I.

Chapter IV

The Portrayal of British Women in Wartime Occupations in British Spy Literature during World War I

The following two chapters will analyse the depiction of women and the implied meanings at the time the British spy stories were written and read. The areas of focus include the depiction of the employment of women during the war, the issues of class, and of romantic and sexual love within British spy stories of World War I. The type of women that are included are divided between those appearing in the traditional role of the damsel in distress (the most common type) and women in the employed workplace as factory workers, nurses, or as spies. Each of these employed categories appeared due to the circumstances of World War I. The presence of a woman in these novels was expected, so much so that if she failed to make an appearance it was worthy of comment. *The British Weekly*'s reviewer of *The Thirty-Nine Steps*⁸⁴⁰ was surprised by the lack of a female character, commenting that the story had everything imaginable expect '... for the woman....'⁸⁴¹ Therefore it is surprising that, when Erskine Childers originally wrote *Riddle of the Sands*, the character of Clara Dollman did not exist in the original manuscript. It was only after a demand from Reginald Smith, the publisher, for the need of a love interest that Childers with much reluctance created the character of Clara.⁸⁴²

⁸⁴⁰ *The Thirty-Nine Steps* was first serialised in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*.

⁸⁴¹ Anonymous, 'A Story that Runs like a Motor-Car', *British Weekly: A Journal of Social and Christian Progress*, July 1915, 287.

⁸⁴² The inclusion of a female character for its own sake was not universally agreed upon. *The Times Literary Supplement* commented in its review of *The Riddle of the Sands*: 'the Germans ... are a practical people, and would not permit a professional traitor to drag a pretty daughter about through his muddy courses. See Anonymous, 'Fiction: The Riddle of the Sands', 242; David Seed, 'The Adventure of Spying Erskine Childers's *The Riddle of the Sands*', ed. Clive Bloom, *Spy Thrillers: From Buchan to Le Carré*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1990, 37.

Such an expectation of espionage stories tells much of the ideology of the time. Men were expected to be the protectors of women like knight-errants in pre-war novels including *The Man from Downing Street*, *Pro Patria*, and *The Mysterious Mr. Sabin*. So there were still many World War I novels that had the damsel in distress such as *With French at the Front*, *The Green Ray*, *The Man with the Clubfoot*, and *Mr. Grex of Monte Carlo*, where Sir David Hunterley, the hero, saves his wife from being seduced by a German spy and the gambling table while stopping a global conspiracy against the British Empire. In Guy Thorne's *The Secret Seaplane* (1915), the hero flies from England to a German island-fortress to save his lover from the clutches of the German spy-master villain, who had kidnapped her. Thorne also re-enacts a similar scenario in *The Secret Monitor*, where Lord Gowna takes 'The Vengeance', his electric-powered ship to the German island fortress of Meldorf to rescue Muriel Abbotsbury, his kidnapped love, from Wolfgang von Husen, a former German spy. To a degree during World War I this expectation did change. There appeared heroines (for instance Mary Howard, Joan Edwards, and Mary Lamington) who were for the most part not just damsels in distress but as women active rather than passive characters, who caught or helped to capture spies. These women's roles were akin to pre-war fictional female detectives that included 'Mrs Gladden', Mrs Paschal, Loveday Brooke, Miss Cusack, Dorcas Dene, Lois Cayley, Dora Myrl, and Lady Molly Robertson-Kirk, who used either systematic thinking or their intuition to catch criminals.⁸⁴³ Some could even physically defend themselves from

⁸⁴³ See William Stephens Hayward, *Revelations of a Lady Detective* [1864], London, The British Library, 2013, passim; Forrester, *The Female Detective*, passim; C. L. Pirkis, 'Drawn Diggers' [1893], ed. Michael Cox, *Victorian Detective Stories: An Oxford Anthology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1991, 254-273; C. L. Pirkis, 'The Murder at Troyte's Hill' [1894], *The Dead Witness: A Connoisseur's Collection of Victorian Detective Stories* [2011], ed. Michael Sims, Bloomsbury, London, New Delhi, New York & Sydney, 2012; L. T. Meade & Robert Eustace, 'The Arrest of Captain Vandaleur' [1894], ed.

villains, such as Judith Lee with her jiu-jitsu skills, but this portrayal of women as vigorous protagonists was far from common.⁸⁴⁴ As British spy literature of World War I was not on the periphery of literature or social opinion it gives an insight into the differences of opinion on the role of women during the war. Due to their popularity or the subject matter, these novels give more of an insight to popular perception, ideals and concepts by providing scope for adventure for women, in some cases giving the appearance that they were equal, if still different, to their male counterparts. However, none of these novels represents a single defining voice of the period—as Lloyd S. Kramer has said, history is a ‘collection of voices and views’.⁸⁴⁵ One could say of spy novels that they offer the reader competing stereotypes of women ranging from those women needing male protection, through those women working in wartime occupations, to the evil seductresses.

This chapter’s main focus will be on one of these stereotypes: that of the working women in the British spy stories of World War I. Since the end of the war, historians have argued over the extent of the war’s social impact on women. The original social interpretation of the war was a ‘Whig’ one, viewing it as a vehicle for greater social freedoms and career opportunities for women. Carl Chinn followed this interpretation when writing on the impact of factory war work on poor women in Birmingham: ‘In many respects it was

Michael Cox, *Victorian Detective Stories: An Oxford Anthology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford & New York, 1991, 289-301; George R. Sims, ‘The Man With the Wild Eyes’ [1897], ed. Michael Sims, *The Penguin Book of Victorian Women in Crime*, Penguin Classics, London, 2011, 181-212; M. McDonnell Bodkin, ‘How He Cut His Stick’ [1900], ed. Michael Sims, *The Penguin Book of Victorian Women in Crime*, Penguin Classics, London, 2011, 235-246; Grant Allen, *Miss Cayley’s Adventures*, Grant Richards, London, 1899, passim; Grant Allen, *Miss Hilda Wade*, Grant Richards, London, 1900, passim; Baroness Orczy, *Lady Molly of Scotland Yard* [1910], Cassell & Company, London, 1912, passim.

⁸⁴⁴ Richard Marsh, *Judith Lee: Some Pages from Her Life*, Methuen, London, 1912, 168, 266.

⁸⁴⁵ Lloyd S. Kramer, ‘Literature, Criticism and Historical Imagination: The Literary Challenge of Hayden White and Dominik La Capra’, ed. Lynn Hunt, *The New Cultural History*, University of California Press, Berkeley & Los Angeles, 1989, 118.

shown that their men were not needed; women were doing men's jobs and, for the first time, they were openly in control of their own destinies. With their return, men found it harder to reimpose the old *status quo* whereby overt power was in their hands and covert power was in the hands of the women.'⁸⁴⁶

Such assertions appear to be confirmed by reminiscences of some of those of the time.

Robert Roberts declared:

Whatever war did to women in home, field, service or factory, it undoubtedly stopped strings that had bound them in so many ways to the Victorian age. Even we, the young, noticed their new self-confidence. Wives in the shop no longer talked about 'my boss', or 'my master'. Master had gone to war and Missis ruled the household, or he worked close to her in a factory, turning out shell cases on a lathe and earning little more than she did himself. Housewives left their houses and immediate neighbourhood more frequently, and with money in their purses went foraging for goods even into the city shops, each trip being an exercise in self-education. She discovered her own rights. The pre-1914 movements for her political emancipation, bourgeois in origin and function, meant very little to lower-working-class woman. In the end the consequences of war, not the legal acquisition of female rights, released her from bondage.⁸⁴⁷

Different interpretations are given by feminists and other historians, such as Deirdre Beddoe, have argued the opposite. Beddoe has commented that the praise women received for their war work during hostilities:

...gave way to attacks on women who persisted in working or tried to claim dole money! They were dubbed as hussies, pin-money girls, dole scroungers and women who stole men's jobs; by 1920 it was considered wilful and perverse of a woman to wish to earn a living. But it was more than verbal abuse which pushed women back to home: the workings of the national insurance acts and the dole

⁸⁴⁶ Carl Chinn, *They Worked All Their Lives: Women of the Urban Poor in England, 1880-1939*, Manchester University Press, Manchester & New York, 1988, 165.

⁸⁴⁷ Roberts, *The Classic Slum*, 162.

offices coaxed many women out of the workforce altogether, and marriage bars in the professions made sure that only single women could engage in them.⁸⁴⁸

Meta Zimmeck has shown in her study of women in the civil service that their total temporary and permanent staff numbers remained around the 25 percent mark throughout the inter-war period.⁸⁴⁹ It suggests many women still saw their ultimate career as being a wife and mother, where they were nurturer and carer of the family.

There were a significant number of women who rejected or simply tolerated rather than embraced the traditional female role.⁸⁵⁰ Moreover, the newly founded schools for upper-middle and upper class girls, based on the male public schools, did provide, if not on purpose, an education for women to seek employment and intellectual pursuits, but they were also conscious of teaching what was deemed ladylike behaviour. As Dyhouse has said, girls were taught just enough so that ‘they might ideally help their husbands and share their interests, but no more than this.’⁸⁵¹ There was nevertheless a change in attitude to a daughter’s education as before, even those of the upper-classes, received a limited education from a governess or their mother or an older sister.⁸⁵²

⁸⁴⁸ Deirdre Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty: Women between the Wars 1918-1939*, Pandora, London & Boston, 1989, 3-4.

⁸⁴⁹ Meta Zimmeck, ‘Strategies and Stratagems for the Employment of Women in British Civil Service, 1919-1939’, *Historical Journal*, vol. 27, no. 4 (1984), 912-913, 924.

⁸⁵⁰ See Barbara Caine, *Destined to be Wives: The Sisters of Beatrice Webb*, Clarendon Press, Oxford & New York, 1986, passim; F. M. L. Thompson, *The Rise of the Respectable Class: A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900*, Fontana Press, London, 1988, 63; Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*, Routledge, London, 1989, 54.

⁸⁵¹ An example of a wife fulfilling this role was Netty Huxley, the wife of the scientist Thomas Huxley. She fulfilled the role of what today is done by a research student. Another example was Beatrice Webb’s sister, Kate Courtney, who supported and shared her Liberal politician husband Leonard Courtney’s political interests. See Carol Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, Boston & Henley-on-Thames, 1981, 44; Kathryn Gleadle, *British Women in the Nineteenth Century*, Palgrave, Houndmills (England) & New York, 2001, 151 Caine, *Destined to be Wives*, 91.

⁸⁵² There were still examples of girls receiving an education through a governess, such as the travel writer Freya Stark but growing numbers of girls were sent to schools.

As girls' schools or colleges, which at first opposed or did not conduct physical activity, became more established, sport was added with at first calisthenics and other gymnastic activities 'designed to develop feminine stamina aiding deportment and grace, without overdeveloping feminine muscle.'⁸⁵³ Later, under the influence of those women who had attended Oxford and Cambridge universities, the more vigorous sports of cricket and hockey were added.⁸⁵⁴ Inspired by the public schools, these sports were seen as providing stamina with bravery as a means of building discipline and character for the rest of life.⁸⁵⁵ Herbert Spencer had argued as early as 1859 that healthy mothers were a critical element in combating the degeneration of the race by advocating the improvement of physical exercise at girls' schools.⁸⁵⁶ As Michelle J. Smith has commented 'Sport provided girls with newfound corporeal freedoms, and physical education in schools counteracted concerns about deleterious effects of excessive academics for developing girls and their ability to bear healthy children and counteracted wider, national fears about physical

⁸⁵³ Shelia Rowbotham, *A Century of Women: The History of Women in Britain and the United States*, Viking, London, 1997, 123. See also Mrs Wallace Arnold, 'The Physical Education of Girls' [1884], *Selections from The Girl's Own Paper, 1880-1907*, ed. Terri Doughty, Broadview Press, Plymouth, Peterborough (Ontario) & Orchard Park (New York), 2004, 162-163; Kathleen E. McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game!: Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School', *The Journal of British Studies*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring 1984), 112-113.

⁸⁵⁴ A symbolic acceptance of female sport in these schools occurred in 1891 when hockey was adopted by Cheltenham Ladies' College, whose headmistress Dorothea Beale had earlier objected out of the fear that the sport would compromise girls' womanliness. See McCrone, 'Play Up! Play Up! and Play the Game!: Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School', 119; Michelle J. Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture: Imperial Girls, 1880-1915*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills (England) & New York, 2011, 74.

⁸⁵⁵ Not all agreed in 1902, the Bishop of Manchester complained, during an address to The Girls' Friendly Societies, that modern women were spending so much time 'in bicycling and golfing and ... What do you call that wretched thing?...ping-pong and such like things' that they no longer had time for philanthropic or domestic work. And a Berkshire rector, while not objecting to school girls having physical exercise complained that cricket and hockey had resulted in the deterioration of his household's conversation as his daughters had become obsessed with sport. See Smith, *Empire in British Girls' Literature and Culture*, 48; Anonymous, 'The Young Woman of Today', *The Manchester Guardian*, 7 March 1902, 12; A Berkshire Rector, 'The Athleticism of Our Girls', *The Times of London*, no. 37055, 15 April 1903, 4.

⁸⁵⁶ Herbert Spencer, *Essays on Education etc.* [1861], Dent, London, 1946, 136-37, 150-51

deterioration.’⁸⁵⁷ In *A Patriotic Schoolgirl*, which is set at a fictional girls’ school, Brackenfield College, these ideals are expressed especially by Winifrede Mason, the head girl and a character, who resembles Brookes (the head boy in *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*), at a school assembly:

...We’re only schoolgirls now, but in a few years we shall become a part of the women of the nation. In the future Britain will have to depend largely on her women. Let them see that they fit themselves for the burden! We used to be told that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing-fields of our great public schools. Well, I believe that many future struggles are being decided by the life in our girls’ schools of to-day. Though we mayn’t realise it, we’re all playing our part in history, and though our names may never go down to posterity, our influence will. The watchwords of all patriotic women at present are “Service and Sacrifice”. In the few years that we are here at school let us try to prepare ourselves to be an asset to the nation afterwards. Aim for the highest—in work, games, and character.⁸⁵⁸

This could be done through the paid workplace but essentially as nation builders by running a household and providing and caring for children to guarantee Britain’s future. This was not a break from the traditional female role. Winifrede Mason is herself an example of the ultimate finished product: ‘eighteen and a half, tall, and finely built, with brown eyes and smooth, dark hair. She had a firm, clever face, and a quiet, authoritative manner that carried weight in the school, and crushed any symptoms of incipient turbulence amongst Juniors.’⁸⁵⁹ Winifrede’s feminine yet athletic appearance is a sign of intelligence and healthiness suggesting that she will provide both intelligent and healthy children who will become the leaders of the country and empire. In the novel, the Anderson sisters, the central characters, are slowly transformed (with their friends) from

⁸⁵⁷ Smith, *Empire in British Girls’ Literature and Culture*, 13.

⁸⁵⁸ Brazil, *A Patriotic Schoolgirl*, 134-135.

⁸⁵⁹ Brazil, *A Patriotic Schoolgirl*, 133.

undisciplined girls into examples of this idealised image as they help to look after a crippled boy, grow vegetables for the war effort, organise a patriotic society and other fundraising events while attempting to catch a spy.⁸⁶⁰

Brazil's treatment of education was in keeping with late-Victorian and Edwardian middle and upper-class thought. As Sharon Crozier-De Rosa points out in her study through the novels of Marie Corelli and Arnold Bennett of the interior lives of single middle-class women, Corelli 'allows their thoughts and attitudes to sometimes creep dangerously close to boundaries challenged by the New Woman, only then to completely withdraw back into a world of nostalgic romance, one safely directed by a solidly mid-Victorian sense of morality.'⁸⁶¹ This is true of the British heroines in World War I spy novels: they never go beyond the limitations of Victorian ideology. They may be adventurous, going into the workplace, but this is usually only temporary and seemingly will soon stop when love intervenes. They are not, as Crozier-De Rosa has written of Corelli's portrayal of new women, 'coldly intellectual, Girton educated, "Christ-scorning", sexually knowledgeable, ugly, short-haired and bespectacled, bicycle-riding and tennis playing.'⁸⁶² The British women in spy novels are made up of different stereotypes. All are presented as being the ideal working woman during the war and are opposite to those of Corelli's imagination. Though well educated they are not coldly intellectual or 'Christ-scorning' (Miss Mary Howard, the heroine in *Munition Mary* says her prayers before bed), are not generally

⁸⁶⁰ While government schools did not focus on sports as a means of creating character as their aim was on practical education such as the 3Rs, nevertheless they did have a focus on making girls good wives and mothers as domestic economy that included cookery, laundry work and other domestic household duties was a compulsory subject for girls. See Beddoe, *Back to Home and Duty*, 36-37.

⁸⁶¹ Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, *A Novel Approach to History: Arnold Bennett, Marie Corelli and the Interior Lives of Single Middle Class Women, England, 1880-1914*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 2003, 18.

⁸⁶² Crozier-De Rosa, *A Novel Approach to History*, 17.

sexually knowledgeable. They are beautiful with long flowing hair, and while sport is mentioned it is a positive rather a negative. However, Margarita Thompson, in *Stealthy Terror*, drinks cognac and is described as ‘a perfect spitfire of a girl’, but this is balanced by her ladylike pursuit of playing the piano.⁸⁶³ Indeed, Bessie Marchant, the prominent girl adventure novelist, who is examined further in this chapter, dressed in the fashion of a bespectacled new woman and had her heroines in numerous novels displaying at times independent thinking and physical strength while surviving in the remote corners of the Empire.⁸⁶⁴ However, during the war Marchant’s heroine Joan Edwards in *A V.A.D. in Salonika* (1917) as with the other heroines in this chapter acts in accordance to expected social behaviour. In avoiding becoming ‘new women’, these fictional British heroines often fulfil the role as the ideal woman that combines the traditional view of women and the requirements of seeking an occupation suited to the war effort.

In the world of fiction, upper-middle and upper-class women took the industrial jobs out of a desire for patriotism, redemption or just to prove their worth as equals to men. In reality the bulk of female munitions workers did the work for other reasons than patriotism. This is evident in the sixty interviewees’ replies to Deborah Thom’s survey of female munitions workers of World War I. Only one directly mentioned ‘My country needed me’ and two others said ‘I wanted to do my bit’, while those who had been domestic servants saw munitions work as more rewarding than domestic work.⁸⁶⁵ Female employment in paid work did rise from 25.4 percent (or 4,934,000) in 1914 to around 36 percent (or 6,193,000) by July 1918. This was a significant increase but not an

⁸⁶³ Ferguson, *Stealthy Terror*, 54.

⁸⁶⁴ Smith, *Empire in British Girls’ Literature and Culture*, 84-87.

⁸⁶⁵ Thom, Deborah, *Nice Girls and Rude Girls: Women Workers in World War I*, I. B. Tauris Publishers, London & New York, 1998, 37.

overwhelming one.⁸⁶⁶ In reality women were the last option for employers, who preferred newly unemployed males (an estimated 480,000), retired men, teenage boys fresh from schools, or men in non-essential industries. The increase of women in paid work was seen as necessary to make up the shortfall in male labour that was only temporary until the war's conclusion.

The newspaper and government approved propaganda helped to create the image of women moving away from the home to an industrial setting. As Arthur Marwick commented: 'On the whole, before conscription, accounts of women taking over men's work tended to be exaggerated ... The press, in any case, was starved by censorship of most hard news, and found that many articles on the new roles of women were very popular while also serving the patriotic purpose [of] encouraging women to seek useful employment.'⁸⁶⁷ At the time this was realised by a number of people including socialist journalist J. L. Hammond, who noted that 'the popular imagination ... [which] pictured the figures of duchesses pouring the deadly TNT into endless rows of shells' was false.⁸⁶⁸ However, L. K. Yates's propaganda pamphlet *The Woman's Part: A Record of Munitions Works* was more typical in creating and maintaining the image of women of various class backgrounds working together for the patriotic cause where 'Social status, so stiff a barrier in this country in pre-war days, was forgotten in the factory, as in the trenches,

⁸⁶⁶ Martin Pugh, *Women and the Women's Movement in Britain, 1914-1959*, E. Arnold, London & New York, 1994, 19-21. See also George Robb, *British Culture and the First World War*, Palgrave, Houndsmills (England) & New York, 2001, 40. See also Angela Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend: Munitions Workers in the Great War*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London, 1994, 18.

⁸⁶⁷ Arthur Marwick, *Women at Work 1914-1918*, Croom Helm, London, 1977, 74.

⁸⁶⁸ Quoted in Gail Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*, 2nd edition, Routledge, London & New York, 1989 [1981], 48.

and they were all working together as happily as the members of a united family.’⁸⁶⁹ Such a description as given by Yates, who with others contributed to propagating an image of women from all classes going into the workplace to fill the gaps of the absent male workforce. Further evidence of this encouragement is found in posters calling for women to join the workforce, such as one with the title ‘On Her Their Lives Depend’, which shows a woman in munition worker’s clothes putting on her cap depicted next to an artillery gun, as a soldier leaves in the background. The slogan with the illustration suggests that by becoming a munition worker, a woman will be helping her brother, husband or sweetheart to stay alive. Moreover the idea that encouraging women to take the place of men who have gone off to fight did not contradict their femininity is argued by Hall Caine⁸⁷⁰ in his pamphlet *Our Girls: Their Work for the War* (1917):

A stronger impulse than the desire for large earnings must be operating with many to enable them to defy so much discomfort. This is not the first time women have made munitions of war. For every war that has yet been waged women have supplied the first and greatest of all munitions—men ... Therefore, consciously or unconsciously, the daughters of Britain may be answering some mysterious call of their sex in working all day and all night in the munition factories.⁸⁷¹

A further signpost to the efforts combining feminine images with war work was the founding of (if hard pressed for) crèches in government control munitions plants. Having crèches was signal to women that they could keep their status as mothers as the war effort was of national importance just like motherhood. As Margaret Llewelyn Davies⁸⁷² commented in a survey called *Maternity* ‘The child is the asset of the nation, and the

⁸⁶⁹ L. K. Yates, *The Woman’s Part: A Record of Munitions Works*, George A. Doran Company, New York, n.d., 9.

⁸⁷⁰ Later Sir Hall Caine.

⁸⁷¹ Quoted in Claire A. Culleton, *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, St. Martin’s Press, New York, 2000, 152.

⁸⁷² The leader of the largely lower-middle and working-class Women’s Co-operative Guild.

mother the backbone. Therefore, I think the nation should help to feed and keep that mother, and so help strengthen the nation by her giving birth to strong boys and girls....'⁸⁷³ However not all agreed encouraging mothers to seek wartime employment as there was a danger women would not want a child when they could earn a living. One such person was journalist Alex M. Thompson, believing 'the overthrow of the British Empire against which our men are so gallantly fighting ... will be achieved in a few years by the selfishness and cowardice of our women.'⁸⁷⁴ In marked contrasted Caine celebrated, seeing women working in munitions are 'a stirring sight. The women are generally of larger build than we have seen before, and some of them are superb specimens of virile womanhood ... Constant intercourse at work appears to have given the men [workers] a high opinion of the women, of their steadiness and power to endure.'⁸⁷⁵

These women to Caine were no less feminine than other women. Rather these women were ideal physical specimens by having physical strength to give birth to healthy children for the future in order to fulfil the eugenic ideals of improving the British race. Again, while a woman could in times of emergency move outside her natural domain into the male world she should always return to the feminine world, where she is a partner with her husband. It is this stereotype of working women in war that was the new type of heroine in spy stories during World War I. They seem ordinary (generally upper-middle-

⁸⁷³ Quoted in Susan R. Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War*, The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill & London, 1999, 113.

⁸⁷⁴ Quoted in Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War*, 111. Also Quoted in Robb, *British Culture and the First World War*, 62.

⁸⁷⁵ Quoted in Culleton, *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, 161.

class) women with all the desirable characteristics required of a well educated lady and physically ideal in comparison to the villains that have the physical characteristics of animals such as having a ‘ferret-like face’, ‘ferrety eyes’ or being a ‘Green monster’.⁸⁷⁶ This is a signal to readers that these German spies are not human but animals, who are cunning and uncivilised as well to remind them of the reports of German troops massacring Belgian civilians as being acts of animals. As Claude Cockburn commented, the authors of popular fiction constructed a ‘[fictional] world and peopled it with figures of their own devising. The way they ensure or demand that these puppets should behave is inevitably an indication of their attitudes to human behaviour in the “private sector” in their own day.’⁸⁷⁷ Cockburn’s remarks were on bestsellers that had been for the most part forgotten decades after their initial success. The same could be said of spy novels, especially those aimed at younger readers that had women as heroines. While generally not bestsellers they were part of the popular culture as they followed a well rehearsed formula. A number of stories included the positions women held in the wartime workplace with the added sense of excitement of having a spy plot while avoiding the harsher realities involving the war.

This is particularly true of Girvin’s *Munition Mary* and Marchant’s *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, which were aimed directly at teenage girls, providing the same adventures as any boys’ novel or magazine story but with an added, if very tame, element of romance. As Ouditt claimed, *Munition Mary* did ‘nothing to challenge stereotypical class assumptions.’⁸⁷⁸

⁸⁷⁶ Brenda Girvin, *Munition Mary*, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1918, 74, 182, 214.

⁸⁷⁷ Cockburn, *Bestseller*, 15.

⁸⁷⁸ Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Woman*, 85.

There is only a façade of equality in the novels as the assumption of class superiority is soon ascertained.

What Ouditt called *Munition Mary*'s 'class assumption' is repeated throughout as if it is in the natural order of things. Munition Mary, or to give her actual name, Mary Howard, is a daughter of a recently killed Colonel, suggesting she is at least educated upper-middle-class and therefore presumably a born leader. At the Labour Exchange, when a female German spy dressed in brown attempts to stop women joining up as munitions workers, Miss Howard steps in to tell them, as if she is a propaganda poster, that it is their duty to help their men as 'It's going to save thousands of our men's lives if every girl puts her hand to the lever and her heart into making shells.'⁸⁷⁹ This is the first of Ouditt's 'stereotypical class assumptions', that working-class women are either unable to read or incapable of comprehending anything beyond what is not in front of them. This suggests to an upper-middle and upper-class readership that they are needed in a wartime industry to lead the working-classes and make them realise the importance of this work.

This feeling of superiority, which is expressed in the words of Girvin, is often shared in memoirs and reminiscences of upper-middle and upper-class munition workers such as Naomi Loughnan. While Loughnan claimed every worker was treated as an equal, she looked down on working-class women as being intellectually inferior as they '...lack interest in their work because of the undeveloped state of their imaginations. They handle cartridges and shells, and though their eyes may be swollen with weeping for sweethearts and brothers whose names are among the killed and wounded, yet they do not definitely

⁸⁷⁹ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 49.

connect the work they are doing with the trenches....'⁸⁸⁰ Loughnan does not mention if her lower class colleagues believed her to be superior but in *Munition Mary* the text makes it clear that Miss Howard is superior and those women around her know it. She is '...taller and fairer than any of them, [and] seemed like a queen' to the women, who wanted 'to bend down' and worship her.⁸⁸¹ However, despite this statement equality is portrayed. Mary goes to work enjoying being on the lathe rather than working in the higher status job of checking bulletins. This does not match the reality as the social hierarchy was played out in munitions plants with only nine percent of women workers being from the middle and upper classes with them concentrated in skilled and supervisory positions. This was the case for Joan Williams, a middle-class fitter and turner at Gwynne's, Chiswick. She received favouritism from the manager who gave her especially interesting pieces of work, and she was kept from nightshifts as he preferred to have her during the day to show off to the boss to demonstrate there was a cross-class workforce and he arranged a substantial raise in wages for Williams because of her social class.⁸⁸² The upper-middle and upper classes were more likely to take advantage of training in skilled engineering work, such as fitting and turning, machine setting and oxyacetylene welding. This enabled them to gain higher paying jobs by getting selected as forewomen, chargehands and overlookers as part of a belief that women of higher class were naturally more capable than those of the lower classes. The façade of having Miss Howard work in a labour intensive occupation is in part to reinforce the social myth

⁸⁸⁰ Quoted in Braybon, *Women Workers in the First World War*, 162-163. See also Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*, 41; Gerard J. De Groodt, *Blighty: British society in the era of the Great War*, Longman, New York, 1996, 130.

⁸⁸¹ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 52.

⁸⁸² Woollacott, *On Her Their Lives Depend*, 41.

preached by Yates and in general patriotic propaganda that all sections of society including duchesses were represented in wartime factories.

Miss Howard's relationship with her co-workers and what happens in the novel reveals that equality does not actually exist between them. When Mary goes to visit her fellow worker Florrie's home, Florrie's mother is described as 'untidy, slovenly-looking, her hair in curlers and wearing a skirt, which dipped at the back' while Florrie is equally 'dishevelled'. The tone of writing is not one of pity for Florrie's position but one of disdain for her appearance. There is no sense of working-class respectability. Rather Florrie's house fulfils the image of the working-classes living in squalor. As often with the concept of the gentleman, the writing depicts the working-classes as knowing their position as they can see Mary is a lady because her physical appearance is a sign of wealthy means. She therefore automatically deserves respect. This is shown in Florrie's house where there is a King's portrait as a display of patriotic loyalty and despite that Mary does the same job as the other women, she is always, even in Florrie's household, called 'Miss Howard' as a sign of respect to her social status. Florrie's manner towards Miss Howard is much the same manner as the lower-middle and working class people's interviewed for Paul Thompson's *The Edwardians*. They showed this same level of respect to their social superiors; for instance Will Askham, recognised a social hierarchy and had a belief in showing respect to doctors, the clergy, the 'brethren' of the Primitive Methodist chapel, and had genuine admiration for the 'real toff', the lady, and the gentleman because 'They used to acknowledge you, speak to you, and it didn't matter whether you were coming from work, black, or you were dressed up. You were still

acknowledged.’⁸⁸³ Mary’s manner towards Florrie is similar to that Askham experienced; she acknowledges Florrie, even if the latter is a social inferior, as still a person deserving the outward appearance of respect. In return Florrie acts like a faithful servant to her mistress, even when everyone else doubts Mary’s claims that there are German spies within the factory. Together, just like Mallory and Bennett in *Cruiser on Wheels*, they defeat the German spies, but it is Miss Howard who leads as befitting her social rank and Florrie who follows. In other words *Munition Mary* actually justifies class difference and the social hierarchy of British society; that is, those who are socially higher, are meant to be the leaders and those below are meant to follow.

Miss Howard’s leadership qualities are emphasised time after time. After the Labour Exchange, and then when working at the munitions factory she is the only one to realise that there are German spies who have infiltrated the factory to sabotage it. The Germans realise her qualities (presumably because of her class therefore it implies she is the only woman with the intelligence to realise the plot) and try to discredit Mary but nonetheless her abilities shine as she is the one who defeats them. These are all carefully laid out signposts in the novel for the reader to realise that Miss Howard’s class and education make her a leader, much as a public school boy was seen as an officer at the start of the war because of his educational background.⁸⁸⁴ If these were not enough to show the difference between Miss Howard and Florrie and other female munition workers, there is the fact that Mary is rewarded for her social status and her achievements by marrying

⁸⁸³ Quoted in Thompson, *The Edwardians*, 159.

⁸⁸⁴ Playwright R. C. Sheriff’s first application to be a temporary officer was rejected on the grounds he was from a grammar school. The reason was partially because of snobbery but also because Public school boys had received training in arms to prepare them for a life as a military officer. See R. C. Sheriff, ‘The English Public Schools in the War’, ed. George A. Panichas, *Promise of Greatness: The War of 1914-1918*, John Day Company, New York, 1968, 136-137.

Paul, the nephew and heir to Sir Edward Harrison, the munitions owner. Though Mary has to move down to a working position that is lower than her actual social status, by marriage she shall soon rise back to her original and rightful status. This hints to the targeted class audience that while munitions work is important it is only temporary. If, you, the reader choose to do such work, you will soon be above it again. But it also gave a contradictory message to the readers from the lower-middle and working-classes. They were to accept their position, as people like Miss Howard were their social betters and therefore rightful leaders of society. A certain added romantic element that gave them the image that they may be fortunate enough to have a wealthy man like Paul fall in love with them and thus they could move up the social scale.

This is not the only message in the novel. The main idea behind the story stresses the equality of the sexes (at least the right for unmarried woman to work) and the necessity for wartime work to be done by women while maintaining their femininity. Here is the common thread in British spy stories where women do wartime work during World War I. The heroines are not 'new women' but are a reinterpretation of the traditional role of women. They do take on some of the traits of the 'new woman' in the occupation they take on, which requires a higher standard of education and sportiness. But the message from the outset in *Munition Mary* is the importance of female participation in industrial work for the war effort. Miss Howard is at first introduced as a new journalist from the local newspaper. She is refused an interview by Sir Edward because he does not believe women should work under any circumstance. As a result Miss Howard joins the plant to prove women can work as hard and efficiently as men, telling her mother:

... don't you see that is the reason I *must* go. Everyone takes it on hearsay that it is hard and stays away. You can't know whether you can do it or not until you have tried. So I am going to try. It will be so glorious if I make a success of it, because if I am able to do it I can recruit hundreds of others. It's going to make all the difference to England if women can work the lathes.⁸⁸⁵

This comment is directed towards the female reader, arguing that women working in munition plants are important for the war effort. If Miss Howard's words are not enough for the readers to understand then they can make a direct correlation with the illustration on the front cover related to the text in the same manner as *Yellowbacks*. The image is of a woman (perhaps representing Boadicea) wearing an armoured breast plate and blowing a horn as a call to arms. This picture suggests while women could not go to the front to fight, they could do the next best thing by providing the weapons for their men to fight the enemy. It is particularly evocative considering that in the first years of the war there was a serious shortage of shells particularly between December 1915 and January 1916, which nearly led to the British being unarmed in the field of battle. By having this warrior-like woman holding aloft the British flag as she blows her horn, the artist with Girvin, and like the munitions posters, was attempting to evoke a sense of patriotism. A simple image together with Miss Howard's words to her mother set the tone for the whole book.

The inclusion of spies is not just to add excitement but as an element of threat to further emphasise the importance of munitions to the war effort. It indicates the Germans would not want women's involvement as well as an attack on those Britons opposed to women

⁸⁸⁵ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 44.



The front cover of *Munition Mary*.
Source: Girvin, *Munition Mary*.

working as being unpatriotic. An example of these people was one real life soldier, who shared this feeling with his fiancée:

Whatever you do, don't go in Munitions or anything in that line – just fill a Woman's [sic] position and remain a woman – don't develop into one of those 'things' that are doing men's work ... I want to return and find the same lovable little woman that I left behind – not a coarse thing more a man than a woman – I love you because of your womanly little ways and nature, so don't spoil yourself by carrying on with a man's work – it's not necessary.⁸⁸⁶

The already mentioned female spy dressed in brown is one member of the German spy ring representing such opinions, as she tells those who are thinking of joining the munitions factory not to be 'tempted by the wages to ruin your health. They're not as high as you can get in easier work that I can tell you about...'⁸⁸⁷ The message that Germans do not want women to work in munitions is further made clear by Mrs Webb, the head of the German spy ring: 'If it hadn't been for me the girls would have succeeded and so England would have acquired the valuable asset of women's labour in the munition factories, which would have freed many more men for the front and so have delayed our victory.'⁸⁸⁸

Mrs Webb's plan has been to undermine the women's production output so that owners will refuse to employ them. Meanwhile Mrs Webb seduces Sir Edward so he cannot see the German efforts. Mary is made a victim by being made continuously late for work because her landlady Mrs English (the name may be a hint about German-Britons who have Anglicised their names), a German agent who houses female munition workers,

⁸⁸⁶ Quoted in Janet Watson, 'Khaki Girls, VADs and Tommy's Sisters: Gender and Class in First World War Britain', *The International History Review*, vol. 19, no. 1 (Feb. 1997), 49.

⁸⁸⁷ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 46.

⁸⁸⁸ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 214.

resets Mary's alarm clock. It is part of the plan to make women look unreliable to confirm already existing male prejudices. This chauvinism is not only embodied by Sir Edward but also by the chief foreman who believes women cannot replace male workers and constantly makes denigrating remarks in front of the women. He represents the unions which protected male positions claiming they could not be replaced in the workforce as described in the Home Office Report of 1919: 'In every industrial district without exception, there was continuous opposition to the introduction of women. In some cases this opposition was overt to the point of striking; in other ... instances ... it took the insidious form of refusal to instruct women, or an attempt to restrict the scope of their work or to discredit their efforts.'⁸⁸⁹

However, some of the men in *Munition Mary* are convinced of women's worth. Miss Howard overcomes all obstacles by discovering the German spy ring. She finds a dead pigeon in Mrs English's fireplace with a message that leads to the ring's break up and the prevention of the German plot to have a Zeppelin bomb the factory. The result is that Sir Edward realises he was wrong and humbly apologises to Mary, asking for her forgiveness, which is duly granted. On Sir Edward's apology any doubts to the reader that Miss Howard is not feminine enough are removed as when she receives the apology, she '...Suddenly felt she was just a weak girl with no self-control or courage left. She sank down into a chair and burst into a flood of tears.' Sir Edward is delighted to find that Mary has 'all the gentleness of our grandmothers....'⁸⁹⁰ This exchange is not only to show that women are capable of doing the work of men but that they are no less feminine

⁸⁸⁹ Quoted in Gareth Griffiths, *Women's Factory Work in World War I*, Alan Sutton, Phoenix Mill (England) & Wolfeboro Falls (New Hampshire), 1991, 24.

⁸⁹⁰ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 241.

because of it as they will continue their traditional role as nurturers and moral guardians even if they are in the workplace. Sir Edward realises it is acceptable that women can make shells as long as when off duty they are busy ‘making chutney’.⁸⁹¹ Another indicator of femininity is Mary’s marriage to Paul, who had supported her and women working in factories from the beginning of the novel. Therefore Paul is held up as an example of a good owner for recognising the value of women for the war effort and is a suitable husband for Mary. Because of Mary’s work experience she will be the ideal wife for him as she will be able to advise and support her husband in the running of the factory. This relationship follows the ideal that a girl’s education should be aimed at providing enough knowledge that she may ideally be suited in helping and sharing her husband’s interests. But, unlike many of those late Victorian and Edwardian girls, Mary’s practical education gives her further insight into the factory, making her partnership with Paul one of equals in a shared sphere. Nevertheless she will also maintain a separate female sphere by providing the care for the children, with the time to make chutney. Keeping in mind that Caine’s description of munitions workers as the example of ‘virile womanhood’ and Mary’s leadership qualities, she is presented as the ideal woman, who will be able to produce the ideal children to maintain the fitness of the British race and to maintain the British Empire.⁸⁹² Girvin’s story with its repetition fits neatly into the propaganda of the war as the novel upholds class assumptions and prejudices while seeking to modify the British social structure to suit the needs of the war. The next two novels that will be examined, *A V.A.D. in Salonika* and *Mr. Standfast*, both follow similar themes to *Munition Mary* with different emphases.

⁸⁹¹ Girvin, *Munition Mary*, 241.

⁸⁹² Quoted in Culleton, *Working-Class Culture, Women, and Britain, 1914-1921*, 152.

A V.A.D. in Salonika, like *Munition Mary*, centres on young upper-middle-class women doing war work with one particular character as the heroine. However, Volunteer Aid Detachments (VADs), unlike munitions workers, were lowly paid amateurs. As members of a nursing organisation they also fitted into the traditional feminine role of care provider. As Queen Alexandra said in July 1905 at the inaugural meeting of the new British Red Cross, which later managed the VAD, '[nursing] is essentially a woman's work, and which is the one and only way in which we can assist our brave and gallant Army and Navy to perform their arduous duties in time of war.'⁸⁹³ The VAD had grown out of Haldane's army reforms as essentially a female accompaniment to the Territorials, as a means to supplement professional nurses in wartime.⁸⁹⁴ The VAD being linked with the Territorials was part of Haldane and his sister Elizabeth's (who had helped to establish the VAD) democratic concept that saw all classes including women having a right to full citizenship, and thus the right to the vote.

VADs, unlike professional nurses, were drawn exclusively from the upper-middle and upper-classes and this was partly due to the poor pay.⁸⁹⁵ The class differences in part led to tension between professional nurses and VADs as pinpointed by Ruth Whitaker, a VAD in Malta during the war. She noted that 'Many of the VADs knew the Methuens

⁸⁹³ Quoted in Anne Summers, *Angels and Citizens: British Women as Military Nurses 1854-1914*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London & New York, 1988, 246. See also Jenny Gould, 'Women's Military Services in First World War Britain', *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, eds Margaret Randolph Higonnet, Jane Jenson, Sonya Michel & Margaret Collins Weitz, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1987, 115.

⁸⁹⁴ Approximately a third of the membership were men.

⁸⁹⁵ This consisted partly of £20 allowances paid in the first seven months of a VAD's service and then at increments of £2.10s for every six months agreed to continue, which was lower than wages of munitions workers, who received between £50 and £250 per annum, or domestic workers. See Robb, *British Culture and the First World War*, 40; Ruth Adam, *A Woman's Place 1910-1975*, Chatto & Windus, London, 1975, 23.

(the Governor and his family) and were welcomed at the palace ... When the Governor visited a hospital he always chatted with the VADs and this was resented [by the professional nurses].'⁸⁹⁶ But *A V.A.D.*, like *Munition Mary*, does not explore any class tension as this would undermine the propaganda of class harmony. Instead, it focuses on a middle-class figure discovering spies.

Joan Edwards, the heroine in *A V.A.D.*, starts off being a frivolous young woman more interested in fashion than anything else going on around her, but during the course of the novel she is transformed into what is seen as the ideal woman who is caring while working for the war effort. This transformation starts after a walk during which she discovers a man called John Standish, who is injured beneath a fallen tree. Joan gets help from the local men and boys who lift the fallen trunk thus rescuing Standish, who happens to be a scientist with secret documents involving poison gas vital to the war. He is sent to Joan's Aunt Mary's house to recuperate. When Joan is sent to her aunt's home to get the documents from Standish, she gets distracted by a hat in a shop window. By the time Joan arrives at the house a German spy, who had caused the tree to fall in the first place, is hurriedly leaving by the front door with the documents. The one thing she notices about the man as he rushes by is a scar above his left eyebrow, making her the only one able to identify him.⁸⁹⁷ She again notices the spy on a train but he escapes and as a result Joan feels responsible for the lost papers and decides to become a full time VAD nurse in Salonika as a means of redemption. In contrast to Vera Brittain, a VAD nurse, who wrote bitterly about having to wash dishes, clean hospital floors and make

⁸⁹⁶ Quoted in Ouditt, *Fighting Forces, Writing Woman*, 28.

⁸⁹⁷ Bessie Marchant, *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, Blackie & Son, London, 1917, 27.

beds (with clerical work and storekeeping, these all were part of a VAD's job),⁸⁹⁸ rather than being able to make use of her nursing training in direct care for soldiers, Joan, like the future famous travel writer Freya Stark, happily accepts this role as part of her duty.⁸⁹⁹ Eventually she gets to do some nursing, caring for patients though there is a lack of description of the wounded in contrast to many nursing memoirs of the war such as Mary Borden's.⁹⁰⁰ Instead, the author Marchant tells of how despicable the enemy is for using chemicals, to create a sense of outrage against Germans in an effort to build up a desire for readers to join up or support the war effort. Furthermore, despite the fact that most VADs actually served only in Britain, the use of an exotic location (typical of Marchant's pre-war adventure novels) is an effort to promise the excitement and romance of seeing a foreign country. Another element is the promise of romantic love. The soldier, to whom Joan happens to be assigned, is none other than Standish, whom she cares for until he recovers. He, like Joan, has also been exiled because of the stolen documents. Standish has been humiliated and blamed for the stolen documents, forcing him to leave his scientific job and join the army to seek redemption. During this time Joan falls in love with him as he does with her. At first he does not recognise Joan. By the time Standish does remember, he does not care if she was responsible for the documents being stolen. This romance, like the rest of the novel, is tame and non-sexual, as distinct from Brittain's account of becoming sexually aware when for the first time seeing a naked man when she had to bathe a wounded soldier.⁹⁰¹ Instead, just as with Mary Howard, the focus

⁸⁹⁸ Marwick, *Women at War*, 84.

⁸⁹⁹ Lucy Moorhead (ed.), *Freya Stark Letters: The Furnace and the Cup 1914-30*, vol. 1, Compton Russell, 1974, 27-28.

⁹⁰⁰ Mary Borden, 'The Forbidden Zone' [1929], ed. Margaret R. Higonnet, *Nurses at the Front: Writing the Wounds of the Great War*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 2001, 154.

⁹⁰¹ Brittain, *Testament of Youth*, 166.

of the novel is on the reason why Joan has gone into service. The reason is to redeem herself which is done by capturing the German spy. Again, a spy is introduced as a means to show that women are just as capable as men in contributing to the war effort, if not in the actual fighting then in support, just as a wife supports her husband in his endeavours.

The German spy who stole the documents just happens to be in Salonika masquerading as a British major as part of a plot to send a British battalion into an ambush.⁹⁰² Joan discovers the spy (noticing his scar) and eventually convinces a chauvinist Colonel in authority (he believes women are incapable of driving a motorcycle), that the fake Major, who has left with the endangered battalion, is a spy who had stolen the top secret documents.⁹⁰³ At first the Colonel refuses to be driven by Joan in order to get to the battalion before the ambush. However, when there is no other driver, he reluctantly agrees to have Joan drive him in her tricycle in hot pursuit. In the end they foil the spy's plan and recover the documents. The Colonel, just like Sir Edward, realises that women are as capable as men in fulfilling roles that were seen as previously barred, while not contradicting her femininity as is evident by her relationship with Standish.⁹⁰⁴

Joan's ability to easily drive motor vehicles is reflected elsewhere in girls' adventure novels such as *Alice Blyth: Somewhere in England* (1918), where the heroine is an outgoing upper-middle-class seventeen year-old who is able to drive a motor car at high

⁹⁰² A spy leading a British battalion into ambush may be inspired by reports of spies doing this in the war. See J. F. Maconchie, 'Spy Betrays London Scottish: Identified by Gurkhas: The Traitor's Fate', *The Daily Chronicle*, 7 Nov. 1914, 7.

⁹⁰³ Marchant, *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, 176.

⁹⁰⁴ Marchant, *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, 180.

speed and fly an aeroplane. These abilities aid in capturing a German spy and help the British war effort.⁹⁰⁵

Fictional women of the nature of Joan Edwards and Alice Blyth that are able to drive motor vehicles or fly aeroplanes reflected a small minority who served during World War I such as the First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY).⁹⁰⁶ The members of FANY drove ambulances or rode motorcycles to go to the frontline to help wounded soldiers and send messages. Joan Edwards is similar to members of the FANY in that she is able to drive but she does not challenge traditional social attitudes as the heroine is revealed to be the ideal image of womanhood and seemingly will marry Standish who is restored to his job, leaving everyone happy, except the spy, who dies.

This finale comes about because Joan is transformed from a frivolous young woman, to a responsible and independent person; like a girl guide. This is the image suggested by the front cover of the book showing Joan with her tricycle, wearing her VAD uniform against a background of a 'typical Balkan town' with what seems to be a mosque in the centre. The front cover like that of *Munition Mary*, reinforces the story's promise of adventure while carrying out one's patriotic duty but still remain within the boundaries of being feminine. The tricycle at Joan's side says women can pursue activities more associated with men as it does not contradict her femininity as the nurse's uniform shows that the traditional female role as carer remains intact. This symbolism returns to the Haldanes'

⁹⁰⁵ Martha Trent, *Alice Blyth: Somewhere in England*, Goldsmith, Cleveland (Ohio), 1918, 29.

⁹⁰⁶ To be part of FANY was expensive, not only because of the membership fee but due to the cost of first aid training, the uniform and horse care as they were expected to be able to drive horse-drawn ambulances (these were replaced by motorised ambulances in 1915) and the training included cavalry drills, signalling and horse driving. See Janet Lee, "'I Wish My Mother Could See Me Now': The First Aid Nursing Yeomanry (FANY) and Negotiation of Gender and Class Relations, 1907-1918", *NWSA Journal*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Summer 2007), 141-143.



The front cover of *A V.A.D. in Salonika*.
Source: Marchant, *A V.A.D. in Salonika*.

belief that nursing demonstrated women were involved in the defence of the nation if not by arms then by the support and care they gave to soldiers. There is no hint that Joan, once finished being a VAD, will do as Vera Brittain did, go to university and have a career as a married woman. Rather, the storyline implies that she will remain within already defined boundaries, as a guide to Standish rather than a scout. Joan's class, like that of Mary Howard, is underlined by the fact she has access to and has learnt to drive a motor vehicle, which was only available to a small section of the population at the time. Both the characters of the Misses Edwards and Howard do not go far beyond the social norms, even if one may use her spare time to drive rather than make chutney. Both are fictional women portrayed as being capable when required in fulfilling men's roles as a means of showing patriotism. This is further emphasised by their capturing of spies to demonstrate that women were through their war work were involved in the defence of the nation by the support it provided to the men at the front.

Marchant and Girvin's depiction of British women in well publicised war-working roles, who due to circumstances become involved with spies, was not unusual in British literature. A less common portrayal is the British woman as herself a spy. One of the few fictional British female spies from World War I is Mary Lamington in *Mr. Standfast*. The lack of fictional British women spies reflected the reality. British women generally were not used as field spies. The reason was partly chauvinistic. Sir Vernon Kell claimed in a 1934 lecture, '...women do not make good secret service agents ... [the] difficulty with the female agent is her lack of technical knowledge of naval and military matters'.

Rather, their value is as ‘a scout, a judge of character, as a recruiter or trainer of agents in non-technical matters.’⁹⁰⁷ Kell’s statement was later echoed by Sir Basil Thomson:

It is no disparagement of the sex to say that women do not make good spies. Generally they are lacking in technical knowledge, and therefore are apt to send misleading reports through misunderstanding what they hear ... [and] when they are in a position to be most useful: just when they have won the intimacy of a man who can really tell them something important they cannot bring themselves to betray his confidence.⁹⁰⁸

Nevertheless there were some British female spies, one being the archaeologist Gertrude Bell. Through her pre-war work in the Middle East, she had been recruited to report on Arab opinion in the Ottoman Empire for the Arab Bureau. It was her capacity as an archaeologist that circumvented any official reluctance relating to her being a woman as British authorities had used other archaeologists, such as T. E. Lawrence, Campbell Thompson, and Leonard Woolley – as had the Germans with Max von Oppenheim and Conrad Preasser.⁹⁰⁹

Most women employed by British intelligence in actual spying were not British, such as the 278 women members of the Belgian resistance group *La Dame Blanche* (The White Lady).⁹¹⁰ Their roles were as couriers and watchers of trains and the movements of the German military in Belgium and Northern France, and like Madam Defarge⁹¹¹ they

⁹⁰⁷ Quoted in Julia Wheelwright, *The Fatal Lover: Mata Hari and the Myth of Women in Espionage*, Collins & Brown Limited, London, 1992, 6.

⁹⁰⁸ Thomson, *Queer People*, 181.

⁹⁰⁹ Susan Goodman, *Gertrude Bell*, Leamington Spa (England), Dover (New Hampshire) & Heidelberg (West Germany), 1985, 72-73. See also Reeva Spector Simon, *Spies and Holy Wars: The Middle East in 20th-Century Crime Fiction*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 2010, 20-21.

⁹¹⁰ The name comes from a legend of a white lady appearing to mark the end of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

⁹¹¹ Madame Defarge is a character from Charles Dickens’s *A Tale of Two Cities*. She is a French revolutionary spy that knits coded messages of conversations held by people in her Parisian shop so later

knitted their observations in coded messages.⁹¹² Instead British women in the intelligence services were used as clerks rather than spies.

Indeed, where British women were employed particularly in the intelligence services was in the clerical sphere, which reflected the rapid increase in such work in British society. The General Post Office (GPO), which by 1914 employed 58,000 women, was before and during World War I used as a courier to MI6 and intercepted suspicious mail.⁹¹³ In MI5 in August 1914 there were 9 officers, 3 civilians, 4 women clerks and 3 police.⁹¹⁴ By 20 February 1915, the number of women employed had increased to thirty-two, mainly doing clerical work, to a high point of 296 in June 1918.⁹¹⁵ By the armistice the overall numbers employed in MI5 were 84 military and civilian officers, 15 male clerks, 291 female clerks with 23 police and 77 subordinate staff.⁹¹⁶ If every position was taken into account at MI5 headquarters, there were over 650 women and teenage girls working as clerks, supervisors, report writers, translators, printers, researchers, messengers and historians.⁹¹⁷ MI5 was not the only intelligence service to involve women. Women dominated the formerly tiny department of MI9 that was responsible for postal censorship, which started at the outbreak of the war with a staff of one male member but

she can accuse them as being traitors to the revolution. See Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities* [1850], Guild Publishing, London, 1980, 171, 173-174.

⁹¹² Alan Judd, *The Quest for C: Sir Mansfield Cumming and The Founding of the British Secret Service*, HarperCollins Publishers, Hammersmith (London), 1999, 364-365. Members did not like or use the term spy, preferring the term 'agent'.

⁹¹³ Tammy M. Proctor, *Female Intelligence: Women and Espionage in the First World War*, New York University Press, New York & London, 2003, 56. See also Judd, *Quest for C*, 155.

⁹¹⁴ TNA WO 32/10776 Major General W. Thwaites (DMI), 'Historical Sketch of the direction of military Intelligence during the Great War, 1914-1919', 1920, 20.

⁹¹⁵ TNA KV1/50, 'Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.', 1921, 11-12.

⁹¹⁶ TNA WO 32/10776 Thwaites, 'Historical Sketch of the direction of military Intelligence', 20.

⁹¹⁷ NA KV1/50, 'Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.', 8.

by 4 November there were 1,343 males employed compared to 3,518 females.⁹¹⁸ Another intelligence section that experienced an expansion of women employed was the MI5 Registry known as H branch where two-thirds of the women employed were responsible for the maintenance, retrieval and indexing of the massing volumes of files of suspects and related information, which required a knowledge of languages in the various foreign sections due to the difficulty translating certain names such as from Russian into English. The women also undertook the control of the staff, the keeping of the office finance, the purchasing of stationery, furniture and acting as liaison between the War Office and MI5.

The same class of women were employed in the intelligence services in a similar capacity as clerks, in the GPO and elsewhere.⁹¹⁹ One branch was the NID under Vice-Admiral Sir Reginald 'Blinker' Hall. In 1916 Hall, due to the need for staff, allowed women, if they conformed to three rules: they had to be daughters or sisters of serving naval officers, know at least two languages and be able to type.⁹²⁰ These women became known as 'Blinkers' Beauty Chorus'.⁹²¹ As Francis Toyne, the music critic for *The Morning Post*, noted later in his autobiography, 'the typists were ladies passed under the microscope of

⁹¹⁸ NA WO 32/10776 Thwaites, 'Historical Sketch of the Directorate of Military Intelligence during the Great War, 1914-1918', 20.

⁹¹⁹ The fact that the GPO was used for reasons of intelligence was suspected publicly as it was commented on by *The Daily Chronicle* during the Ernst spy trial. See Anonymous, 'German Spy Revelations: Curious Story at Bow Street: London Barber as "Post Office"', *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Sept. 1914, 2.

⁹²⁰ Indeed, during World War I women from upper-middle and upper-class background were sought through headmistresses from Girls' Colleges to fill the vacancy of male clerks who had joined the armed forces as they fulfilled an educational background. While women who did not have this background were still needed they were not the prime focus of recruitment as they were deemed to require more training than other men. See Anonymous, 'Women as Clerks: 150,000 Wanted to Filled Vacancies: Training Plan: Pay to be Based on Men's Rate of Wages', *The Daily News and Leader*, 15 Nov. 1915, 7; Anonymous, 'Clerks' Work for Women: Committee's Suggested Course Training: Chance of Employment of All', *The Daily News and Leader*, 16 Nov. 1915, 7; H. G. Wells 'Looking Ahead: We, at the Base', *The Daily News and Leader*, 3 Sept. 1915, 4.

⁹²¹ Patrick Beesley, *Room 40: British Naval Intelligence 1914-1918*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1982, 174-175. See also Deacon, *A History of British Secret Service*, 218.

every kind of social and political scrutiny...'⁹²² Their backgrounds included being the headmistress of Christ Hospital for Girls, wives of doctors and businessmen, university graduates, daughters of bankers, industrialists, landowners and peers – typical was Joan Harvey, a daughter of the Secretary to the Bank of England, and Olive Reddam, a daughter of a wealthy Northumberland gentry family.⁹²³

Social links or family ties in gaining positions for women in the intelligence services were evident from the beginning. In January 1911 the first female employed in MI5 had been the daughter of the confidential clerk.⁹²⁴ Some women acknowledged their position in the intelligence services was because of their social links as members of the upper-middle and upper-classes. As Mrs D. B. G. Line, a MI5 Registry worker and former Somerville College student, noted: 'Candidates for these posts were selected by private recommendation and there was never any advertisement.'⁹²⁵ Line had herself gained her position through her Aunt Constance Harvey-Kelly's recommendation to Edith A. Lomax, a friend who was the Controller of the Women's Staff at MI5. Line required no training or secretarial experience (though there were women who did have these qualifications) but needed only to have a high degree of education and be discreet.⁹²⁶ Line's statement is confirmed by the Historical Report of MI5 showing there was an inbuilt assumption that women from the higher classes were more likely to maintain the confidentiality needed rather than those from the lower classes:

⁹²² Francis Toyne, *For What We Have Received: An Autobiography*, William Heinemann, Melbourne, London & Toronto, 1950, 18.

⁹²³ Beesley, *Room 40*, 175. See also Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 68.

⁹²⁴ NA KV1/50, 'Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.', 4.

⁹²⁵ IWM 92/22/1 Mrs. D. B. G. Line (nee Dimmock), 'Reminiscences of World War I', TS, n.d.

⁹²⁶ IWM 92/22/1, 'Reminiscences of World War I'

From the earliest days ... M.I.5. sought its clerks in the ranks of educated women, who should naturally be supposed to have inherited a code of honour, that is to say the women staff of M.I.5. consisted of gentlewomen who had enjoyed a good school, and in some cases a university education. As it was not possible to seek such women publicly, candidates were in most instances recommended to M.I.5. by existing members of the staff. As the need grew for greater numbers than could be supplied in this way, the heads of principal ladies' colleges, such as Cheltenham, Holloway, St. Hugh's and Somerville Colleges were approached and asked to nominate suitable ex-pupils for vacancies to M.I.5.⁹²⁷

There was a strong element of class consciousness apparent in the report's wording of 'gentlewoman', which is reminiscent of the earlier meaning of a gentleman, that being any man with the right virtues to be considered a gentleman of class, which included a certain educational background namely a public school one. As the higher classes were the only section of society able to afford this education there is an inbuilt assumption that a person from this background had the natural attributes required of a gentleman or gentlewoman. The recruiting of women through an elitist network (the female version of the old schools' tie) was typical of the early days of the intelligence services. In fact, the elite nature of this network is shown by Mrs Line's experience of once coming across her aunt in the card-index at the Registry as 'harbouring the accomplice of a well-known spy'. As a result she informed Lomax, who vouched for Aunt Constance to 'the Chief' as being 'unimpeachable'.⁹²⁸

Girl Guides were often employed to run messages and errands between the various MI5 departments. This type of activity had been done by Guides at the British Red Cross House (VAD) Headquarters at Devonshire House.⁹²⁹ As the historical report on the work

⁹²⁷ NA KV1/50, 'Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.', 26.

⁹²⁸ IWM 92/22/1, 'Reminiscences of World War I'.

⁹²⁹ Rose Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, Girl Guides Association, 2nd ed., London, 1932, 126.

of the women for MI5 states, the Guides had replaced the Boys Scouts in September 1915 after Scouts had been ‘found to be very troublesome. The considerable periods of inactivity which fell to their share usually resulted in their getting up into [sic] mischief.’ In marked contrast the Guides ‘proved more amenable and their methods of getting into mischief were on the whole less distressing to those who had to deal with them than were those of the boys.’⁹³⁰ These girls eventually numbering thirty-four⁹³¹ fulfilled the stereotype usually reserved for the Scouts as they eagerly honoured their pledge ‘not to read the papers they carried.’⁹³² They became such well-known figures within MI5 that an internal cartoon in 1916, marking the move to larger headquarters, included Girl Guides.⁹³³ Always eager to carry messages, they would wait outside rooms as shown in another cartoon in the former MI5 women employees’ publication *The Nameless Magazine*, which has four girls sitting on chairs around a door as they keenly wait to be summoned.⁹³⁴ Miss M. S. Aslin, a MI5 clerk summed up the experience of working with these teenage girls: ‘...She speeds from floor to floor, bearing messages of good will, and no obstacle is too great for her to fall over in her devotion to this happy task. Released for the moment, she retires to her attractive little sitting-room, where she reads and writes or converses quietly(?) on high topics with her friends....’⁹³⁵

⁹³⁰ NA KV1/50, ‘Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.’, 16.

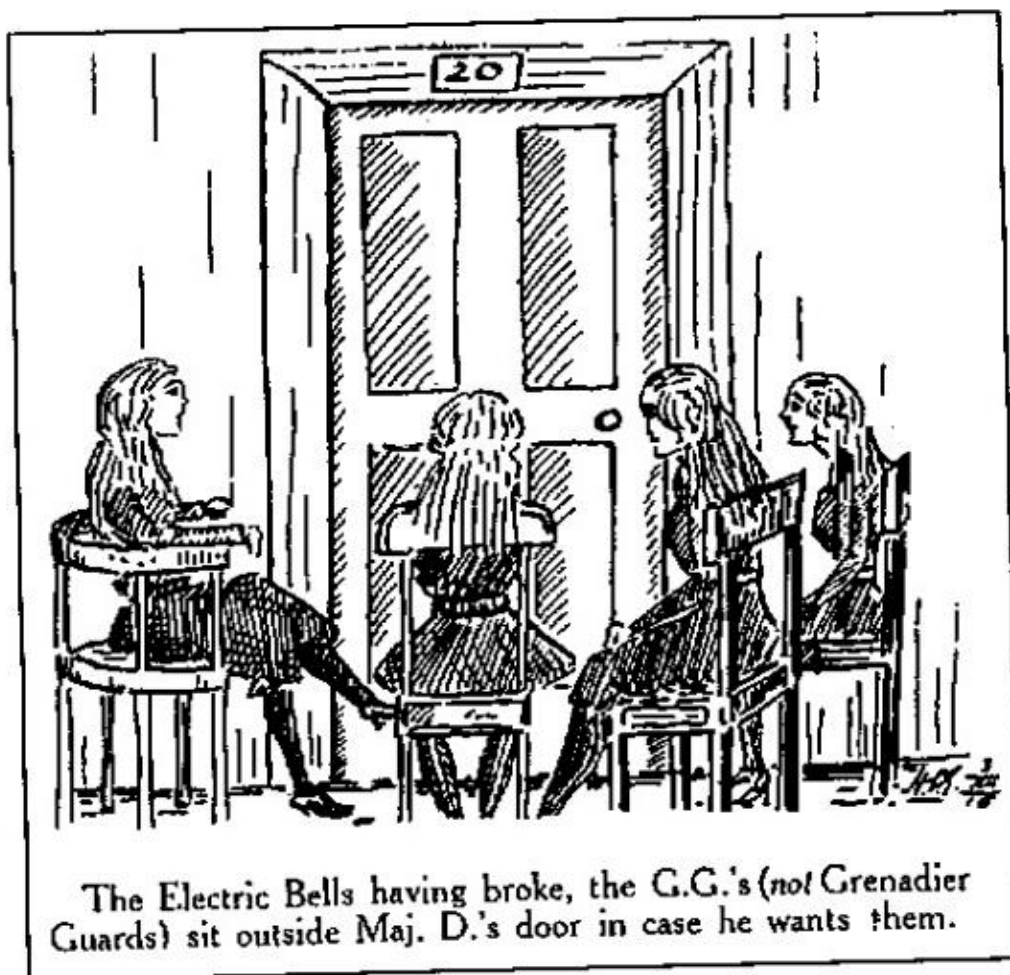
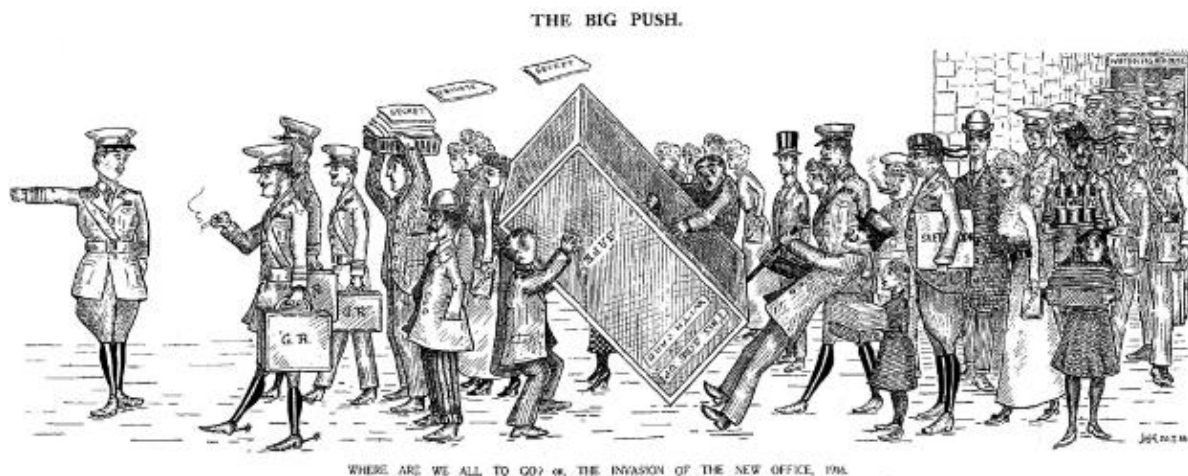
⁹³¹ They worked between 9am to 11pm in six hour shifts with pay starting at 12s 6d a week, with their uniforms and lunches and tea and a special school provided. See Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, 143-144.

⁹³² NA KV1/50, ‘Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.’, 16.

⁹³³ IWM 92/22/1, H. G. G., *The Big Push: Where Are All to Go? or, The Invasion of the New Office* [1916], D. B. G. Line (nee Dimmock), ‘Reminiscences of World War I’, TS, n.d.

⁹³⁴ IWM 92/22/1, H. D. S., *The Electric Bells Having Broke, the G.G.’s (not Grenadier Guards) sit outside Maj. D.’s door in case he wants* [1918?], D. B. G. Line (nee Dimmock), ‘Reminiscences of World War I’, TS, n.d.

⁹³⁵ IWM 96/32/1 Papers of Mrs. B. de Quidt, M. S. Aslin ‘An Essay on the Girl Guides’, *Nameless Magazine* (March 1920), 6.



The top cartoon is an MI5 internal cartoon marking the move in 1916 to larger headquarters, shows Girl Guides carrying the files. The cartoon below from *The Nameless Magazine* shows the eagerness Girl Guides had in carrying messages around MI5 headquarters. Source: IWM 92/22/1, 'Reminiscences of World War I'.

The Guides also presented themselves as a military organisation with girls expected every Monday afternoon to be on parade for drills conducted by Miss Browning on the rooftop of MI5 headquarters at Waterloo House.⁹³⁶ Despite their outward military appearance they were continuing the traditional female employment of domestic service. In addition to running messages there were basic domestic duties such as filling inkpots, and cleaning and fixing typewriters and casting machines.⁹³⁷

However, Mary Lamington in *Mr. Standfast*, who is arguably the most famous female spy of the World War I period in British fiction, was no clerk or administrator working in an office. Instead she had elements of an idealised elite schoolgirl or Girl Guide about her, particularly regarding the ideal of honour. Mary is referred to twelve times as ‘child’, especially by Hannay, as she is only eighteen years-old.⁹³⁸ This gives the outward appearance of being an innocent child, going back to the song, *Cherry Ripe* that is the secret signal between Hannay and Mary. The song which was popular during the war is about a girl singing a song as she attempts to sell cherries, as well as *Cherry Ripe* being the name of a popular painting by Sir John Millais, which portrayed a young rosy-cheeked girl with cherries. The appearance of young women or girls having rosy cheeks was an image within popular culture at the time that was reproduced on chocolate boxes and other commercial products to further reinforce the appearance of innocence. This stereotype was used in earlier spy stories such as *The Riddle of the Sands* with Clara Dollman being described as having a rose-brown face, which not only emphasises her

⁹³⁶ Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, 143-144.

⁹³⁷ NA KV1/50, ‘Report of the Work of the Women of M.I.5.’, 15, 17. See also Kerr, *The Story of the Girl Guides*, 143.

⁹³⁸ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 22, 72, 106, 202, 238, 272, 302, 355-356, 370, 404.

outdoor lifestyle but her innocence in telling contrast to her father.⁹³⁹ But where Clara Dollman is portrayed as a guiltless youth unaware of her father's traitorous conduct quite the opposite is true of Mary Lamington. She is fully aware that her occupation in espionage is dangerous, telling Hannay early on of "A—really—big—thing," which she said slowly and very gravely. "You and I and some hundred others are hunting the most dangerous man in all the world. Till we succeed everything that Britain does is crippled. If we fail or succeed too late the Allies may never win the victory which is their right...."⁹⁴⁰

The character of Mary to a great extent contradicts the traditional notion that women are in need of men's protection from the harsh realities of the outside world. She is presented as showing that women are capable of looking after themselves without the need of men. In fact, Buchan, like Robert Roberts, sees that the expansion of women's employment due to the war shows that they play a vital role in the workplace and that women's expectations have changed.

Buchan, to emphasise this change, reverses the traditional gender positions in Hannay's professional relationship with Mary. Mary gives orders to Hannay, not the other way round. In some ways she is actually his superior because Mary is actually a member of the secret service whereas Hannay is an individual called upon when his skills are required, making him almost the hired hand of the secret service. Furthermore Mary often takes the lead in decisions and argues her point, confident she is right, which at times is

⁹³⁹ Childers, *The Riddle of the Sands*, 157, 257.

⁹⁴⁰ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 36.

against Hannay's own judgement that is mainly based on the idea women should not do dangerous work. Mary views this as Hannay failing to realise the relationship between the sexes has changed as a result of the war. Indeed in a passage she castigates Hannay for not realising the social change has occurred:

You're an old Ottoman, Dick. You haven't doubled Cape Turk yet, and I don't believe you're round Seraglio Point. Why, women aren't the brittle things men used to think them. They never were, and the war has made them like whipcord. Bless you, my dear, we're the tougher sex now. We've had to wait and endure, and we've been so beaten on the anvil of patience that we've lost all our megrims ... Look at me, Dick, look at your someday-to-be espoused saint. I'm nineteen years of age next August. Before the war I should have only just put my hair up. I should have been the kind of shivering debutante who blushes when she's spoken to, and oh! I should have thought such silly, silly things about life ... Well, in the last two years I've been close to it, and to death. I've nursed the dying [she has been a VAD]. I've seen souls in agony and in triumph. England has allowed me to serve her as she allows her sons. Oh, I'm a robust young woman now, and indeed I think women were always robusier [sic] than men ... Dick, dear Dick, we're lovers, but we're comrades too - always comrades, and comrades trust each other.⁹⁴¹

This statement is later further emphasised at the Picardy Chateau. Mary, despite being scared of the chateau and in particular the disguised Schwabing, who she has to act in friendly manner with to gain information, nonetheless carries out her investigation. This is in marked contrast to Hannay, who at the first opportunity runs away because of a ghost story, only to return the next night embarrassed.⁹⁴² This scene reveals women are as or even more brave than men. Mary as a character is used by Buchan in the same manner as Girvin and Marchant use their heroines to depict women as being highly capable and deserving to be treated as the equal of men in the role of work. However, Buchan in his

⁹⁴¹ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 272.

⁹⁴² Hannay's trait of being scared is shared with Newton Moore. See White, 'By Woman's Wit', 101; White, 'The Almedi Concession', 385-386.

tale is far more assertive than Girvin and Marchant. Mary's statement of women being the 'tougher sex' comes from the fact that women's role is meant to be that of the carer and emotional supporter to those around them while not necessarily receiving the same support. Thus Mary is still shown in this traditional role of looking after the family in moments of stress. This is suggested firstly by her appearance as a nurse and then later in her comforting Sir Walter, her uncle, by holding his hands while he is under stress during a meeting with Hannay and their allies as they try to work out what is the German plan. This gathering, where Mary takes the feminine role, gives the appearance of a family (as Hannay's friends are his family) discussing an important household matter. Buchan, through the character of Mary and her actions, argues that women are the backbone of the nation and the war has brought their inner strength out more into the public domain. Consequently Hannay changes his opinion of Mary and that of women because of her actions:

I had been picturing her in my recollection as very young and glimmering, a dancing, exquisite child. But now I revised that picture. The crystal freshness of morning was still there, but I saw how deep the waters were. It was the clean fineness and strength of her that entranced me. I didn't even think of her as pretty, any more than a man thinks of the good looks of the friend he worships.⁹⁴³

The statement above seems to fit Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig's claim that 'Buchan's leading men ... if they get married it is late in life ... to sporty, sexless women.'⁹⁴⁴ Mary's sportiness is that of a Girl Guide or an Angela Brazil schoolgirl ready to participate in physical activities. One could imagine her at the beginning of the war as a Girl Guide working at Devonshire House before being sent to MI5 to run messages.

⁹⁴³ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 202.

⁹⁴⁴ Cadogan & Craig, *Women and Children First*, 79.

Later, with her previous training as a Guide she would join the VAD and then the intelligence services due to her family connections. Her honour, which was seen as being so important and natural for those who had attended girls' colleges, is proven through the course of the novel. This shows her to be the ideal woman that was meant to be created by this social and educational background. Hannay and Schwabing both fall in love with her. However, Mary, while she has some sexual awareness, remains within society's conventions as evident by saying 'Remember we are colleagues' in response to Hannay's question if they would meet again after their first meeting.⁹⁴⁵ Nevertheless later when Mary is confident that Hannay's love is pure she is confident enough to be assertive in kissing him and seemingly has done it before as Hannay comments 'she kissed me gravely like a wise child.'⁹⁴⁶ This is in contrast to Hannay, who has admitted to having no idea about women. In addition, Mary is able to use her sexual attractiveness against Schwabing to extract information that will expose the German plot. Though Schwabing wants to marry her, she is no Mata Hari. She is the image of the virtuous woman, who keeps her dignity by not being seduced. The use of a British female spy in a novel to seduce a German spy was nothing new as Eileen Holland, the heroine in J. Storer Clouston's *The Spy in Black*, pretends to be a pro-German Irishwoman to make Conrad von Belke, the German undercover agent, believe that she is in love with him. But in the end she reveals herself to be a loyal Irishwoman and British agent, justifying her role by saying '...If I could make every officer in the German navy and the army too fall in love with me and then hand them over, I'd do it fifty times.'⁹⁴⁷ Nevertheless Miss Holland,

⁹⁴⁵ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 37.

⁹⁴⁶ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 370.

⁹⁴⁷ J. Storer Clouston, 'The Spy in Black' [1915], *Storer Clouston's Omnibus*, William Blackwood & Sons, Edinburgh & London, 1937, 304-305.

like Mary, does not accept Belke's advances, always keeping enough distance between him and herself to maintain respectability.

Schwabing's interest in Mary proves she is not sexless, as claimed by Cadogan and Craig. Hannay is first attracted to Mary after she changes from her VAD nurse's uniform into 'a filmy black gown and with her hair no longer hidden by a cap [so that], she was the most ravishing thing you ever saw.'⁹⁴⁸ Again Mary's sexuality is reinforced when she appears during an important meeting in 'a white ball-gown, with a cluster of blue cornflowers at her breast' underlining her femininity as well as her youth.⁹⁴⁹ But it is her intelligence that also appeals to Hannay, which is linked to her physical appearance: 'Her broad, low brow and her laughing eyes were amazingly intelligent. She had an uncanny power of making her eyes go suddenly grave and deep, like a glittering river narrowing into a pool.'⁹⁵⁰ This is proved during the course of the novel where she often keeps calm while others do not and is the first to realise the disguised Schwabing is a German spy. Buchan, through the words of Hannay, makes Mary appear as the ideal woman during war: a woman who is intelligent, educated, assertive and sporty and while maintaining the traditional feminine virtues of beauty, honour, chastity and caring. One could say Mary is the grown-up version the Guides hoped their girls would become. As Agnes Baden-Powell, the Guides' co-founder, said 'A girl is no more unwomanly because she can swim in her skirt and boots, or signal the Morse code, or cook a palatable supper out in the open without civilised appliances.'⁹⁵¹ Mary Lamington, as with the other fictional heroines discussed, finds her true love at an early age and fulfils the notion of the wife

⁹⁴⁸ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 31.

⁹⁴⁹ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 201.

⁹⁵⁰ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 31.

⁹⁵¹ Quoted in Proctor, *On My Honour*, 25.

having shared interests with her husband or, as the Guides would have argued, she is acting as a guide to her scout in Hannay and will bring ‘up good children’ as wife for ‘the future manhood of the country’.

Unlike other female characters, Mary reappears in post-war novels. She returns in *The Three Hostages* (1924), now married to Hannay, with a son, Peter John. Like so many of the women who joined the paid workforce during the war, she has returned to the home to be a housewife and mother, which is a pointer to her seemingly womanly qualities. Another is her insistence that the reluctant Hannay accept a mission to find three children kidnapped by the evil mastermind Dominick Medina. Mary’s concern is put down to motherly instincts. On the surface it would seem that she has completely followed the pattern of returning to the home while the husband goes out to work. But she actually becomes involved in the mission, appearing in a seedy nightclub dancing with heavy makeup and seeming ‘to be hideously and sparsely dressed’ so much so that Hannay fails to recognise her until she turns her face towards him: ‘And then I had a shock which nearly sent me through the window. For in this painted dancer I recognised the wife of my bosom and the mother of Peter John.’⁹⁵² The appearance of this incident is not questioning Mary as a mother but does challenge the expectation of the image of the mother being ‘pure’ and free from overt sexuality. This theme of the sexuality of women will be explored further in the next chapter and how it relates to different women represented in British spy stories. The character of Mary with her relationship with Hannay where she gives orders and he obeys, seemingly reinforces the old Whig historical interpretation of Chinn that woman gained new and substantial individual

⁹⁵² John Buchan, *The Three Hostages* [1924], Nelson, London, 1936, 207.

freedoms. Yet, Buchan can not quite bring himself to have Mary completely independent from male help. When Mary does become scared at the Chateau she falls into Hannay's arms giving a classic image of the man protecting his lady from the dangers of the world. This action hints that at times there is still a role for men as protectors of women. Indeed, Hannay gives the impression of a knight errant when he rescues Mary from being imprisoned in Schwabing's castle.

Despite qualifications, the portrayals of working women in British spy novels of World War I were, however modest, progressive. They depicted women following the earlier footsteps of female clerks as being equally capable as men in doing formerly traditional male dominated jobs and that they were playing a role as important as men. The use of upper-middle and upper-class women as heroines reflects not only the social bias (the class structure is never questioned) of most novelists but the propaganda of trying to get these women into war work. This is firstly done by assuring (in the case of *Munition Mary* and *A V.A.D.*) the targeted middle-class reader that they will not lose their social status as the working-classes are portrayed as in *Munition Mary* having a automatic abiding sense of reverence towards their social superiors or that there are middle-class wartime jobs available such as those in the intelligence services. Secondly the novels do not attack the heroines' femininity as there are always allusions to it such as when Mary Howard weeps which is used as means to confirm her womanliness to the reader as much as it does for Sir Edward. Much in the same manner Hall Caine praised munitions women as being superb specimens of virile womanhood, suggesting that by having more muscular bodies they would be able to provide healthier babies. In addition the use of

spies in such stories as *Munition Mary* and *A V.A.D.* is not only to bring a sense of excitement but as a device to further illustrate to a young female readership that women's work was as vital as capturing German spies.

Conversely, the novels could not entirely break with the prevailing stereotypical ideals. Mary Lamington, despite her assertion of social change, is still in some sense that woman needing a male guardian, for which Hannay fulfils the role. Instead, the progressive views as expressed in these novels maintained a modified position removed from the 'New Woman' or at least the stereotype of the 'New Woman'. None of the female heroines are unfeminine. In appearance, in fact quite the opposite, as that is what attracts Hannay to his Mary. All marry (or it is at least implied they will marry), fulfilling social expectations. This representation of working women in the spy novels falling in love reinforced the ideological thinking of Thomson's earlier statement that women as spies are prone to fall in love. The heroines Mary Lamington and Joan Edwards are like Girl Guides fulfilling the traditional feminine ideal like that of nurses caring for other people, while being adventurous such as by driving a motor vehicle. This does mark a change from women being portrayed as damsels in distress entirely incapable of looking after themselves.

The romance of these novels was targeted at young females to rouse an interest in doing wartime work by the promise of excitement without the reality in much the same way as boys' adventure books promised honour and glory in battle. But heroines always finished with the classical fairytale ending of marriage. This is equally true of many male

characters like Hannay or Francis Oakwood, who both have romances during their own adventures, often after having to save the damsel in distress to confirm their love for her. This was a concept far more commonly used in the popular novels of Oppenheim, Le Queux and others. The working woman in the spy novel displayed women's abilities positively, even if it was in a limited sense. As shown in *The Three Hostages*, Mary Lamington returns to help Hannay. While Mary's actions are within the confirmed role of a wife having shared interests with her husband, nevertheless it was progressive as she chooses this role rather than it being forced upon her.

The working woman heroine in World War I spy literature suggests these women will be the ideal wife living up to their education as 'ladies' as they will be able to share the same interest as their husbands and be examples to their children of what women are capable of doing. But there is one type of working woman whose feminine qualities were questioned in spy stories of the period, which was the highly sexual and foreign woman. These women are depicted as corrupting influences in British society. This representation paralleled with wartime legislation such as DORA in 1914 and its consequent amendments that in part were aimed at restricting venereal diseases by focusing on women. These diseases were seen as a threat to the nation's fighting strength in the same light as foreigners in war were seen as a disease needing to be contained. The next chapter will discuss the various representations of female sexuality and foreign women in the British spy story of World War I.

Chapter V

‘The Most Dangerous Woman on Earth’: Sexuality in British Spy Literature during World War I

Historian Susan Kingsley Kent made the assertion that ‘Victorian ideology finally offered only two possible images for women. They might be either the idealised wife and mother, the angel in the house, or the debased, depraved, corrupt prostitute.’⁹⁵³ Female characters in British spy literature during World War I are for the most part divided between those who are seen as being good and those as being bad. While the heroines of these novels did not challenge outright the ideal of women being pure, they did modify it as was the case in reality with the employment of female clerks in order to suit the needs of the war effort. In the representation of female sexuality, women were often depicted as debased, depraved and corrupt using espionage to undermine Britain’s capacity to fight in a manner equal to disease-carrying prostitutes infecting soldiers. This could be equally applied towards certain portrayals of male German characters’ sexuality to show German society as being morally corrupt in contrast to Britain. Nevertheless there are foreign women (as there are men such as Gaudian) who are exceptions. These women are portrayed as being honourably British due to family ties and falling in love with the British hero. Nonetheless the depiction of women in spy stories helps to reinforce the Victorian stereotypes of two different women ‘the angel in the house, or the debased, depraved, corrupt prostitute’.

⁹⁵³ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1880-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Guildford (England), 1987, 60.

Contrary to the stereotypes, women during the Victorian and Edwardian periods, particularly those from the upper and middle classes, did express their sexuality. Historians Patricia Branca and Joan Perkin have strongly argued that there were outward sexual signals by the 1860s as many young middle-class women were becoming increasingly ‘flirtatious’, even ‘sexually aggressive’.⁹⁵⁴ In this decade stockings became flesh coloured and were becoming sheerer to attract the eye. New magazines gave advice on how to maintain beauty and figure to stay young. There were advertisements for skin restoration, hair dyes, and corsets. In the 1870s women and men would play with each others’ feet.⁹⁵⁵

Most certainly, Mary Lamington represents this long term change (minus the foot playing), with her filmy black gown which she wears after changing from the mother-like VAD uniform. This is what first attracts Hannay to Mary, no doubt helping him to focus on her youthful beauty. There was also amongst the higher classes a knowledge of or access to contraception. For instance Beatrice Webb’s youngest sister, Rosie, in a three year period after the death of first husband in the 1890s until her second marriage frequently had sexual intercourse with a number of men yet avoided pregnancy. But on remarrying she fell pregnant within the first year.⁹⁵⁶ This suggests that it was possible that Mary Lamington could have acquired knowledge of contraception, as she is only seventeen when she first meets Hannay and is married relatively soon afterwards, yet by the time of *The Island of the Sheep* (1936), they still have only one child.

⁹⁵⁴ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, 127. See also Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England*, 65,

⁹⁵⁵ Branca, *Silent Sisterhood*, 127.

⁹⁵⁶ Caine, *Destined to be Wives*, 102-105.

Nevertheless there were also strong social controls to prevent women becoming too sexually aware or expressive. These controls were developed to ensure that indecent behaviour or the gaining of sexual knowledge before marriage was not obtained by girls or young women. This was to maintain the idealised traditional view of women being pure in contrast to men who were believed to be weaker in sexual matters. Such a view can be seen in the attitude promoted by girls' schools, as Dyhouse has noted that these schools were 'extremely concerned to promote ladylike behaviour and to avoid any imputation of unseemliness. Chaperones were insisted on. Girls' relationships with the other sex — even brothers — were carefully monitored.'⁹⁵⁷ This level of social control is illustrated in *A Patriotic Schoolgirl* when Marjorie and Dona Anderson's naval brother Larry attempts to visit them while on leave and has to ask the school's permission to see his sisters but is refused because he has not got written permission from their parents.⁹⁵⁸

Social controls in sexual matters in relation to women were expanded during World War I as fears of a loosening of moral standards became more acute. 'Khaki Fever' is an example. The name was given to a social phenomenon that emerged during the war of young women flocking around any man dressed in khaki. This was seen as possibly leading to inappropriate behaviour. Such fear is displayed by the description given in *A Patriotic Schoolgirl* of the girls dreaming and collecting photographs of and articles on ace pilots and later breaking an orderly line during an excursion to get an autograph from an ace pilot. This fear was expressed by the suffragist leader Millicent Garrett Fawcett who warned that 'Everyone, including, of course, all the young girls, has a strong desire

⁹⁵⁷ Dyhouse, *Girls Growing Up in Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, 67.

⁹⁵⁸ Brazil, *Patriotic Schoolgirl*, 122-123.

to visit the camps and see the soldiers. All this is quite natural and wholesome. But it is easy to see that in the absence of proper control it certainly leads in very many cases to deplorable consequences.⁹⁵⁹

Political and other social controls were introduced as military and police authorities were concerned that prostitution and therefore Venereal Diseases (VDs) would spread, affecting Britain's fighting capacity; so much so that part of the DORA legislation was aimed at regulating women's moral behaviour rather than policing men's activities. This was to protect soldiers from contracting VDs and lay the blame on women who did not live up to social standards. DORA established curfews that were imposed on women, in towns with military stations such as Grantham, as well as prohibitions on women's drinking in certain places and at certain hours.⁹⁶⁰ Also the age of female consent was increased from sixteen to eighteen years old and the police were given new rights to examine and detain women and girls. Part of DORA's 35 and 40D regulations gave authorities the right to stop suspected women and conduct gynaecological examinations for VDs or to exclude persons from camp areas if their presence was 'likely to prejudice the training, discipline, administration, or efficiency' of the forces.⁹⁶¹ So-called 'loitering

⁹⁵⁹ Quoted in Angela Woollacott, "'Khaki Fever' and Its Control: Gender, Class, Age and Sexual Morality on the British Homefront in the First World War", *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 29, no. 2 (April 1994), 329.

⁹⁶⁰ Anonymous, 'Women Drunkards: Will They be Forbidden in the Public Houses', *The Daily Chronicle*, 30 Oct. 1914, 3. See Anonymous, 'Woman Drinking Hours: Suffragist Resents New Order', *The Daily Chronicle*, 9 Nov. 1914, 3; Anonymous, 'Women and the Drink Lure: The Need of Combating the Great Temptation: Mr. McKenna on the Unhappy Phase of the War', *The Daily Chronicle*, 10 Nov. 1914, 3.

⁹⁶¹ Suzann Buckley, 'The Failure to Resolve the Problems of Venereal Disease Among the Troops in Britain During World War I', eds. Brain Bond & Ian Roy, *War and Society: A Yearbook of Military History*, vol. 2, Croom Helm, London, 1977, 71.

girls' were detained and advertisements for abortifacients⁹⁶² were made illegal.⁹⁶³ Finally, in March 1918, Regulation 40D under DORA made it an offence for any woman with a VD either to have sex with, or to solicit, a member of the armed forces, putting into practice a feeling that already existed within society.⁹⁶⁴ DORA legislation had always had a component aimed directly towards women who were seemingly spies and traitors but that was later expanded to give the power of arrest on the suspicion of causing alarm.

While British spy literature of the war does not focus on women's or men's sexuality it sometimes reflected what appear to have become commonly held views on sexuality. The most common expectation was that of sexual passiveness, on the part of the 'damsel in distress', which is usually reserved for British women as if they are as innocent and pure as the *Cherry Ripe* girl. As already mentioned there are two notable exceptions in Mary Lamington and Eileen Holland as they are aware of their sexuality and use it, if in a discreet way, to tempt German spies. In the case of Mary there is no suggestion that she would go as far as being physically intimate with her opponent. As Hannay thinks, 'I had

⁹⁶² A substance to induce an abortion by miscarriage. See Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 31.

⁹⁶³ A number of women such as Marion Phillips, General Secretary of the Women's Labour League, and Margaret Wynne Nevinson, a Poor Law Guardian, earlier on in the war had objected to DORA's power in regard to married women as it would affect men wanting to volunteer. See Marion Phillips, 'The Police and Soldier Wives', *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Nov. 1914, 4; Margaret Wynne Nevinson, 'Tyranny and Espionage', *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Nov. 1914, 4; Letitia Ison 'The Soldier's Wife', *The Daily News and Leader*, 10 Dec. 1914, 4; Philippa Levine, "'Walking the Streets in a Way No Decent Woman Should": Women Police in World War I', *The Journal of Modern History*, vol. 66, no. 1 (March 1994), 35.

⁹⁶⁴ This regulation was rejected by military authorities such as Field Marshall Douglas Haig, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force, on the grounds that there had been an existing tradition regulating prostitution to control VDs. See Edward H. Beardsley, 'Allied Against Sin: American and British Responses to Venereal Disease in World War I', *Medical History*, vol. 20, no. 2 (April 1976), 199.

only to think of Mary to know just what Joan of Arc was.’⁹⁶⁵ That is, a woman who is brave and capable of fighting like a man but at the same time is saintly in the purity of her thoughts and deeds. Eileen Holland is like Mary in that she would never go as far as having a sexual relationship with an enemy. She is recruited into masquerading as a pro-German Irish spy by Commander Blacklock, the hero, as bait to keep Belke from leaving for Germany. Originally she was recruited when travelling to remote Scottish islands (probably the Orkney Islands) to be a governess to the local Laird’s daughters.⁹⁶⁶ Whereas Mary was recruited because of her social class, Holland is picked out due to her talent (she speaks a number of languages including German, having spent two years living in Germany) and exceptional beauty. This is made clear when she is first introduced to the reader:

She was a girl of anything from twenty-two to twenty-five, dressed to a miracle, dark-hair and more than merely pretty. Her dark eyebrows nearly meeting, her bright and singularly intelligent eyes, her firm mouth and resolute chin, the mixture of thoughtfulness in her expression and decision in her movements, were not the usual ingredients of prettiness. Yet her features were so fine and her complexion so clear and there was so much charm as well as thought in her expression, that the whole effect of her was delightful. Undoubtedly she was beautiful.⁹⁶⁷

It is this beauty that makes Mrs Craigie, the Laird’s spy-crazy wife, suspect Holland as a German spy. She believed:

⁹⁶⁵ Buchan, *Mr. Standfast*, 255.

⁹⁶⁶ The novelist J. Clouston Storer lived on the Orkney Islands.

⁹⁶⁷ Clouston, ‘Spy in Black’, 209.

... that something was a little wrong somewhere. She and Mr Craigie had used considerable influence and persuasion to obtain a passport for her and why should they have been called upon to do this (by a lady whom Mrs Armitage admitted she had only met twice), simply to give a change of air to a healthy looking girl. There was something behind that. Besides, Miss Holland was just a little too good-looking. That type always had a history.⁹⁶⁸

This hints that particularly beautiful women use their looks to seduce men for their own benefit or ill gain. It is implied in relation to Ursula, a French spy in *The Light Above the Cross Road*, who is seen as a traitor working for the Germans and is described as ‘entirely mercenary, entirely wicked’, ‘the pastime of Satan appealed to her’, ‘very beautiful in her feline way’, ‘a curse’, and as a ‘she-devil’.⁹⁶⁹ Holland seems too to fall into this category of the seducer as she disappears without notice to join Blacklock on the mission while they pretend to be German spies. Conveniently, Holland’s purity is not tested as she never encourages Belke to become too intimate. However, Holland’s actions threaten her position of purity by her talking and listening to the lonely Belke: as a result he falls in love with her as she seemingly is upholding the traditional female role of a confidant to others’ concerns and feelings. Holland maintains other parts of this image such as when Belke tries to hold hands to only have her remove her own, suggesting the feelings are not reciprocal. There are other hints throughout the novel to reassure the British reader that Holland is pure and not a traitor. When Belke asks would she become the mistress of a British Admiral for her country (Ireland), her colour rises in angry response.⁹⁷⁰ Her purity and loyalty to Britain are confirmed at the end of the story when it is revealed to Belke that he has been fooled. Holland all the while has pretended to be

⁹⁶⁸ Clouston, ‘Spy in Black’, 217.

⁹⁶⁹ Rickard, *The Light Above the Cross Road*, 156, 166, 261, 263, 265.

⁹⁷⁰ Clouston, ‘Spy in Black’, 292.

living as a sister to Blacklock, who was disguised as a German spy masquerading as the Reverend Alexander Burnett in a game of double bluff, but she has actually been sleeping in another house in the neighbourhood. The last pointer is that Holland apologises to Belke saying 'I am very deeply sorry for treating even an enemy as I treated you.'⁹⁷¹

The purity of these two female British spies is upheld as the German spies still maintain the appearance of the gentlemanly virtue of not taking advantage of a woman. Although Belke increasingly desires Holland he never goes as far as even kissing her, nor does Schwabing force himself sexually on Mary. Lamington and Holland are not the only British heroines who use their beauty to achieve their goals, but, overall, British female characters do not use their beauty on purpose for personal gain. This does not mean these and other women lack sexuality, but it is expressed in very restrained fashion through romantic love.

Romantic love rather than sexual desire is found in two literary examples of foreign women who help the British against Germany. Baroness Zenia Winoweski from *Zenia* and Baroness Anna von Haas from *The Double Traitor* both, it is revealed, have British parentage as a redeeming feature, which partly explains why they ended up helping Britain against Germany. Also they are not German but Austrian. Baroness Haas⁹⁷² labels herself 'Austro-English', as a metaphor indirectly suggesting Austria has been used by

⁹⁷¹ Clouston, 'Spy in Black', 301.

⁹⁷² Ex-Crown Princess Louisa of Saxony seems to be the model for Baroness Haas as like the Baroness she was a cousin of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria and a black sheep of the Habsburgs because of amongst other things her disregard of courtly etiquette. See Louisa of Saxony, *My Own Story*, 201.

the Germans (primarily the Prussians) to start a general war amongst the great powers as an attempt to take over the world.⁹⁷³

Zenia, who lives in Britain, is the clearest example; having been in a loveless marriage to a German Baron, she is described in a highly sexual way. In effect the reader is meant to believe that Zenia is physically the perfect woman, waiting to be loved, as she is described as a:

... tall, slim, lovely woman, with unbound hair and eyes resembling the velvet lustre of dark blue grapes, [who] freed herself from the sumptuous bedclothing [sic] and hastily pulled down the blind. As she stood against the window in the thinnest of night attire, the light, as it filtered through the transparency of her gown, outlined a figure of perfect symmetry. Rearranging the curtains, she seated herself by the window, and the sweet odour of the flowers refreshed her laggard senses.⁹⁷⁴

The description given of Zenia in her night attire is reminiscent of the change in women's appearance in Victorian times that emphasised their sexuality through clothing and personal appearance to attract the eye. But she does not actually realise her beauty. Instead she is an innocent, unwittingly used as a pawn by her cousin Colonel Alfred Radelitz. She is given a secret document to carry to the Governor of Togoland, revealing the date for German colonial forces to attack the British and French in West Africa to coincide with a world war. Zenia's sexuality is evident; the British hero Norman Trevallion, who has worked for the secret service, travels on the same boat and is

⁹⁷³ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 3. Non-Prussian German or Austrian characters in some British spy literature of World War I are portrayed sympathetically as compared with the Prussians. These differences are expressed in *Clubfoot*, in which Bavarians are labelled as 'easy going' compared to Prussians being 'disciplined'. Furthermore Schmidt, a captured German spy, in *The Secret Monitor*, helps Gowna against von Husen because 'I was never a friend of Von [sic] Husen. He's a Prussian officer, and I am Bavarian.' See Williams, *Clubfoot*, 106, 217, 268; Thorne, *The Secret Monitor*, 150.

⁹⁷⁴ Charlotte Cameron, *Zenia: Spy in Togoland*, T. Werner Laurie, London, n.d. [1915], 8.

immediately attracted to her. In Portuguese Guinea they visit the rainforest. As it starts to rain, passion swells and they embrace and kiss. The jungle with its steamy atmosphere is used as the setting to show their basic sexual instincts of attraction but the rain causes her skirt to become transparent, revealing the documents. This saves them from committing a sexual indiscretion as Trevallion's passion subsides. Nevertheless another act happens against Trevallion's nature, one which is almost as bad as sexual indiscretion. As part of his duty, he takes advantage of Zenia. Like a Boy Scout he puts his country first by drugging her to steal the documents. All the while trying not to notice or compromise her body, '...loathing himself for his unchivalrous behaviour. He tried, from honour's point of view, not to observe the billows of lace and ribbons, the silk stockings and dainty kid shoes now exposed before him....'⁹⁷⁵ At this moment, Trevallion thinks Zenia is a spy but she proves the contrary after escaping from the Governor, who thinks her a traitor for failing to deliver the expected document. In fact, she lives up to the traditional role of women. During the course of the novel, after feeling guilty at being used for what Zenia sees as evil, Zenia becomes a novice nun. In this role she becomes a carer to the local Africans in the Cameroons and then German South-West Africa. The reader is told these people have been mistreated by the Germans. The colonial Germans are berated by Zenia especially for fathering children with African women and then abandoning them. As a novice nun Zenia shows her motherly qualities by her attentions to the children under her care. Ultimately Zenia becomes reunited with Trevallion in South African-occupied German South-West Africa. He realises that she was no spy but pro-British, and they marry. In this example, much like those characters from the previous chapter, Zenia eventually fulfils the role of a dutiful wife. While at the beginning she may, like others,

⁹⁷⁵ Cameron, *Zenia*, 102.

not appear on the surface to be cast in the traditional female role, in the end she takes to it. In fulfilling this role, her position as an alien subject is forgotten and she is accepted as being British through her grandmother and by merit of her own responsible conduct.

The outcome is similar to the result in *The Double Traitor*. One major difference is that Baroness von Haas does know government secrets and is used as a courier between the Austrian and German Courts. However, as with Zenia, her role is not willingly undertaken. She is working under the instruction of Francis Joseph, the Austrian Emperor, because her dead father was the Emperor's only 'personal friend'. Nevertheless she falls in love with the British hero Francis Norgate. The Baroness helps Norgate to act as a 'double traitor' in a game of double bluff to gain information about the German plot. The Baroness helps in giving false information to the Germans, such as Italy's apparent willingness to go to war in support of Germany and Britain wanting to remain neutral. Instead of the German plan coming to fruition, the British fleet is prepared for a general war. As she explains:

“It is queer how all this is working out,” she observed, “I knew before that the trouble was to come through Austria. The Emperor was very anxious indeed that it should not. He wanted to have his country brought reluctantly into the struggle. Even at this moment I believe that if he thought there was the slightest chance of England becoming embroiled, he would travel to Berlin himself to plead with the Kaiser. I really don't know why, but the one thing in Austria which would be thoroughly unpopular would be a war with England.”⁹⁷⁶

The Baroness, just like Zenia, can be viewed as being respectable by a British readership, at least early in the war, because she is an Austrian rather than a German with an English mother to further emphasise her non-German credentials. Despite appearing to be a

⁹⁷⁶ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 230-231.

strong woman who has moved against her country to support her husband and Britain, her actions follow the thinking behind the Naturalisation Act of 1870, revised as the British Nationality and Status of Aliens Act (BNSA) of 1914, that stated ‘the wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject and a wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien.’⁹⁷⁷ The wording of the legislation suggested that women naturally change national loyalty from their country of origins to their husband’s country.⁹⁷⁸ This is played out in other spy novels that included British women not as spies but married to German spies such as in *Good Old Anna*, “*That Goldheim*” and “*Yellow*” *English*. Most of these women are passive and, though suspicious of their husbands’ activities, do little, if anything, to prevent German plots from being carried out.

As the British-born Princess of Trum tells the Baroness in *The Double Traitor*, ‘The only human being in the whole world for whom I have had a spark of real affection is Maurice [her Austrian husband], and I adore him. What he has told me to do, I have done. What makes him happy makes me happy. For his sake, even, I have forgotten and shall always forget that I was born an Englishwoman.’⁹⁷⁹ The Baroness replies ‘Of course! It is because I believe—it is too ridiculous—but I believe that I am in your position with the circumstances reversed. I am beginning to care in the most foolish way for an unmistakable Englishman.’⁹⁸⁰ Towards the end of the novel she tells the Austrian

⁹⁷⁷ Quoted in Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 29.

⁹⁷⁸ An example of the nature of this thinking was the case of Mrs Ann Fencher, an alien widow, who was an English woman by birth but had married a German and was arrested because she failed to register as an enemy but had never left Britain and did not speak German. At her trial the magistrate ‘said no one in his senses would say she was an enemy of the realm’, and discharged her on the undertaking that she register as an enemy alien. See Anonymous, ‘Rounding-up the Aliens: The Non-British in Britain: Those who may be Friends and Enemies’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 23 Oct. 1914, 5. See also An Alien in my own Country, ‘Followed the Queen’s Example’, *The Daily Chronicle*, 29 Oct. 1914, 5.

⁹⁷⁹ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 176.

⁹⁸⁰ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 177.

ambassador ‘I am Mrs. Francis Norgate, and I have promised to obey my husband in all manner of ridiculous things....’⁹⁸¹ This message is repeated over and over again to fix in the mind of the reader that women are incapable of making up their own minds for themselves, just as a damsel in distress is always in need of a hero to rescue her. In a story the way in which a woman is labelled often depends on how her husband or lover is viewed because she is almost always bound to follow his lead even if that is not in the interest of her country of birth.

Liane di Vivetti, the actress-spy from *The Beautiful Spy* is similar to Zenia and Baroness Haas: like them she is a foreigner with a British husband, again suggesting women follow their husbands’ national causes, rather than being capable of independent thought. In the case of Liane, as a child she was bought out of slavery by Professor Jabbs, a famed British geologist, so he could train her to act as his private double agent against Germany. Later they married as a means of allowing her to become a British subject. Though Liane, unlike Zenia and Baroness Haas, does deliberately seduce men into giving her access to information on British military strategy and inventions seemingly for Germany’s benefit she does possess redeeming qualities. These include feeling guilty about being a spy because it involves underhand means rather than being honest. Secondly Liane is loyal to Britain. This is evident when Ripley James, an American inventor, takes her on a flight in his secret aircraft called the Sky Hook and remarks he hopes that Britain will buy his invention rather than Germany, to which Liane replies: ‘If I thought you’d go to Germany [to sell the Sky Hook], I would never fly with you again. I’m not English, but England is

⁹⁸¹ Oppenheim, *The Double Traitor*, 269.

my home.’⁹⁸² Furthermore it is revealed that Liane’s mother was English and her father was French suggesting as with Zenia and Baroness von Haas that her loyalty is natural (as well because of gratitude towards Jabbs for saving her from slavery) but also she symbolised Britain and France coming together to fight against Germany. In addition, though Liane is a seducer of men, she does not represent a disease-carrying prostitute because the marriage with Jabbs is unconsummated, suggesting she is a virgin therefore an innocent pawn. Thus, in reality, she is a pure woman who acts out of love rather than for personal gain.

What is worse than a woman married to a German or a foreigner is her being a foreign spy, who is fully aware of her sexuality and uses it to the utmost against a man. The female seducer goes against the grain of the pure woman, who gives and nurtures life as a wife and mother rather than destroying it. This role has always been linked to espionage. The historic figure fitting this role is the Dutch courtesan and exotic dancer Mata Hari (the stage name of Margaretha Gertrud Zelle),⁹⁸³ who was executed by a French firing squad for allegedly spying for the Germans during World War I. Her mythic image created during her trial as a *femme fatale* has survived through histories, literature, plays, films, documentaries and a ballet which have often suggested most female spies use their sexuality to gain information from weak-willed men.⁹⁸⁴ There were most certainly Mata Hari-type figures portrayed in British spy novels during the war before and after her death. *Greenmantle*, *The Winds of the World* and *King, of the Khyber Rifles* possess this

⁹⁸² W. Holt-White, ‘The Beautiful Spy’, *The Daily Express*, 3 April 1915, 6.

⁹⁸³ Her married name was MacLeod.

⁹⁸⁴ See Ferdinand Tuohy, *The Secret Corps*, John Murray, London, 1920, 23; Rupert Allason, *The Branch: A History of the Metropolitan Police Special Branch 1883-1983*, Secker & Warburg, London, 1983, 66; Thomson, *Queer People*, 13.

type of character. This is especially true of the character of Yasmini in the latter two novels. Yasmini often dances as a means of seducing men into giving up their secrets or killing them for her own benefit, suggesting that she is inspired by various pre-war dancers including Mata Hari, Maud Allen and Isadora Duncan. The latter, who inspired both Allen and Mata Hari, shocked established European societies by dancing without corset, with naked legs, in loosely draped garments that vaguely resembled togas. This laid the foundation for Mata Hari and Allen's style of dancing that closely resembles the description given of Yasmini's own dancing. Yasmini, like Allen and Mata Hari, wears metallic breastplates, jewellery, dangling earrings, a necklace, bracelets of exotic design, armlets, a headdress and has bare feet and flimsy garments. This manner of dancing is based on European perceived ideas about Indian/Javanese dancing that has allusions of mystery and exoticism.⁹⁸⁵ In addition Yasmini, just like Mata Hari, has dancing girls, dances with snakes and is portrayed '[as having] the secret of perpetual youth....'⁹⁸⁶ Yasmini also displays the image of a deadly foreign seducer as the narration comments: 'A man who trusts Eastern women over readily does not rise far in the Secret Service'; and it uses terms such as 'witchery' to describe her dancing or just her presence.⁹⁸⁷ But Yasmini is not a courtesan-spy in the sense of Mata Hari, being paid as a spy to seduce men to gain information for a country instead she acts in her own best interests free of the control of men.

However, in the immediate aftermath of Mata Hari's death there were female characters closely drawn from her popular image as courtesan-spy, for instance Mademoiselle Cleo

⁹⁸⁵ Pat Shipman, *Femme Fatale: Love, Lies, and the Unknown Life of Mata Hari*, HarperCollins, New York, 2007, 150, 165.

⁹⁸⁶ Mundy, *The Winds of the World*, 18-19, 55.

⁹⁸⁷ Mundy, *King, of the Khyber Rifles*, 238.

in “*Yellow*” *English* and Madame Boleski in *The Prince of Things*. The character of Mademoiselle Cleo is a French courtesan-spy, who has slept with British naval officers in the 1890s to gain information for the French as well as the Germans. She is also the mistress of Frederick Schultz.⁹⁸⁸ As with the myth of Mata Hari, though into her forties, she has eternal beauty still sufficient to seduce men. As the narrative says, ‘Cleo did not look a day over twenty-four, if that, her figure was as slim and supple as it had been on that night fourteen years ago [when she and Schultz first met], her face showed no wrinkles, her hair retained its raven blackness; if art had been employed, it was with such skill that even an expert in such matters would have been deceived.’⁹⁸⁹ After Schultz refuses to take Cleo to a ball, she wreaks her revenge by revealing him as a spy and his long established German spy ring which includes members of the British and French Establishments. While Cleo is loyal to France, she is never portrayed as being good because she is rather selfish, openly enjoys sexual pleasure and has sought revenge after being scorned which goes against the stereotype of the female heroine who is restrained in expression of her sexuality and who at the end of the story will marry the hero. In contrast, it is clear that Cleo will never marry but continue her questionable career as a courtesan. It is this questionable moral position that makes Cleo more assertive in comparison to the other two main female characters. They are portrayed as being virtuous but weak by their failure to realise their husbands are German spies. Cleo is similar to the pro-German Mrs Rhoda Shipley—known as the ‘Rodent’ because of her rat-like appearance—as both women dominate men with their personalities and look after their

⁹⁸⁸ Flatau, “*Yellow*” *English*, 45.

⁹⁸⁹ Flatau, “*Yellow*” *English*, 128-129.

own best interests rather than being concerned about others.⁹⁹⁰ Cleo, instead of having the appearance of a rodent, has hands that are cat-like, hinting that she is not only cunning but there is something quite unnatural in her beauty as if a deal with the devil has been done.⁹⁹¹

Madame Boleski is another female spy character blatantly drawn from Mata Hari but without any of Cleo's redeeming features. She is a pleasure-seeking American adventuress employed by the Germans as a spy to seduce men such as her husband, a Polish nationalist leader, who, as a result of becoming obsessed with her, has lost his passion for Polish independence. As part of her role she still keeps in contact with her former husband Hans, a German officer, with whom she enjoys a highly physical relationship. During one very intimate encounter in a garden where she is meant to deliver a message to the Germans through Hans they passionately embrace, so much so that he bites Boleski's ear lobe. She remarks, when looking at the damage, 'How tiresome and imprudent of Hans! By Jingo, it was good!—if there only had been time....'⁹⁹² Because of her unrestrained sexual desire, there is no room for romantic love, and Boleski is a symbol of the impure and morally corrupting woman. The result is Boleski ends up sharing the same fate as Mata Hari as much as for being an impure woman as being a spy. As Tammy M. Proctor has noted, the link between Mata Hari and female characters like Boleski '...embodied the fictional female spy that inhabited the imaginations of the populace; she [Mata Hari] represented the decadence of Salome with her exotic dancing, the hidden female threat with her sexual exploits, and the enemy

⁹⁹⁰ Flatau, "Yellow" *English*, 148.

⁹⁹¹ Flatau, "Yellow" *English*, 196.

⁹⁹² Elinor Glyn, *The Price of Things* [1919], The Authors' Press, Auburn (New York), 1924, 24.

within through her espionage.’⁹⁹³ This does not only apply to popular culture found in spy novels but within the intelligence services. A 1909 report on intelligence methods claimed that in Russia: ‘Women are very extensively used [to gain information], from a lady who may be take into dinner by [our] own PM such as Madame de Novikoff [sic] in Gladstone’s time down to common prostitutes. I have known one notable instance of a brothel managed by the mistress of a Russian general and military agent.’⁹⁹⁴ It is these impure women, like those who suffered from ‘Khaki fever’, that are portrayed as being a national threat from outside and within. It is their sexual passion which brings about their downfall. Moreover, they also have the potential to bring Britain down with them. These novels suggest the women portrayed in this fashion are like viruses such as syphilis which are the result of seductions that weaken men’s ability to fight. It is only those pure in thought and actions that can resist, who in doing so help guarantee the security of the state.

A number of spy novels of the time make this connection. “*Yellow*” *English* is one such example. In the novel, Cleo has slept with the leading French politician, Monsieur Chalembert, who betrays France for ‘money’ as part of the German spy ring. This was seemingly inspired by real events especially those round Joseph Caillaux. In 1918, Caillaux, a former French Prime Minister, as a leader of the peace movement, was arrested for treason for being in contact with the Germans. Another possibility for inspiration was Mata Hari’s diaries. In her diaries she refers to having an affair with a French minister called ‘M’. This was taken at the time to be M. Malvy, the Minister of

⁹⁹³ Proctor, *Female Intelligence*, 126.

⁹⁹⁴ NA KV 1/4, Intelligence Methods 1909, 30.

the Interior, who was driven from office in the aftermath of Mata Hari's case.⁹⁹⁵ "Yellow" English's plot, coinciding with actual events and places, is an effort to place in the reader's mind the idea that the story could genuinely be happening in real life rather than just a work of pure fiction. This is an example of Claude Cockburn's argument that the novelist and readers between themselves construct a fictional world populated with puppets whose actions indicate 'their [the writer and the reader's] attitudes to human behaviour in the "private sector" in their own day.'⁹⁹⁶ However, during the war such attitudes to how women (as well as the elite), especially foreigners, were meant to behave escaped from the private sector and into the public sector. The Billing trial with the talk of the 'Black List' revealed an anxiety that society could collapse into another Dark Age with British defeat, if moral standards were not maintained, or in the words of Captain Spencer, if the British Empire 'fell [like] the great Empire of Rome, and the victor now, as then, [would] be the Hun.'⁹⁹⁷

The fiction constructed a world in which certain British spy novels used sex to comment on the degree of social immorality that had existed before World War I. Nicholas Hiley has argued there are direct links between the late Victorian and Edwardian spy novels and pornographic novels of the period. According to Hiley, both genres have within them a fear that the morality of society is under threat from hidden forces.⁹⁹⁸ This is shown in the use of a secret room that contains a dark secret behind the seemingly respectable facade of tearooms, restaurants or cycling shops. As Hiley comments:

⁹⁹⁵ Knightley, *The Second Oldest Profession*, 49.

⁹⁹⁶ Cockburn, *Bestseller*, 15.

⁹⁹⁷ Quoted in Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst*, 177.

⁹⁹⁸ Nicholas Hiley 'Decoding German Spies, British Spy Fiction, 1908-1918', *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 5. (Oct. 1990), 64-65.

Yet if the spies' inner sanctum in [Oppenheim's] *The Secret* rivals Le Queux's anarchists' headquarters [from *The Great Plot* (1907)] and [Arthur] Conan Doyle's opium den as a subtle threat to the [sic] British society, its outward characteristics are closer to those of Eveline's teashop. Indeed, the physical settings for late Victorian and Edwardian pornography bear an uncanny resemblance to those of contemporary spy fiction. As Steven Marcus notes of Victorian erotic fiction, its location was "the secluded country estate, set in the middle of a large park and surrounded by insurmountable walls, the mysterious town house in London or Paris, the carefully furnished and elaborately equipped set of apartments ... the deserted cove at the seaside, or the solitary cottage atop the cliffs." Yet, as anyone familiar with Le Queux and Oppenheim will recognise, this was also the world of the Edwardian spy.⁹⁹⁹

Then again, Hiley's argument does not apply to all spy novels. In *Riddle of the Sands* or *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, there is no hint of sex between the lines nor behind exteriors of the locations. Even Holland in *The Spy in Black* with her use of womanly charm hardly gives the impression of the wicked seductress as she eventually apologises to the victim. There are more direct similarities between pornographic and spy novels, which are displayed in *'Frank' and I* (1902) and *The German Spy*. The pornographic *'Frank' and I*, has the hero with his friend Ford travelling to a Kensington street in London's West End:

When we reached the corner of the street, I stopped the cab ... and we walked the rest of the way to the house. I touched the electric bell, and ... a smartly-dressed maid-servant ... preceded us into the house and ushered us into a large, brilliantly-lighted drawing-room ... handsomely furnished in a most tasteful style ... At one end of the apartment, there was a deep, broad recess, apparently opening into another room; but I could not be certain, as the place was screened by heavy curtains of dark crimson velvet.¹⁰⁰⁰

⁹⁹⁹ Hiley 'Decoding German Spies, British Spy Fiction, 1908-1918', 67.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Quoted in Hiley, 'Decoding German Spies, British Spy Fiction', 65.

Behind the curtain is London's foremost brothel. A similar description is given in *The German Spy*. Ronald Whitemarsh, travelling in a friend's Rolls Royce, pulls it up in front of a Kensington mansion:

... before a big, dark, old-fashioned but highly respectable house, the door of which fell open as we ascended the steps, and a grave, rather sallow foreign manservant bowed as we crossed the threshold. The hall was plainly yet solidly furnished; the Eastern carpet so thick that our feet fell noiselessly ... Upon the green-painted walls were many shields of ancient Eastern arms, while across the centre of the place, where commenced the stairs, was a fine Cairene screen of sweet-smelling sandalwood.¹⁰⁰¹

What is hidden behind the screen is the entrance to the clearing-house for German spies that is run and owned by a seemingly respectable and influential German immigrant. In both stories these secrets are seen as a threat to civilisation. The former story is that of sexual immorality and the latter is of general war. The use of grand houses in these genres is to show that despite the external appearance of centuries of civilisation, as in the past with Rome, it can quickly crumble into barbarism or be conquered by barbarians, if the foundations are rotten and the guardians are corrupt. Andrew Lumley, the villain of *The Power-House*, suggests this idea to the hero, Edward Leithen: 'You think that a wall as solid as the earth separates civilisation from barbarism. I tell you the division is a thread, a sheet of glass.'¹⁰⁰² Le Queux in his details of the Eastern decoration suggests there is a marked difference between the British as being civilised in comparison to the Germans who are depicted as no more than Huns belonging to the exotic East with only a civilised outer shell that gives them the appearance of belonging to the West. This theme of the Germans being connected with something exotic and immoral is found in

¹⁰⁰¹ Le Queux, *The German Spy*, 17-18.

¹⁰⁰² Buchan, 'The Power-House', 731.

Greenmantle, when Hannay's breath is taken away on entering Stumm's study in his Bavarian home castle as:

....it was so unexpected. In place of the grim bareness of downstairs here was a place all luxury and colour and light. It was very large, but low in the ceiling, and the walls were full of little recesses with statues in them. A thick grey carpet of velvet pile covered the floor, and the chairs were low and soft and upholstered like a lady's boudoir. A pleasant fire burned on the hearth and there was a flavour of scent in the air, something like incense or burnt sandalwood. A French clock on the mantelpiece told me that it was ten minutes past eight. Everywhere on little tables and in cabinets was a profusion of knickknacks, and there was some beautiful embroidery framed on screens. At first sight you would have said it was a woman's drawing-room.

But it wasn't. I soon saw the difference. There had never been a woman's hand in that place. It was the room of a man who had a passion for frippery, who had a perverted taste for soft delicate things. It was the complement to his bluff brutality. I began to see the queer other side to my host, that evil side which gossip had spoken of as not unknown in the German army. The room seemed a horribly unwholesome place, and I was more than ever afraid of Stumm.

The hearthrug was a wonderful old Persian thing, all faint greens and pinks. As he stood on it he looked uncommonly like a bull in a china-shop. He seemed to bask in the comfort of it, and sniffed like a satisfied animal....¹⁰⁰³

Stumm's taste in things Persian recalled *The German Spy* where the mansion has oriental decorations and carpets that suggest that the Germans, despite having French clocks, are not 'civilised' Europeans but are more like the Asiatic barbarians. This feeling is also suggested in *Zenia*, when Trevallion comments on Zenia's cousin Alfred's appearance as he 'did not appear the sort of man in whom she would put any faith. Frankly, he had not liked his braggadocio, and scented the Tartar beneath the sleek perfumed skin.'¹⁰⁰⁴ The passage hints that Radelitz, like Stumm, is homosexual, suggesting that the German nation is immoral and therefore barbaric, which if they were to win the war carries with it

¹⁰⁰³ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 113.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Cameron, *Zenia*, 135.

a threat to civilisation in Europe. *Greenmantle*, as a novel that pre-dated the Billing trial, is evidence that there was a predisposed feeling that moral corruption existed which was seen as prevailing among foreigners and, if not controlled, would affect British society. Buchan consistently used effeminate figures in his Hannay novels as a reference point, signalling the moral and social decline that was seen as already threatening to British society. One is Jopley from *The Thirty-Nine Steps*. Where in Strumm corruption comes from the pursuit of power, Jopley's corruption comes from greed. Jopley is the reflection from the sheet of glass that divides civilisation from barbarism. British society as many, like Arnold White, believed, had become physically weak making it unable to fight. As William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, commented in his survey on the urban poor of London in 1890:

As there is a darkest Africa is there not also a darkest England? Civilisation, which can breed its own barbarians, does it not also breed its pygmies? May we not find a parallel at our own doors, and discover within a stone's throw of our cathedrals and palaces similar horrors to those which [Henry Morton] Stanley had found existing in the great Equatorial forest?¹⁰⁰⁵

Jopley is a caricature representing this fear of physical decline not so much because he is physically unhealthy but because bodily he is feminine just like Alfred Radelitz, in direct contrast to Hannay and other spy heroes. These heroes are the ideal male stereotypical type with lean and powerful bodies with square jaws such as Sir Percy Blakeney, 'The Scarlet Pimpernel', compared to his nemesis Chauvelin, who is small, pale, fox or ferret-like and untidy in dress.¹⁰⁰⁶ Furthermore spy heroes, in comparing them to the likes of

¹⁰⁰⁵ Quoted in Joseph Bristow, *Empire Boys: Adventures in a Man's World*, HarperCollins Academic, Hammersmith (London), 1991, 131-132.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Orczy, *The Scarlet Pimpernel*, 112, 119, 202. See also Orczy, *The Elusive Pimpernel*, 17, 119, 211, 325; Orczy, *El Dorado*, 37, 91.

Jopley, fulfil their duty by going out in the world to protect others from harm by their physical abilities as well as their intelligence. Instead, Jopley is selfish, a parasite feeding on others, who like others similar to him cause rottenness within the British establishment that is a threat to society, as much as any external threat. As Hannay states:

... he was an offence to creation. He was a sort of blood stockbroker, who did his business by toadying eldest sons and rich young peers and foolish old ladies. 'Marmie' was a familiar figure, I understood, at balls and polo-weeks and country houses. He was an adroit scandal-monger, and would crawl a mile on his belly to anything that had a title or a million. I had a business introduction to his firm when I came to London, and he was good enough to ask me to dinner at his club. There he showed off at a great rate, and pattered about his duchesses till the snobbery of the creature turned me sick. I asked a man afterwards why nobody kicked him, and was told that Englishmen revered the weaker sex.¹⁰⁰⁷

This fear of moral decline causing a fall of civilisation into barbarism is seen earlier in H. Rider Haggard's adventure novel *She*. Just as in *'Frank' and I* and *The German Spy*, there is a curtain symbolising the thin barrier between the civilised world of good and the uncivilised world of evil. Instead of the curtain being found in a seemingly respectable house, it is in a cave in the African hinterland where once the great (white) civilisation of Kore had existed. These caves were where the people of Kore lived and were buried but they have become the home of the evil *She-who-must-be-obeyed*, who is thousands of years old and the white Queen of the local African tribe. She is seemingly like Mata Hari or Cleo, remaining eternally and beautifully young (a sign of evil as it is unnatural). In a way reminiscent of the pornographic novels, the narrator of the story, Ludwig Horace Holly, a Cambridge don (representing the civilised enlightened world), looks through the curtain to view 'She', who is thinly dressed. He becomes mesmerised by her beauty,

¹⁰⁰⁷ Buchan, *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, 85.

commenting in the narrative: ‘I have heard of the beauty of celestial beings, now I saw it; only this beauty, with all its awful loveliness and purity, was *evil*—at least, at the time, it struck me as evil. How am I to describe it? I cannot—simply I cannot!’¹⁰⁰⁸ At one stage Holly loses his self-control and falls on his knees and speaks of her beauty as if he is a man who has been tempted by what is offered in a brothel. Holly’s loss of control is a metaphor that civilisation can fall by losing its sense of its morality, suggesting this had been Kore’s fate. After being rejected, Holly feels ashamed of his lack of moral judgement leading him to eventually regain his self-control. Holly is rejected in part because ‘She’ is more interested in Holly’s ward, Leo Vincey. ‘She’ believes Leo is the reincarnation of his ancestor and her past love, the ancient Greek Kallikrates, whom ‘She’ killed in a jealous rage. Drawn by her beauty, Leo is unable to resist, bringing civilisation under threat as ‘She’ wants to return with him to Britain. Holly sees this move as being dangerous as ‘She’ is selfish because her desire for power would cause her to attempt to take over Britain and therefore the world. Fortunately, ‘She’ seemingly dies after attempting to travel to Britain, thus saving the world from a reign of evil immortality.

As with a number of spy stories, in Haggard’s tales there is a struggle between civilisation (the West) and barbarism (the East). Leo being of Greek descent represents the continuation of Western civilisation while ‘She’ is of the East as hinted by her real name of Ayesha, the name of the Prophet Mohammad’s second and favourite wife, giving the appearance (as Joseph Bristow suggests) that the ‘story also is something of a

¹⁰⁰⁸ H. Rider Haggard, *She* [1887], Wordsworth, Ware (Hertfordshire, England), 1995, 106.

holy war between Islam and Christianity.’¹⁰⁰⁹ Moreover in the society that ‘She’ ruled women followed her example of being the dominant sex with hints that this is an unnatural and barbaric state of affairs. This is repeated in British spy literature where the weak willed man is ruled by a powerful and highly sexual woman much like in pornographic Edwardian novels.

There are two clear examples Yasmini and Hilda von Einem, where a woman rules unquestionably over men, suggesting that gender roles have been changed. These examples use Jihad as a device that emphasises a struggle between West and East. Yasmini, rules the tribesmen of the north-west frontier of India and has power throughout India. As already mentioned, she is highly feminine in the manner of her dress and erotic dancing in the mould of Mata Hari but also dresses as a man, hinting that she crosses over the gender division. Yasmini tries to seduce Athelstan King. However, he resists her sexual charm and the offer to be her co-ruler. Out of sexual jealousy, Yasmini tries to kill King but in the end she cannot. As a result he is successful in stopping a German conspiracy to use tribesmen from Afghanistan to invade India as part of a Jihad.

The other example is Hilda von Einem, ‘the most dangerous woman on earth’ from *Greenmantle*.¹⁰¹⁰ Again, von Einem gives the appearance of being civilised, just as a German officer can appear as a gentleman. In von Einem’s case, it is not her manner that gives this impression but her education as evident by her being an archaeologist of the

¹⁰⁰⁹ Bristow, *Empire Boys*, 140.

¹⁰¹⁰ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 234.

Hittites.¹⁰¹¹ However, education is not necessarily guarantee of being civilised as ‘She’, like von Einem, is highly intelligent and educated giving the appearance of being cultured that helps to hide the barbarity beneath the surface. However ‘She’'s lack of restraint in exercising power towards her subjects and the burning of Kore corpses with torches showed clear signs of barbarity. Von Einem possesses the same barbarity as she too misuses her powers. Firstly von Einem seduces men into doing her bidding as a siren and secondly murders those who refuse to carry out her plans. The plans consist of using an Islamic prophet called the ‘Greenmantle’ to start a Muslim uprising against the British in India. It is only those who are pure that can resist. These include the four loyal ‘Ministers’ of the Greenmantle, who refuse to participate in pretending their prophet is alive after he dies from cancer. As a result they are killed on von Einem’s orders for derailing her plans.

Another one who is pure, whom she tries to seduce, is Hannay, a sexually innocent character akin to Sir Galahad, the purest of King Arthur’s knights (Hannay and his friend are once described as knights of the round table), who has spent his life around men, and knows ‘nothing about women.’ Nevertheless while sitting in a carriage facing von Einem he is attracted to her because of her sexual power as ‘every man has in his bones a consciousness of sex. I was shy and perturbed, but horribly fascinated.’¹⁰¹² He is saved from falling under von Einem’s spell because of his strong will; just like Kim, he is immune to hypnotism. In addition, it is Hannay’s sexual innocence that prevents him from being seduced. He concludes of von Einem, that ‘Mad and bad she might be, but

¹⁰¹¹ Schwabing used this occupation as his main disguise in *The Thirty-Nine Steps*, reflecting reality that pre-war archaeologists were used as spies in the Middle East by both the Germans and the British. See Goodman, *Gertrude Bell*, 72-73.

¹⁰¹² Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 247.

she was also great.’¹⁰¹³ This greatness is that she is able to get men to do her bidding without question and set out a plan on a wide scale, which is beyond Hannay’s comprehension. It is the more intellectual and worldly adventurer Sandy, who is seduced by his fascination with her mind or this greatness as much as by her body. It is implied in the text that he and von Einem were in love and perhaps had sex as when she is killed as a result of a shell-fragment breaking her back, Hannay hears Sandy say ‘...we must bury her here ... You see, she ... she liked me. I can make her no return but this.’¹⁰¹⁴ Sandy and the others risk their lives to dig her grave while under shell fire. The power that she projects is stated earlier by Sandy when he describes her as a superwoman:

It’s true all the same. Women have got a perilous logic which we [men] never have, and some of the best of them don’t see the joke of life like the ordinary man. They can be far greater than men, for they can go straight to the heart of things. There never was a man so near the divine as Joan of Arc. But I think, too, they can be more entirely damnable than anything that ever was breeched, for they don’t stop still now and then and laugh at themselves ... There is no Superman. The poor old donkeys that fancy themselves in the part are either crackbrained professors who couldn’t rule a Sunday-school class, or bristling soldiers with pint-pot heads who imagine that the shooting of a Duc d’Enghien made a Napoleon. But there is a Superwoman, and her name is Hilda von Einem.¹⁰¹⁵

Sandy’s statement is maintaining there are two different types of women. One is capable of wickedness in seducing weaker men, getting them to do things against their will much as a disease like syphilis that affects the mind making the victim act like a fool – as Sandy does for some time. In the case of von Einem, her danger is not merely that she seduces through her sexuality but that she is selfish in achieving her aims at all cost. Von

¹⁰¹³ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 249.

¹⁰¹⁴ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 370.

¹⁰¹⁵ Buchan, *Greenmantle*, 265-266.

Einem is very different from the image of other women portrayed in Buchan's novels. These are the second type of women, whom the heroes in Buchan's novels end up marrying. They are, like Mary Lamington, feminine with soft faces, caring and protective of their family while being athletic and brave, ready to join in a fight and determined in achieving their goals. They resemble the ideal of Girl Guides being adventurous but always outwardly feminine in appearance, they wear skirts or a dress, never pants. Von Einem goes beyond what is acceptable. While she does wear a dress later in the story, when Hannay first meets her von Einem is seen wearing riding breeches with spurred boots and has a riding-whip as a weapon against male servants thus also showing dominance over men. But in Sandy's case, von Einem offers him greatness or what she calls the 'truth', and presumably this is the meaning of life which he has been searching for through his untold adventures. Sandy is saved from temptation as his loyalty to country and friends overrides any desire he has for her. Because von Einem is beyond an acceptable standard for a woman, she dies, much as Mata Hari or Madame Boleski do, as they do not fulfil the standard image in the words of historian Susan Kingsley Kent as 'the idealised wife and mother'. Rather they are the equivalent of 'the debased, depraved, corrupt prostitute.'¹⁰¹⁶

The ways in which foreign and British women, with notable exceptions, are portrayed in British spy literature during World War I are almost divided along the stereotype as expressed by Kingsley Kent. The Foreigner is 'the debased, depraved, corrupt prostitute'. In contrast, the British woman is 'the idealised wife and mother' or at least the potential

¹⁰¹⁶ Susan Kingsley Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain, 1880-1914*, Princeton University Press, Princeton & Guildford (England), 1987, 60.

of this ideal, as we only know Mary Lamington's fate after the war. Even when a foreign woman is portrayed as being good, as in the cases of Zenia, Baroness von Haas, and Liane, this can be explained away due to their part-English heritage. The only exception to this is the woodman's wife from *Greenmantle*. However, though it is subtle, like other women within British society, these good women do express their sexuality. Their sexuality is expressed through their clothes such as Zenia's nightdress or Mary's filmy dress or her kisses for Hannay. Though they can be temptresses they would never go beyond acceptable social boundaries of the time. At the beginning of World War I there was a fear that British women would go beyond these boundaries as they were caught up with 'Khaki Fever'. As a result the authorities together with women's organisations sought to control women's social behaviour. The fact that spy literature had morally corrupt women as seducers goes back to Edwardian spy stories (even further with a novel of the likes of *She*) and their similarities to pornographic novels. Within the texts of both genres there is a concern of moral corruption which leads to barbarism. This barbarism is found in the East, which is both morally and politically corrupt. The East does not stop with Asia but with the Germans, who are the modern Huns. Stumm is shown as an example, liking things Persian, with his homosexuality and Hilda von Einem, symbolically in the near East, acts like a man. Here Sandy suffers from his own 'Khaki Fever', where he is tempted into moral corruption, where Hannay, because of sexual innocence, is not. A novel such as "*Yellow*" *English* sees moral and sexual corruption as being part of political corruption, which had assisted in the creation of a German spy network. As such, spy stories hinted that the war was a struggle between the civilisation of the West, namely Britain, and barbarism of the East, namely Germany. Defeat for

Britain and its allies would mark a new Dark Ages – as when ancient Rome fell to the Germanic barbarians.

Conclusion

Spy literature that had evolved particularly from invasion stories was a reaction to various challenges arising from the foundation and rise of imperial Germany, economic challenges from other European powers, immigrants, and the Boer War, which seemed to either challenge Britain's position in the world or its security. This resulted in the gradual acceptance of the need for secret police and secret services as the view of the spy changed from an objectionable person to somebody who could be patriotic and heroic. Spy/invasion literature from its beginning had a concern with convincing readers to a certain political and military viewpoint. From mid-Victorian times up to World War I the overall message in the literature was that Britain was in a Darwinian struggle for survival with other countries. Thus it needed to become more efficient, which involved the British male population required at least to be trained in the use of rifles to protect the country from a landing invasion force. Another message was that immigrants were an internal threat as their loyalties lay elsewhere with their country of origin or in the case of Jews their co-religionists, making them all a threat to Britain.

The early writers of invasion stories and even some later ones such as Saki were only concerned at reaching a politically and militarily educated elite audience, who read journals like *The Times* and *Blackwood's*, seeing them as the type of people concerned with the subject matter. These writers, often as evident by Chesney, Butler, Cole, Dawson, and Saki, were highly critical of increasing democratisation seeing it resulting in politicians becoming populist with social reforms in order to get re-elected rather than acting decisively with decisions that were not necessarily popular but in the national

interest. However, Northcliffe and Le Queux sensed that the increase of democratisation, which coincided with the rise of literacy rates and leisure time, provided a wider audience with the opportunity to convince wider society to the point of view about compulsory rifle training and military service while benefitting commercially. This effort to pursue the audience to a point of view used the same techniques of blending fact with fiction of sensational newspapers with the same lurid descriptions given in penny dreadfuls to grab the interest of readers. While Childers's tale was not lurid he likewise followed this same technique of blending fact with fiction to argue his case for military or naval training for all British males and national efficiency as a warning about the threat German naval power posed to Britain. The ideas expressed in the literature were shared by large organisations like the Legion of Frontiersmen, the NSL, and the Boy Scouts. This can be seen in the spy heroes like Kim, who is an idealised version of a boy as a rugged individual being trained in readiness of the possibility of attack on Britain and the Empire. Hannay was a latter version of Kim with better manners – a grown-up version of a boy scout – as a fictional example of what these organisations believed British males could and needed to become to defend Britain and the Empire from its enemies. This and different themes in the literature were fostered and reinforced by continuous recurrence.

Writers like Le Queux, Childers, and Oppenheim used repetition extensively such as having immigrants belong to an extensive spy network, to convey a political message about Britain's defences. The use of recurrence was openly admitted by Le Queux during the serialisation of *1910* and by publishers as they all fed off each others' stories and notions that already existed in society. This use of repetition is evident by *The Great Raid* illustration with the upturned double-decker bus advertising *An Englishman's Home* as

signal to the reader that both stories share the same message. The writers of these stories, with the notable exception of Childers, were politically right-wing. Thus the bulk of invasion/spy stories' political messages with regard to national service and other defence matters were speaking to a Unionist or politically non-committed readership. They were far more critical of the Liberals with recurring use of phrases as coded words such as the use of 'The Destroyers' in *The Message* directed to readers to tell them that the Liberal government and especially Haldane were responsible for weakening Britain's defensive capabilities. Such attacks reveal the literature was another branch of the attack conducted by Unionist periodicals notably *The National Review* where Maxse used repetition with certain code words as signposts to readers in the same manner as fictional stories did to express their message. The use of recurrence was not only used for criticism but for praise with *1910* being a prime example. Le Queux continuously mentioned the names of Lord Roberts, Beresford, other like-minded right-wing politicians and groups as a means of praise for their efforts and to appeal to the readers' sense of patriotism, thus questioning the patriotism of Liberals. The thinking behind the use of repetition was expressed by Maxse when he commented that 'the British public never understand a point until it has been put before them *ad nauseam*...' Recurrence and its use in most invasion/spy literature before World War I displays an 'Us and Them' mentality. 'Us' being those who are patriotic namely the novelists and like-minded people especially Unionists and 'diehards' compared to 'Them' being politicians especially Liberals, free traders, foreigners and immigrants especially Germans and Jews.

Moreover a number of Unionist writers and politicians especially 'die-hards' such as Maxse, Arnold White, Colonel Lockwood, Blumenfeld, their supporters and newspapers

like *The Graphic*, used rumours, that had the hallmarks of invasion/spy literature which seemed to confirm their already-held beliefs such as in the absolute efficiency of Germans. Therefore it was not surprising the sub-committee of CID inquiries of 1908 and 1909 led to the creation of the intelligence services as evidence seemed to confirm beliefs about German efficiency. Consequently it was not an accident that Kell, the Director-General of MI5 was so easily convinced by Graves's story even though it transparently followed parts of *Spies of the Kaiser*. Thus when Graves came to produce his memoirs, he or his ghost writer just lifted the basic elements from spy/invasion literature meshing them together to present a story that would have appeared genuine to a reader or governmental people like Kell. While Le Queux and Childers to various degrees suggested that their stories were based on personal experience. Indeed, it was what worried some of the critics. This, with the use of repetition based on rumour was what lay behind *Punch's* continuous mocking of Le Queux's writing abilities, *The Daily Mail*, Maxse and politicians like Lockwood. Its reaction was a comment that these writers, publications and politicians feed off each other using the same sort of source materials with only slight variation. They repeated the same stories over and over again with the same recurring themes. *Punch* writers' criticism and mockery was shared by Hirst, Lowe, and Wodehouse, all of whom appealed to the highly educated middle-classes, who were historically more likely to read broadsheet newspapers and learned journals rather than sensational periodicals that focused upon entertaining a wider audience rather than informing them. Hence writers like Hirst, Lowe, and *Punch* despite their political differences shared with Hobson the same critical view that *The Daily Mail* and like-minded journals were insincere in their concerns about invasion and spies. Instead these

journals and their proprietors and writers used jingoism to create nationalistic feelings in order to sell more copies. However, it is notable elsewhere, despite British spy literature's impact with the foundation of MI5 and MI6, its influence was limited as shown by Northcliffe's failure to get elected or to fundamentally change government policy. Furthermore, *The Riddle of the Sands* while having a pronounced influence upon the genre and leading to the Brandon and Trench spy mission, did not overall change British naval policy or theory as revealed by Battenberg's scathing comment. Nonetheless the effect upon the public imagination by the literature about spies is revealed in that Robert Arthur Blackburn possessed a copy of *1910*. Furthermore the volume of these stories produced was dependent on the perceived propaganda value in an effort to convince the public to act against the possibility of invasion. This was reflected by World War I British propaganda.

The spy scares in World War I had many of the same recurring themes and debates re-emerging namely that waiters and immigrants were part of a large German spy network and Germany had been planning a war against Britain showing that the genre and its recurring themes were popular. The similarity of *1910* and *Wake Up!* is a case in point. These were both were products of tabloid Unionist newspapers that used similar publicity tactics in order to promote the respective stories and sought to blame the Liberal government and Haldane's handling of military matters. Thus the pre-war literature with its use of repetition had helped to create a frame of mind that resulted in the early and later war spy scares. But amongst the same themes there were new ones or old ones adapted including the existence of German spy networks in Belgium and France, hidden wirelesses, signalling along the British coast to the enemy, the belief of a hidden hand,

political corruption to explain why war had not ended quickly as many had expected, British setbacks or German successes. This reflected concerns such as demands for the internment of all enemy aliens and accusation that the government had failed to prepare the country for war. All these beliefs and demands were given favourable coverage in Unionist periodicals like *The Morning Post*, *The Daily Mail*, *The National Review* and *The Daily Express* or were opinions expressed in the journalistic works of Le Queux, Maxse and Arnold White. This was no accident as many World War I spy novels such as *The Kingdom of the Blind*, *With French at the Front*, *Wake Up!*, “*That Goldheim!*”, “*Yellow*” *English* and those by Le Queux, followed the pre-war tradition of invasion/spy stories of being overwhelmingly right-wing in their political messages of blaming immigrants and Liberals for Britain’s problems. However, this does not mean supporters of the Liberal Party or even the Labour Party did not read these novels. Haldane and Simon accepted there was an all-encompassing German spy network as did *The Daily Chronicle*. But the political message imbedded in the novels suggests the targeted audience was either the same as that of *The Morning Post*, *The National Review*, *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* or it attempted to persuade readers to a Unionist and nationalistic viewpoint. The British Empire Union (BEU) took advantage of this war situation to publicise itself as a means of pushing forward its own jingoistic and protectionist agenda and to influence the general public to place pressure on politicians. “*That Goldheim!*” was just such an example of the BEU’s activities. The fact “*That Goldheim!*” was published demonstrates there was still a belief at the end of World War I that fiction could be used successfully in persuading people to a political position. What’s

more it is evident by Pemberton Billing's acquittal that there was still an audience at end of the war for spy literature.

Clearly there was some influence upon the Asquith government as was apparent by the round-up of spies and ever increasing toughening of DORA and internment of male alien enemy subjects which went against long established Liberal thinking. However, once again there was a dividing line between Liberals and Unionists. As before the war, Liberal newspapers as evident by the reaction by *The Daily News* and *The Daily Chronicle* to the Billing trial, condemned Unionist newspapers especially those of the 'Yellow Press' for whipping up a spy scare in order as they saw it to financially profit. Though the ideology behind much of British invasion/spy literature before the war had a politics of an 'Us' and 'Them' mentality this could equally be applied towards representations of British towards foreigners especially Germans during the war.

The concept of the gentleman in British spy literature during the war was used to reinforce the notion that British represented civilisation and Germans represented barbarism. This was much in the same way Richard Osborne believed writers of thrillers encouraged a contest between Good and Bad where Good was an English gentleman. The use of British gentleman spies as representing civilisation was a major shift away from the former uneasy distrust of spies and the use of disguises, reflecting the concern about Britain's security. The character of Hannay is a prime example of the acceptance of a need for spies. They could be gentlemen even if they had to pretend to be somebody else as they overall lived up to the expected standards of the gentleman hero. He lives to a gentlemanly code of ethics as shown when he cannot bring himself to shoot Schwabing

because it is not fair play. Furthermore Hannay is the idealised healthy sporty resourceful and independent patriot that was envisioned by Baden-Powell for his boy scouts and is pure in thought and deed making him a latter-day Galahad defending the Empire. This notion matched the propaganda during the war where the idealised notion of sport as fashioned by the Public Schools, was used widely to distinguish the British from the Germans such as when Lloyd George talking to an American audience referred to the British soldier as a good sportsman and Germans as bullying Belgium, or as seen in *Punch's* 'Prussianised Sport'. There were expectations to this idealism as shown by the criticism directed towards Compton Mackenzie's indiscreet conduct in contrast to Germans like Lody and ordinary German soldiers, who were deemed as qualifying as gentlemen because of their conduct and motivations.

Another portrayed difference of the British and Germans in being gentlemen was the treatment of women as nearly all the British heroes are courteous towards women while in marked contrast Germans are portrayed as behaving in the opposite way. This makes them uncivilised and a threat to civilisation, which is telling when the British hero has to rescue damsels in distress, who have been kidnapped or imprisoned by German spies or villains as in *Secret Service Seaplane*, *The Secret Monitor*, and *Mr. Standfast*. The plotline of women being abused ties into the image of reports and rumours that appeared in newspapers of the German army violating women in occupied Belgium and France. But this also belongs to the traditional stereotype of the damsel in distress often expressed in the spy story where the hero has to act as a knight-errant rescuing the heroine and thus ends up marrying as his reward for defeating the villain. Conversely some British spy literature during the war did contradict this position to suit the war situation when it has

women appearing in wartime occupations. These women act as if they are girl guides fulfilling the traditional feminine role of being a carer while having a new role as being adventurous which marked a change from the damsels in distress.

The portrayal of women in these occupations was not concerned about displaying the reality but, as in the case of *Munition Mary* and *A V.A.D. in Salonika*, it offered excitement to encourage young women particularly those from the upper-middle and upper classes to join wartime occupations by informing them it was a patriotic duty. The appearance of spies in *Munition Mary* and *A V.A.D. in Salonika* was not only to bring a sense of excitement but as a device to further illustrate that women's war work was as vital as capturing German spies or going to the front to fight. Creating a sense of national unity against a common foe in Germany, meant that any kind of class tension, which did actually exist in reality, was brushed over to focus on the action. These novels, with strong-minded heroines, suggested that the war had to a degree changed society's views as expressed by Mary Lamington's telling Hannay that his views about women being brittle have been proved false by the war. However, her position did not reflect the real situation for women in the intelligence service (none of whom were spies) but was part of a trend of single women generally from the upper and upper-middle-classes being increasingly employed as clerks and in other office jobs. And while in the literature there are displays of male prejudices against women being able to take on male activities (as their comment that women are as capable as men in fulfilling these roles) this is balanced by the fact all heroines have feminine qualities. This is displayed by Mary Howard crying in front of Sir Edward Harrison, Joan Edwards acting a nurse or by Mary Lamington comforting Sir Walter. These women are never manly in their manner nor are they 'new

women' but more like Girl Guides ready to do their duty and they are pure in deed. Even if, like Mary Lamington and Eileen Holland, they use their sexual attractiveness they always keep enough distance between themselves and the enemy to maintain respectability.

The female sexuality in British spy literature during the war did share an underlying theme of war spy scares that in Britain there were dangers from within and outside society that lurked hidden and would suddenly emerge to strike. At the beginning of the war this was mirrored by wartime legislation such as DORA and its consequent amendments and governmental and policing effects to control contact between women and men. In part this was aimed at restricting venereal diseases by focusing on women because sexually aware women went against the traditional British female role of being pure in thought and deed. These diseases were seen as a threat to the nation's fighting strength in the same light as foreigners in war were seen as a disease needing to be contained. As the war continued the political and social elite were seen as not just politically corrupt but also morally so, as expressed in "*Yellow*" *English*. The novel sees moral sexual corruption as being part of political corruption, which had assisted in the creation of a German spy network. These concerns of moral and political corruption reflected views held in the real world no more so than as exposed by the Billing trial where the given evidence seemed to have come directly from a sensational spy story. As such, spy stories like *Greenmantle*, where gender roles are reversed, hint that the war is a struggle between the civilisation of the West, namely Britain, and the barbarism of the East, namely Germany. Defeat for Britain and its allies would mark a new Dark Ages such as when ancient Rome fell to the Germanic barbarians.

Fear of something from either inside or outside British society was the primary concern for British invasion/spy literature from its beginning. It continued throughout the war, depending on international and domestic political circumstances, not the reality of spies or indeed of British society (especially women). It used recurring themes and situations while expressing certain prejudices by the reinforcement of the warning of the dangers to Britain and the Empire. British invasion/spy literature after the war would continue to be used as a vehicle to express various political fears. As before, the enemies would change depending on the domestic and international politics at the time, with Russians resuming their position as the main enemy though in the guise of Communists, while later Germans would resume this role as Nazis or those taking revenge for Germany's defeat in the war. The pre-war and war literature had a long-term legacy where a character like Richard Hannay would be continually referred to or as a model of the amateur gentleman British spy would appear in British spy literature decades afterwards. Many writers would model their characters on those that came earlier while for the most part women played minor roles in what Druce remarked as '...a repetitiousness which offers instant access to a familiar cast of characters and situations...'¹⁰¹⁷ for the reader to readily identify as belonging to a well-set storyline. This was that Britain had numerous enemies that sought its downfall along with what it stood for, namely fair play, and that being British was not only something to be proud of but that it was the best thing that a person could hope to be especially if they were a patriotic gentleman who voted Unionist/Conservative. Such prejudice would not be fully challenged until after World War II with the ending of Britain as a global power being with the loss of Empire.

¹⁰¹⁷ Druce, *This Day Our Daily Fictions*, 114.

Appendix 1

To John Buchan, Author of “Greenmantle,” “The Thirty-Nine Steps,” “The Power House” and other ingenious and delectable romances.

Lover and son of Scotland, in whose blood
 Surges the love of mountain and of flood;
 Marker of songs, master of nervous prose,
 Biographer of RALEIGH and MONTROSE;
 Mystic and man-at-arms, whose mental range
 Links wholesome fact with fancies passing strange;
 Hailing the Adventurers who crossed the foam
 And made Virginia’s soil their second home;
 Or breathing that enchanted air that thrills
 The lonely spaces of the haunted hills—
 With you, upon your magic carpet whirled,
 We light upon the roof-tree of the world;
 Or join the Company of La Marjolaine,
 Those “gallant gentlemen who fought in vain
 For those who knew not to resign or reign;”
 We share terrors that are his who roves
 Through Afric’s [sic] dim and demon-hunted groves;
 Or, soaring backward down gulf of time,
 Revisit Hellas in her golden prime,
 And, gazing in your magic crystal, see
 What lured the Lemnian to Thermopylæ.
 Most modern authors have their up and downs,
 But on your efforts Fortune never frowns.
 Renowned in letters ere the War began
 Your late achievements place you in van;

Historian, lecturer, “special,” novelist—
 All rôles come easy, for you have “the fist;”
 And yet the wonder ever daily grows
 How you contrive to run so many shows.
 But best of all the functions you assume
 Is that of finding antidotes to gloom;
 For when your story-telling fit is on
 You prove indeed another “glorious JOHN”
 Another “wizard of North,” whose art
 Brings welcome ease to many an aching heart.
 ’Tis headlong going; for one step of mine
 Your Pegasus can travel *Thirty-Nine!*
 And in *The Power House* of your brain there glows
 A ceaseless energy that scorns repose.
 MILTON’s sad shepherd twitched a mantle blue
 When seeking for fresh woods and pastures new,
 But you, to tend fresh glamour your scene,
 Invoke a prophet who is garbed in green.
 Still, in whatever hue your fancy choose
 To rob a spokesman of subversive views,
 It matters little; ‘tis the yarn you weave,
 O master of the art of make-believe,
 That holds us willing captives, loth to see
 The *Finis* that too soon must set us free.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁸ [Graves], ‘To John Buchan, Author of “Greenmantle,” “The Thirty-Nine Steps,” “The Power House” and other ingenious and delectable romances.’, *Punch*, vol. 151, 21 July 1916, 332.

Appendix 2

Bonaparte May Pass This Way

“Baby, baby, naughty baby,
 Hush, you squalling thing, I say;
 Hush your squalling, or it may be
 Bonaparte may pass this way.

Baby, baby, he’s a giant,
 Tall and black as Rouen steeple;
 And he dines and sups, rely on’t,
 Every day on naughty people.

Baby, baby, he will hear you
 As he passes by the house,
 And he, limb from limb, will tear you
 Just as pussy tears a mouse.”¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁹ Anonymous, ‘Bonaparte May Pass This Way’, 148.

Appendix 3

The Battle of Dorking (see “Blackwood” for May)

There’s a Tory alarmist article in Blackwood’s Magazine;

It’s called the “Battle of Dorking”, and has made a great sensation;

It’s put in the mouth of a Grandfather, who describes what he has seen,

When England was invaded, and ceased to be a nation.

It tells how a German army landed, somewhere ’twixt Deal and Dover,—

Our fleet, at the time, being, most of it, just where it should not have been;

How the few ships that were in the Channel were sunk, smashed, and sailed over;

How our Line, Volunteers, and Militia by the fore were chawed up clean:

How, about Leith Hill and Dorking, we got an awful thrashing,

And a second somewhere near Richmond; then further resistance was idle,

How through our suburban roofs and walls the German shells came crashing;

Till BISMARCK put his hook in our nose, and our jam his bridle;

By our bungling defence on land and sea shows us utter noodles and silly asses;

Paints our parlours and pantries made free with by High and Low German
fellers.

And harrows up the best feelings of *pater-* and *mater-familiases*

By describing British ratepayers shot down in their cellars,

While their fair-haired little darlings—which and horror even worsen is

Their gen’ral *bouleversement*, bombardment, *beating* and *bobbery*—

Are having their dear little brains dashed out at the doors of their own nurseries,

Till Old England is given up helpless to organised German robbery.

Her Colonies rent from her, her dependencies independent;

Her youth deserting her stagnant shores, no longer a land of Goshen;

Her manufactures gone with the coal, the basis of her ascendant;
 And BRITANNIA a rotten hulk upon an a idle ocean

So easy it is for the foe to invade this Mammon-worshipping island—
 So easy to prove the foundations we build our hopes on, vapour—
 So easy to turn a Channel of twenty miles' sea to dry land—
 So easy, in fact, to crumple up Old England-upon paper!

There's a fable, how once in ÆSOP's days a Man with a Lion beside him,
 Was admitting a group—say in Ebony—where some artist of the day¹⁰²⁰
 Had carved a Lion on the ground, and hunter triumphant astride him:
 "Behold", said the Man, "how human brains bring brute force under sway!

The Lion smiled—as one that smiles when treated to pompous platitudes—
 "Ah" said he, "my friend, if the sculptor had been Lion instead of Man,
 How easy it would have been for him to have reversed the attitudes,
 And, instead of the Man the Lion, made the Lion bestride the Man."

So Ebony's Article-writer might have shifted colours and figures—
 Have given England the Lion's part and Germany that of the mouse,
 Made *our* fleet floor *their* transport, *our* Enfields *their* needle- triggers,
 Had he put hailed from GLADSTONE's, 'stead of DIZZY's, side of the House

The "Battle of Dorking" he calls his fight—'tis clear he's no game chicken—
 In fact, I believe, that fighting fowls your Dorking's never are—
 Though they take kindly to cramming and when roasted are portly pretty
 picking—
 But *this* Dorking bird seems to be cross between Dung-hill Cock and *Canard*

War-Office and Admiralty may have their share of bungle and blunder;

¹⁰²⁰ Ebony, the hard blackwood, is played on *Blackwood's Magazine's* nickname of 'Maga'.

But JOHN BULL is not yet the brainless as that *Blackwood's* prophet would make him;

We may grudge the cost of our Army's strength, and of our Navy's thunder,

But if the British Lion's asleep, 'twill prove no joke to wake him.¹⁰²¹

¹⁰²¹ Anonymous, '*The Battle of Dorking* (see "Blackwood" for May)', *Punch*, vol. 70, May 20 1871, 207.

Appendix 4

The Great Tunnel Question

Horrible results anticipated.

May entail the need of an actual army.

Threatened appeal to the manhood of England.

It was a District passenger that sat
 Rocked like a babe within its mobile bed,
 And passing me his journal pointed at
 The above remarks and said:

“Some talk of sentiment that keeps us great—
 An island-race whose realm is on the sea;
 ‘Island’ be blowed! a smart and up-to-date
 Peninsula for *me!*

“‘Our sires were, Vikings? Full of virile grog
 They laughed,’ you say, ‘to ride the Channel’s swell’?
 That may be so; but as for *this* sea-dog—
 It makes him most unwell.

“That’s why I want a tube arranged below,
 To let my stomach, comfortably packed,
 Achieve the Channel half an hour or so
 Sooner and still intact.

“‘Romance of Nature’s bulwark?’ Rot, I say!
 If I can spare myself one bilious pang,
 I’ll give you Drake and Co.; they’ve had their day;
 Let the whole crowd go bang!

“But if this placid transit should imply
A Manhood-army as the only sure
Means to avert invasion entering by
The tunnel’s aperture,

“Then I’m against the project, teeth and claws;
For, though the Channel turns me vilely ill,
To have to help at need my country’s cause
Would turn me sicker still.”¹⁰²²

¹⁰²² O. S., ‘The Great Tunnel Question’, 20.

Appendix 5

Bernhardi's Apologia.

[In the New York Press the author of *Germany and the Next War* has explained the purity of his own and his country's attitude; and has followed up this defence with a *résumé* of the War, completely favourable to Germany, and corresponding in scarcely a single detail with the facts.]

I'm told they ask for bread and find
 Their staff of line a broken reed
 (No doubt a Teuton bluff designed
 To make the hearts of neutrals bleed);
 But you, BERNHARDI, you at least
 Need never know an aching hollow,
 Who have, for your perpetual feast,
 So many swelling words to swallow.

On these a siege you well might bear
 Such as Pzemysl never faced,
 And show at last, with hands in air,
 A heavy bulge about the waist;
 For, though the cud that you have chewed
 Has cost a deal of masticating,
 I think you never handled food
 So rich, so meaty, so inflating.

On this ambrosial forage fed
 You leave your rôle of warrior-seer,
 To re-create the past instead
 For long and innocent ears to hear;
 And in your twopence-coloured tract—
 Its Teuton touch so light and airy—

Dull History, disengaged from Fact,
Debouches on the bounds of Faerie.

I ask myself, as I survey
Your effect in *The New York Sun*,
“What will the other liars say
When they perceive their gifts outdone;
When they suspect, what now I know
Who hitherto retained a bias
In favour of the WOLFF Bureau—
That you’re the leading ANANIAS?”¹⁰²³

¹⁰²³ O. S., ‘Bernhardi’s Apologia’, 242.

Appendix 6

The Lost Legion

There's a Legion that never was 'listed,
 That carries no colours or crest.
 But, split in a thousand detachments,
 Is breaking the road for the rest.
 Our fathers they left us their blessing—
 They taught us, and groomed us, and crammed;
 But we've shaken the Clubs and the Messes
 To go and find out and be damned
(Dear boys!),
 To go and get shot and be damned.

So some of us chivvy the slaver,
 And some of us cherish the black,
 And some of us hunt on the Oil Coast,
 And some on the Wallaby track:
 And some of us drift to Sarawak,
 And some of us drift up The Fly,
 And some share our tucker with tigers,
 And some with the gentle Masai,
(Dear boys!)
 Take tea with the giddy Masai.

We've painted The Islands vermillion,
 We've pearled on half-shares in the Bay,
 We've shouted on even-ounce nuggets,
 We've starved on a Seedeboy's pay;
 We've laughed at the world as we found it,—

Appendix 7

Maxse

[The publication in the May issue of the *National Review* of Mr. Gladstone's *vers de société* on "Margot must be our excuse for printing the subjoined translation of a spirited unpublished poem by an August Personage which has enjoyed a considerable vogue in Court circles in Berlin.]

When the Reichstag is up, and poor BUELOW is able
To win a brief respite from wrangling with BEBEL,
Though I steer for the Mediterranean or Black Sea,
I cannot escape the surveillance of MAXSE.

If I go to Corfu in the search of some rest,
He discovers a sinister aim in the quest;
And though other opponents their efforts relax, he
Allows me no quarter, does LEOPOLD MAXSE.

I've long wished to visit the house of HALL CAINE,
A man of stupendous, Shakspearean brain;
But were I to land near the village of Laxey,
'Twould poison the island, according to MAXSE.

If I wish SCHOPENHAUER or KANT to discuss
With HALDANE or TWEEDMOUTH, he kicks up a fuss;
And when AVEBURY begs him to bury the axe, he
Replies, "Go to Potsdam," does Editor MAXSE.

I'd love to run over to London *incog.*,
And chat with Lord ESHER, that humorous dog;
I'd like to go whizzing about in a taxi,
If it weren't for the risk of detection by MAXSE

I can speak in six languages, paint and compose;
 I can scribble in verse just as fast as in prose;
 I can eat mutton cold—when it isn't too braxy;
 But I cannot allay the suspicions of MAXSE.

Do I favour the Junkers or yield to the mob,
 Do I flatter the TSAR or with ABUL hobnob,
 Is my attitude prudish or Maréchal SAXE-Y—
 It's exactly the same to this truculent MAXSE.

How then shall I please this implacable foe
 Whose censure pursues me whenever I go?
 Shall I shave my moustache, so ferociously waxy,
 In the hope of appeasing the anger of MAXSE?

Alas! Such expedients are destined to fail,
 Against such resentment no arts can prevail.
 And unless I retire to remote Cotopaxi,
 I never shall win the approval of MAXSE.¹⁰²⁵

¹⁰²⁵ [C. L. Graves & E. V. Lucas], 'Maxse', *Punch; or The London Charivari*, vol. 134, 6 May 1908, 339.

Appendix 8

The Hotel Scandal

My sons had left my tree-roof for the war.

But to my heart I said “Be not cast down!
The Briton’s motto, ‘Business as before,’
Appeals to me to-night in London Town.
Therefore, O! heart, let us go forth and dine,
And, as befits so a great of a celebration,
Fill high bumper with a sparkling wine,
Gift of a sister nation!

“See on this caravanserai there flies

The emblem of our well-loved native land,
Flanked by the banners of our staunch allies.

This is our mark!” We entered out of hand!
But who is this? Though all men look the same
(So runs the tag) who have an evening suit on,
I did not need to ask the waiter’s name,
To know him for a Teuton!

I called the manager and then and there,

I told him plainly to his anxious face,
His conduct was an honest trade’s despair,

And was, put to it plainly, a disgrace,
“You harbour alien enemies!” I cried,

“A crime as black as word as mine can paint it!”
He merely shrugged his shoulders and replied,

“Ja, dot vas allright, ain’ dt it?”¹⁰²⁶

¹⁰²⁶ Touchstone, ‘The Hotel Scandal’, 4.

Appendix 9

The Man Forsworn

Who draws to-day the unrighteous sword?
 Behold him stand the Man Forsworn,
 The Warrior of the faithless word,
 The pledge disowned, the conversant torn,
 Who prates of honour, truth and trust,
 Ere he profanes them in the dust.

When to yon fabric grey in fame,
 That Windsor lifts against the sky,
 In martial cloak the Kaiser came,
 We did not dream it cloaked a spy;
 Yet there he sat, as now we know,
 A guest, a kinsman, and a foe.

France was a gallant foe and fair,
 That looked us proudly in the face,
 With her frank eyes and freeborn air,
 And valour half-concealed in grace.
 Noblest of all with whom, we strove,
 At last she gives as noble love.

But he that took our proffered hand
 Thinking to take our birthright too,
 He, in this hospitable land,
 Bore him as only dastards do.
 Here, where the Earth still nurtures men,
 His hand shall soil not ours again.

We know his people great and strong;
 One such as these we cast not ours again,
 Our wonder is that they so long
 Suffer ungalled his bit and spur.
 'Tis with no heart of joy that we
 Arise to smite them on the sea.

Glory we count of lesser worth
 Thou wife and babe & hearth & house;
 Theirs is the mandate speeding forth
 Our steps of thunder on the foam;
 For them we fight for them, for them we stand,
 Yea, and for faith 'twixt land and land.

You that have linked your might with ours,
 To break his pride who breaks the laws,
 You wear to-day, mid perjured Powers,
 The armour of a spotless cause;
 Your legions march in Truth arrayed,
 And knightly Honour whets your blade.

From Baltic or Biscayan shores;
 Where Loire to the Atlantic runs;
 Where Volga to the Caspian pours,
 You have not poured in vain your sons.
 From laughing lands of Rhone & Seine
 You have not poured your sons in vain.

Let us a League of Man proclaim,
 Against such knavery 'neath a crown
 As would be rightly held no shame
 A swineherd and his fellow clown.

Shall all the false and creeping things.
 Find a last refuge among kings.

At least on this unageing throne,
 That baffles the long siege of Time,
 We have a monarch of our own
 To whom a crime is still a crime;
 And pure in aim there sits afar
 The patient, silent, storm-worn Tsar.

To one sole mortal it remained,
 One rash insulter of the Earth,
 To teach the world wherein he reigned
 How much a Kaiser's word is worth.
 A Kaiser's word, a Caitiff's vow!
 Well have we learned their value now.

Over the bland and kindly Day,
 Unseasonable Night he flings;
 Sinister darkness blear and grey,
 A horror of malignant wings.
 Pain and red havoc he bestows
 On them that only asked repose.

He is not hungrier for your lands
 Than he is thirsty for your seas.
 Smite him with all your thunderous hands,
 Fight him and smite him to his knees—
 You that on him and falsehood hurled
 Shall guard the buttress of the world.¹⁰²⁷

¹⁰²⁷ Watson, 'The Man Forsworn', *The Daily Chronicle*, 14 Aug. 1914, 2.

Appendix 10

A Reply to the German Paean of Hatred

With hoarse, brazen throat and harsh twisted Phrase,
 Venomous bombast, poisonous maze
 Of words that while with the dread of fate,
 Germans, you sing us your song of hate.

Listen and hear our message to you,
 Words as stubborn and will as true,
 Yours is the snarl of the beaten hound,
 The snap of the mole from underground.

Murder sown seas and spy-strewn port;
 The blood of your millions given for naught.
 Rapine and thunder pillage and theft,
 This is you warfare, of honour bereft.

Yours on that day was the hand that broke
 The peace of the world with one fierce stroke.
 Lustful for conquest, drunk with our pride
 On your head for ever the shame must abide.

Hate have we none, but Heaven lies our vow
 Your armies shall perish, your rulers shall bow
 To the Greater than Kultur, the Mightier than might
 To the God of battles, the Guardian of right.¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²⁸ E. Phillips Oppenheim, 'A Reply to the German Paean of Hatred', *The Daily Express*, 5 Dec. 1914, 4.

Appendix 11

The Islanders

Fenced by your careful fathers, ringed by your leaden seas,
 Long did ye wake in quiet and long lie down at ease;
 Till ye said of Strife, "What is it?" of the Sword, "It is far from our ken";
 Till ye made a sport of your shrunken hosts and a toy of your armed men.
 Ye stopped your ears to the warning—ye would neither look nor heed—
 Ye set your leisure before their toil and your lusts above their need.
 Because of your witless learning and your beasts of warren and chase,
 Ye grudged your sons to their sons to their service and your fields for their
 camping-place.
 Ye forced them glean in the highways the straw for the bricks they brought;
 Ye forced them follow in byways the craft that ye never taught.
 Ye hampered and hindered and crippled; ye thrust out of sight and away
 Those that would serve you for honour and those that served you for pay.
 Then were the judgements loosened; then was your shame revealed,
 At the hands of a little people, few but apt in the field.
 Yet ye were saved by a remnant (and your land's long-suffering star),
 When your strong men cheered in their millions while your striplings went to the
 war.
 Sons of the sheltered city—unmade, unhandled, unmeet—
 Ye pushed them raw to the battle as ye picked them raw from the street.
 And what did ye look they should encompass? Warcraft learned in a breath,
 Knowledge unto occasion at the first far view of Death?
 So? And ye train your horses and the dogs ye feed and prize?
 How are the beasts more worthy than the souls, your sacrifice?
 But ye said, "Their valour shall show them"; but ye said, "The end is close."
 And ye sent them comforts and pictures to help them harry your foes:
 And ye vaunted your fathomless power, and ye flaunted your iron pride,
 Ere—ye fawned on the Younger Nations for the men who could shoot and ride!

Then ye returned to your trinkets; then ye contented your souls
 With the flannelled fools at the wicket or the muddied oafs at the goals.
 Given to strong delusion, wholly believing a lie,
 Ye saw that the land lay fenceless, and ye let the months go by
 Waiting some easy wonder, hoping some saving sign—
 Idle—openly idle—in the lee of the forespent Line.
 Idle—except for your boasting—and what is your boasting worth
 If ye grudge a year of service to the lordliest life on earth?
 Ancient, effortless, ordered, cycle on cycle set,
 Life so long untroubled, that ye who inherit forget
 It was not made with the mountains, it is not one with the deep.
 Men, not gods, debased it. Men, not gods, must keep.
 Men, not children, servants, or kinsfolk called from afar,
 But each man born in the Island broke to the matter of war.
 Soberly and by custom taken and trained for the same,
 Each man born in the Island entered at youth to the game—
 As it were almost cricket, not to be mastered in haste,
 But after trial and labour, by temperance, living chaste.
 As it were almost cricket—as it were even your play,
 Weighted and pondered and worshipped, and practised day and day.
 So ye shall bide sure-guarded when the restless lightnings wake
 In the womb of the blotting war-cloud, and the pallid nations quake.
 So, at the haggard trumpets, instant your soul shall leap
 Forthright, accoutred, accepting—alert from the wells of sleep.
 So at the threat ye shall summon—so at the need ye shall send
 Men, not children or servants, tempered and taught to the end;
 Cleansed of servile panic, slow to dread or despise,
 Humble because of knowledge, mighty by sacrifice....
 But ye say, “It will mar our comfort.” Ye say, “It will minish our trade.”
 Do ye wait for the spattered shrapnel ere ye learn how a gun is laid?
 For the low, red glare to southward when the raided coast-towns burn?

(Light ye shall have on that lesson, but little time to learn.)
 Will ye pinch some white pavilion, and lustily even the odds,
 With nets and hoops and mallets, with rackets and bats and rods?
 Will the rabbit war with your foeman—the red deer horn them for hire?
 Your kept cock-pheasant keep you? —he is master of many a shire,
 Arid, aloof, incurious, unthinking, unthinking, gelt,
 Will ye loose your schools to flout them their brow-beat columns melt?
 Will ye pray them or preach them, or print them, or ballot them back from your
 shore?
 Will your workmen issue a mandate to bid them strike no more?
 Will ye rise and dethrone your rulers? (Because ye were idle both?
 Pride by Insolence chastened? Indolence purged by Sloth?)
 No doubt but ye are the People who shall make you afraid?
 Also your gods are many; no doubt but your gods shall aid.
 Idols of greasy altars built for body's ease;
 Proud little brazen Baals and talking fetishes;
 Teraphs of sept and party and wise wood-pavement gods—
These shall come down to the battle and snatch you from under the rods?
 From the gusty, flickering gun-roll with viewless salvoes rent,
 And the pitted hail of the bullets that tell not whence they were sent.
 When ye are ringed as with iron, when ye are scourged as with whips,
 When the meat is yet in your belly, and the boast is yet on your lips;
 When ye go forth at morning and the noon beholds you broke,
 Ere ye lie down at even, your remnant, under the yoke?

*No doubt but ye are the People—absolute, strong, and wise;
 Whatever your heart has desired ye have not withheld from your eyes.
 On your own heads, in your own hands, the sin and the saving lies!*¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁹ Rudyard Kipling, 'The Islanders', *The Times of London*, no. 36656, 4 Jan. 1902, 9.

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