

## CHAPTER ONE

### Community identity and the history of the Great War

#### Introduction

This is a study of local community identity before, during and after the First World War. With its concentrated focus on 1/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment, and the home-town communities of Bootle and Southport, the study is able to take a more holistic, yet still detailed, perspective than is possible in a more traditional, nationally-focused account. Where previous studies have tended to perpetuate the myth of a division between Home and War Front, often by their concentrating on one aspect or the other, this study sees the two Fronts as facets of the same community contribution to, and involvement in, the War effort.

Using these communities and their local Battalion to illuminate the relationship between the Fronts highlights the significance of community identity for the maintenance of morale amongst the troops and on the Home Front during the First World War. This community identity, or sense of belonging to a community, brought many disparate identities together on the basis of shared experiences of place, home, war and sacrifice. While particular identification with different communities or groups can be picked out, it is the coming together of these elements which produces a common denominator which is the local community. The most straightforward definition of that denominator is the geographic or spatial one, that small area of south west Lancashire between the Mersey and the Ribble from which the Battalion drew its companies including Bootle, the Unit's Headquarters, and Southport. The Battalion belonged to, represented, fought for, and to an extent embodied the communities from which it was drawn. Home communities and fighting unit gave meaning to each other's War effort.

In contrast, the traditional view of the Great War has been that there was a deep divide between the experiences of the Home and War Fronts. Beckett has noted that this myth of a gulf has been pursued by both social and military historians.<sup>1</sup> Hynes has shown that the Home-War Front divide had a lasting hold on the literature of the War. He has argued that culture during and following the War assumed 'there were two wartime worlds and an unbridgeable gap lay between them.'<sup>2</sup> The myth is one perpetuated by historians, with social and political historians focusing primarily on the Home Front while

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<sup>1</sup> Beckett, IFW *The Great War 1914– 1918* Pearson London 2001 pp. 2-3

<sup>2</sup> Hynes, S *A war imagined: the First World War and English culture* The Bodley Head New York 1990 p.116

military historians have concentrated on the battle front.<sup>3</sup> This local study will expose elements of this myth. While conceding that the links between community and Unit were weakened in the latter stages of the conflict, the study demonstrates ties were never broken and were afterwards renewed through memorialisation.

The significance of this unbroken contact lies in the extent of community identity's contribution towards a high level of morale and, subsequently, the importance of morale for combat effectiveness in the field. In parallel to this, on the Home Front, the local population demonstrated their commitment not just to the War as a whole, but specifically to the Battalion and Division which carried the local name. The Battalion provided a tangible link for the local people with the War which usually began with the family connections but which took it outside that personal connection to one which brought the whole local community together for support. By the end of the War, the whole community was actively engaged in the War effort, but while some were fighting on the Front Line, the others were working and making sacrifices at Home to keep the Front Line going.

One concern, as the War went on, was that the numbers of local men within the ranks of the Battalion decreased, which may have reduced a direct sense of belonging to the local community. However, this was at least partially countered by the maintenance of 'local' traditions by the survivors of the 1914 and 1915 volunteers and also by the influence of the Division in encouraging and championing the sense of belonging to Lancashire. Like McCartney, this study challenges the view that dilution amongst the ranks removed whatever local identity may have once existed.<sup>4</sup>

This study also impinges on associated areas of research. Although the key area is that of communities at war, there are references throughout to the nature of community, definitions of morale, the learning curve debate, memorialisation and commemoration. Two important sub-themes emerge. Firstly, the combat effectiveness of the Territorial Force and the development of tactics and strategy in 1917 and 1918 are addressed through the case study of the Battalion and its Division's performance. Secondly, a

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<sup>3</sup> For instance, Sheffield, GD *Forgotten victory - The First World War: myths and realities* Headline Publishing London 2002; Hart, P. *The Somme* Weidenfeld and Nicholson London 2005; Marwick, A *The Deluge: British society and the First World War* Macmillan Press London 1991 (1965); De Groot, GJ *Blighty: British Society in the era of the Great War*. Longman London 1996

<sup>4</sup> McCartney, HB "The 1/6<sup>th</sup> and 1/10<sup>th</sup> Battalions of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment in the period of the First World War" Unpublished PhD thesis Cambridge 2001 p.346

neglected element of postwar reconstruction is uncovered as part of the continued postwar links between the Home and War Fronts.

The 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's left for France in March 1915, joining the 2<sup>nd</sup> (Regular) Division, passing through the 7<sup>th</sup> (Regular) Division, until rejoining the 55<sup>th</sup> (West Lancashire) Territorial Division. They fought at Festubert, Guillemont, Ypres and Givenchy and returned to Britain in early 1919. While never regarded as elite troops, the Unit and the Division performed well and were relied upon in various crucial engagements of the War. This study seeks to establish the development of the 'learning curve' in the Unit and raises the wider issue of the role of the Territorial Force in the War, a somewhat neglected area of study. Neither the strategic historian, such as Griffith, nor the more battle-specific historian such as Sheffield, have identified the Territorials as a specific area of study.<sup>5</sup> Yet the sense of belonging to a Territorial Unit and of being the community champion becomes particularly relevant in the context of the morale of 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's at Givenchy.

In an examination of the nature, construction and forms of memorialisation and remembrance of the War, the thesis will focus on the postwar development of a nascent charitable twinning movement. This emphasises the role of the local communities as the link between Home and War Fronts, and their contribution to rebuilding shattered communities in France and Belgium. It is argued that the evidence of Southport's involvement in this movement is demonstration that the sense of community identity which existed during the War was maintained and focused after the War, over and above the examples of memorialisation seen elsewhere.

This study makes a small but important contribution to a growing body of work which considers the impact of a unique war on local communities, their involvement in that war, and their growth and development (metaphysically as well as tangibly) during this period. This study demonstrates that there is a need for a fuller analysis of the contribution of both Territorial and Service (Pals) Battalions and their parent communities to the War. Such an analysis would permit a more holistic view of their involvement so that, aside from historical accounts of individual units, the overall contribution in domestic, military, tactical and strategic terms may be examined. This study also highlights the paucity of material, certainly in English, on the reconstruction of France and Belgium and the wide ranging efforts and involvement of charities and other non-governmental organisations in that process. The debate on Reparations has largely obscured any assessment of this significant element of post-war work.

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<sup>5</sup> Sheffield, GD and Griffith, P – see various citations of their work below

## The study of identity on two Fronts

In the context of this being a study of a Territorial unit it seeks to highlight the importance of community identity as a principal feature of morale at Home and at the Front. In so doing, the study draws from two important aspects of the historiography. Firstly those writers who have sought to establish the significance of particular identities as being most important in their analyses of officers, men and the non-combatant population. Secondly, those writers who have highlighted a gulf between the Home and War Fronts, or between these particular identities.

Of the first strand, several writers have stressed that the key to understanding the nature of Territorial units lies in their social composition. Beckett's essay in *A Nation in Arms* provided an analysis of attitudes to, and social composition of the Territorials. He concluded that they 'were overwhelmingly a working-class movement'.<sup>6</sup> Sheffield found evidence of considerable numbers of working class volunteers, but concurred with Morris and Mitchinson by identifying that, other than particular elite units, the pre-War Territorial Army consisted of a large number of artisans and members of the lower and middle classes.<sup>7</sup> By 1915 there was a greater spread of experiences where some Battalions were clearly identified with a particular class or workplace or occupation, but the majority included a cross-section of the middle and working classes amongst their ranks.

There has also been considerable attention paid to the notion of a 'territorial ideal'. Territorials, often known as 'Terriers', had a distinct character and outlook, as well as being viewed by outsiders with some doubt and even contempt. Their *esprit de corps* and identification with their home town was every bit as important as the Regulars' regimental pride or the Pals' comradeship based upon community. Morris' study of the Leeds Rifles proved a significant contribution in showing the invaluable distinctions which the Terriers brought to the War.<sup>8</sup> In particular she highlighted their morale, their social cohesion and their community spirit. As McCartney has also found, the crucial

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<sup>6</sup> Beckett, IFW "The Territorial Force" in *A Nation in Arms: a social study of the British Army in the First World War* ed. IFW Beckett and K Simpson Tom Donovan Publishing London 1990 p.145

<sup>7</sup> Sheffield, GD *Leadership in the Trenches: Officer-Man Relations, Morale and Discipline in the British Army in the Era of the Great War* London 2000 p.14; Morris, P "Leeds and the amateur military tradition: the Leeds Rifles and their antecedents, 1859-1918" Unpublished PhD Leeds University 1983 p.274; Mitchinson, KW *Gentlemen and Officers: The impact and experience of war on a Territorial Regiment (London Rifles)* IWM London 1995 p.21

<sup>8</sup> Morris "The Leeds Rifles" pp. 403-430

element to their effectiveness proved to be the degree and persistence of local homogeneity in the unit.<sup>9</sup>

This 'broad church' was at the foundation of the morale and spirit which categorised the pre-War Territorials. However, in the battle situation it has been established that discipline tightened up. Sheffield has shown that the Territorial Force's attitude to discipline developed towards that expected in the Regular Army, but similarly, that the Regular Army found its rigidity needed to bend and flex to operate efficiently in battle.<sup>10</sup> One of Kitchener's principal complaints about the Territorials was this relaxed attitude to discipline, and the consequent effect on morale and combat effectiveness. Writers have shown that morale consisted of a number of elements. Baynes' study, *Morale*, makes this point very clearly, and although he looked at only a very brief period in the life of a regular battalion in one battle - 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion King's Liverpool were in reserve at Neuve Chapelle where Baynes' study was based - the elements and significance of morale remained the same, and are studied in chapters four and five.<sup>11</sup> The key to a successful unit was in finding the right combination of discipline and morale to allow it to function effectively.

While Peter Simkins has addressed a lot of the conceptual and organisational aspects of the recruitment to Kitchener's Armies, much remains unclear.<sup>12</sup> What drove a man to join Unit x or Unit y, when there were so many choices in a town like Bootle? Was it simply which queue was the shortest? One could conclude that the emphasis on local pride and the Pals was simply a new interpretation of the same story used to recruit to the Territorial Force before the War.

In dealing with issues at the Front, Sheffield placed emphasis on the 'regiment' as the key focus of attention and in particular argued, unconvincingly, that there were no class distinctions as such within the army, only army hierarchies.<sup>13</sup> Other studies have shown that no such claim could be made of society in general.<sup>14</sup> The importance of the class

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<sup>9</sup> McCartney, "The 1/6<sup>th</sup> and 1/10<sup>th</sup> Battalions of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment" p.81

<sup>10</sup> Sheffield *Leadership in the Trenches* pp. 27-28

<sup>11</sup> Baynes, J *Morale: A study of men and courage – the Second Scottish Rifles at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle 1915* Leo Cooper London 1987 pp.94-108

<sup>12</sup> Simkins, P *Kitchener's Army: the raising of the New Armies 1914-16* Manchester University Press Manchester 1988

<sup>13</sup> Sheffield *Leadership in the trenches* p.114

<sup>14</sup> Waites, B *A class society at War - England 1914-18* Berg Leamington Spa 1987; Wrigley, CJ ed. *A history of British industrial relations 1914-39* Vol.II Harvester Press Hassocks 1987; Winter, JM *Socialism and the challenge of War: Ideas and politics in Britain 1912- 1918*

debate to all aspects of Home society during the War has been presented by Waites, though his analysis does not stray into an assessment of class in the Services. The fact that Waites found little variation in society's structures and perceptions as a result of the War and, in fact, considerable continuity, should not negate the importance of other studies on the subject, notably those which have related to Liverpool. Analyses of dock labour and the Liverpool working class, as well as of women in particular, have shown that there were some significant changes in industrial relations on the dockside.<sup>15</sup> Such changes were related to other shifts in the political balance of society on Merseyside, including the importance of religion, and were evidence of the same thing found by Waites - a reinforcement of the institutionalism of industrial politics.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to class, gender was an important aspect of identity in the community. There has been argument over the extent to which women's position in society was improved as a result of the War or ongoing changes were accelerated by the War.<sup>17</sup> Despite women being involved in all aspects of mobilisation, including arms and food production, nursing at the Front and being part of the decision-making of organisations and agencies at local level, Braybon is not alone in suggesting that the actual changes to a woman's life after the War were less significant than the aspects of life which remained the same.<sup>18</sup> Nonetheless, Susan Kingsley Kent is clear that for many women the experience brought about a dramatic difference in attitudes to feminism during the inter-war years, in comparison to that of the Victorian and Edwardian views prevailing within the suffrage movement in 1914.<sup>19</sup> With widespread munitions and agricultural work in the region, as well as a well-developed Liberalism which allowed a range of suffrage organisations to prosper, the experiences of women in Bootle and Southport is an important study in its own right thus far only tangentially touched upon.

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London 1974

<sup>15</sup> Adams, AJ "Working class organisation, industrial relations and the labour unrest 1914 – 21" Unpublished PhD Leicester 1988; Humphreys, BP "Experiences of and attitudes towards working class women in Liverpool and its surrounding area during the First World War" Unpublished MA dissertation University of Lancaster 1984; Stephens, AP "Dock Labour in the Port of Liverpool 1890-1914" Unpublished MSocSc thesis University of Birmingham 1981; Bean, R "Custom, job regulation and dock labour in Liverpool 1911-39" *The International Review of Social History* 1982; Bean, R "Police unrest, unionisation and the 1919 strike in Liverpool" *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol.15 1980; Taplin, E *Near to revolution: the Liverpool general transport strike of 1911* Bluecoat Press Liverpool 1994

<sup>16</sup> Waites *A class society at War* p.279; Waller *Democracy and sectarianism: a political and social history of Liverpool 1868-1939* Liverpool University Press Liverpool 1981

<sup>17</sup> Bourne, JM *Britain and the Great War 1914-1918* Edward Arnold London 1989 pp.195-197; Marwick *The Deluge*: pp.30-31.

<sup>18</sup> De Groot *Blighty* p.305; Braybon "Women and the War" in *The First World War in British History* pp. 141 - 167

<sup>19</sup> Kent, S Kingsley "Love and Death: War and Gender in Britain 1914-1918" in *Authority, Identity and the Social History of the Great War* pp. 153 - 174

In contrast to the proposition that there is one single element which defines a group more than any other, such as Waites' emphasis on class, or Sheffield's reliance on the regiment, Joyce has argued that there are simply many different and conflicting identities within any given community and it would be wrong to highlight one as being more preponderant than another.<sup>20</sup> For Joyce, however, it is still the conflicts and divisions which these different identities bring which show that a large grouping such as class or gender is a difficult concept to defend.<sup>21</sup> What this thesis argues is that the sense of identity or the belonging to a community which is felt by the members of that community is not the result of an artificial construct or definition. It is instead the result of the positive and combining elements of many different experiences which nonetheless have some commonality. There is a shared experience which brings together the main elements which go towards creating a feeling of community. This sense remains imprecise purely because it is a vital and evolving entity but it is nonetheless apparent.

The studies of the Territorials and of civilian society at war referred to above have addressed a plethora of issues but have tended to restrict their substantive arguments to particular groups or identities. Moreover, they have been written in the context of such identities creating division and separation. This strand of study of the War has, in Hynes' mind, perpetuated the myth of separation and division.<sup>22</sup> If Tawney is credited as being one of the earliest to identify the concept of a gulf between the Home and the War Fronts,<sup>23</sup> by the end of the Twenties it had become what Hynes went on to call an established 'myth'.<sup>24</sup> But the status of a gulf as 'myth' has been constantly challenged. On the one hand, Fuller referred to the 'gulf in spirit between the Home Front and the front line' as being particularly highlighted during a period of leave.<sup>25</sup> Fussell asserted that men felt estranged from everyone back in England in a division which was 'severe and uncompromising'.<sup>26</sup> Fussell went on to argue that even civilians who had been interested would not have been able to understand the War without experiencing it.<sup>27</sup> However, Bourne has somewhat tempered this view, believing that soldiers in France

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<sup>20</sup> Joyce, P *Visions of the people* Cambridge University Press Cambridge 1991 p.12

<sup>21</sup> Joyce, P "The end of social history" in *Social History* vol.20 No.1 p.82

<sup>22</sup> Hynes *A war imagined* p.459

<sup>23</sup> Tawney, RH in *The Nation* 21st October 1916

<sup>24</sup> Hynes *A war imagined* p.x

<sup>25</sup> Fuller, JG *Popular culture and troop morale in the British and Dominion Armies 1914 – 1918* Clarendon Press Oxford 1990 p.73

<sup>26</sup> Fussell, P *The Great War and modern memory* Oxford University Press Oxford 1977 p.86

<sup>27</sup> Fussell *The Great War and modern memory* p.87

and Flanders were 'never entirely severed from civilian society.'<sup>28</sup> Ironically, De Groot's attempt to present an integrated assessment of society at war, highlighted a chasm not only between fighters and civilians, but between men and women.<sup>29</sup>

This study will demonstrate that there is considerable evidence to support the theory that the separation between civilians and those who fought was neither as severe as others have proposed, nor as enduring. Pieces of this evidence derived from different times and places go together to prove the existence of the separation, though some evidence is more tangible than others. The community identity which grew in the 1/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion and later within the Division, was something based on joining up with your mates from the same street or the same place of work. It was fostered by naming trenches after those streets in your local town. It was reinforced by wearing a red rose. It was exulted by your success in battle. It was remembered by the local war memorial.

Ultimately, this sense of community and belonging was about reliance, support and cohesiveness and these are also the key requirements for an effective combat unit. Major-General Jeudwine Commander of 55<sup>th</sup> Division, of which 1/7 Kings was a unit for most of the War wrote, in one of his first instructions on training to the new division in January 1916: 'Every endeavour should be made to inculcate mutual confidence, cohesion, and the spirit of combination'.<sup>30</sup>

Joyce is correct to highlight the 'variety of populisms' which demonstrate that social identities overlap with increasing complexity.<sup>31</sup> This notion is particularly relevant to the study of a community at war, a point reinforced by the collected works of both Coetzee and Shevin-Coetzee and also Constantine et al.<sup>32</sup> Delineation of enemy and friend is central to a war, even at home, where propaganda and events caused several riots against British residents of Germanic origin.<sup>33</sup> Identification with other groups was also important, and could cross different boundaries. Gender, class, religion and politics were

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<sup>28</sup> Bourne, J "The British working man in arms" in *Facing Armageddon: the First World War experienced* Leo Cooper London 1996 p.339

<sup>29</sup> DeGroot *Blighty* p.70

<sup>30</sup> WO95/2899 55<sup>th</sup> Division General Staff War Diary 7th January 1916

<sup>31</sup> Joyce *Visions of the People* p.8

<sup>32</sup> Coetzee, F and Shevin-Coetzee, M ed. *Authority, identity and the social history of the Great War* Bergahn Books Providence Oxford 1995; Constantine, S, Kirby, M.W and Rose, M.B ed. *The First World War in British history* Edward Arnold London 1995

<sup>33</sup> Haste, C *Keep the Home Fires Burning: Propaganda in the First World War* Allan Lane London 1977; Panayi, P *The enemy in our midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War* Berg Leamington Spa 1991; Panayi, P "The Lancashire anti-German riots of May 1915" in *Manchester Region History Review* 1988 Vol. 2 pp 3-11



the main areas of identification, but these were blurred in the factories or in the fields as much as within a Battalion. For example, despite evidence of a strong sectarian divide in Bootle and Liverpool, the Easter Rising in Dublin in 1916 had little effect in Merseyside, and even less in the Battalion where Catholic fought shoulder to shoulder with Protestant, Atheist or Jew.<sup>34</sup> Another example lay with gender, where a strong women's movement in Southport followed the national lead and concentrated on welfare and care work for wounded soldiers, while industry working on munitions and military supplies took on local women to work alongside the badged and exempted men.<sup>35</sup>

The studies of social composition of Territorial units have clearly demonstrated a wide range of backgrounds and experiences which produced a variety of complementary and competing factors with which to identify themselves including class, religion, occupation, gender, sexuality, social status and home town.<sup>36</sup> Ferguson, in researching why men fought on, argued that comradeship within the Unit was important alongside collective identities, at regimental, regional and national level.<sup>37</sup> Bourne agreed, calling these elements 'patriotisms'.<sup>38</sup> This shared sense that the soldier was fighting for the home, the family and the community with which he identified, was significant. The study intends to show that at least some of this common identity was engendered by the Army. Thus, home was put on a pinnacle throughout the time abroad and, when the soldier saw it again on leave, if invalided out, or on demobilization, the anecdotal disappointment has to be seen in terms of this identification.<sup>39</sup>

Similarly, the identification of a family or local community with the soldier son or husband, as well as his battalion, regiment and division gave a point to the work and hardships being suffered at home. Thus the community followed the progress of the local unit, knitted socks to be sent to that same battalion and, in the absence of their own

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<sup>34</sup> Adams "Working class organisation, industrial relations and the labour unrest 1914-21" ; Belchem, J *Popular politics, riot and labour: Essays in Liverpool history 1790-1940* Liverpool 1992

<sup>35</sup> Humphreys "Experiences of and attitudes towards working class women in Liverpool"; Brogden, M *On the Mersey Beat: Policing Liverpool between the Wars* Oxford 1991; *Votes for Women: the events on Merseyside 1870-1928* National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside Liverpool 1992

<sup>36</sup> Patrick Joyce asserted that relations between identities were automatically in conflict, 'plural, diverse and volatile': "The end of social history?" in *Social History* Vol, 20 No.1 p.82

<sup>37</sup> Ferguson, N *The Pity of War* Allen Lane London 1998 p.446

<sup>38</sup> Bourne *Britain and the Great War* pp. 218-9

<sup>39</sup> Leed, E *No man's land: Combat and identity in World War 1* Cambridge University Press Cambridge 1979; also references in published memoirs including: Mottram, RH *The Spanish Farm Trilogy 1914-1918* Penguin London 1979 (1927) pp. 497-8; Sassoon, S *The complete memoirs of George Sherston* Faber and Faber London 1972 p.387

sons, adopted the troops billeted locally in the hope that some mother on the south coast was doing the same for their son.

### **Structure of the thesis**

The thesis is structured first to expose the nature of the communities which established a soldier's identity, and then to examine the extent to which this impacted on the Home and War Fronts. It culminates in an analysis of the importance of community identity in the immediate postwar period.

In chapter two of this study it will become clear that the socio-economic community of Bootle and Southport was quite diverse leading to the expectation that the Battalion which derived its men in a direct ratio to the population of the two towns would be similarly diverse. Evidence of the slum background of men from Bootle and the postwar visits by Southport schoolboys to the graves of their teachers demonstrates predictable differences between the two communities. However there is no particular evidence to suggest that these volunteers to arms were greatly different to those in other Territorial battalions except possibly for the high numbers of enlistments from the Bootle area. It is the sheer volume which suggests that more than just artisans and lower middle class professionals were filling the ranks, but dockworkers and, because there was no great immediate outcry about employment problems, more particularly casual dock labour too.

Chapter two will also demonstrate the level of commitment from both halves of the community, in terms of combatants and non-combatants. While the volunteers to this and other services were training and mobilising, leading elements in the local community were organising fundraising and support events, or dealing with the demands of billeting troops from other units. The theme of there being one community fighting the War, divided only by the actual activity they were engaged in, is pursued through the study.

The study examines some of the activities and motivations of women during this early period of the conflict as one indicator of morale and commitment on the Home Front. This comes about partly through an examination of employment, but more specifically in relation to their own physical engagement on the streets in protest at the sinking of the **Lusitania**. Later in the study, their commitment, and more particularly their sacrifice, is examined further in relation to their role in the munitions industry, and when considering the importance of postwar remembrance to the community as a whole.

Chapter three is an examination of the battle of Festubert, an action which provided a defining moment for the Battalion and the home community. Later, when numbers of local men in the Battalion had fallen to nearly half of the complement, the importance of being a survivor and a Festubert veteran took on new resonance and provided yet another focus of identity. Through the rest of the War and into the postwar period, the survivors of this battle were the key local survivors of the War as whole. They influenced the nature of the Battalion and maintained its link with the Battle of Festubert and hence the link with the local volunteers. This was a link which was further emphasised in the adoption of the village in 1921 for rebuilding and support, and also in the additional remembrance ceremonies associated with the date of the battle. For the men who fought there and for the communities at Home, the battle was a key factor in shaping their shared experience of the War and their continued commitment to it.

The other battle engagements of the Battalion are important strands of one of the subsidiary foci of this thesis - the development and significance of the Territorial Force within the BEF. The 55<sup>th</sup> Division has been identified as one of the more reliable and effective divisions, even as part of an elite group by some. Its role in developing all-arms tactics, improving training and communication and in learning from one engagement to the next is therefore a good example of a reasonably typical Territorial division. The efforts of its commander, Major-General Jeudwine, in particular are significant in terms of tactical developments for the whole BEF and it was his offensive defence and his Corps commanders confidence in him, which held the line at Givenchy in 1918. His own worth was seen in his postwar career in Germany and Ireland.

As well as his importance for training, however, his reputation was for strict discipline. At the same time as Jeudwine encouraged and fostered the importance of the red rose and the Lancashire identity for his West Lancashire Division, the evidence of the disciplinary record demonstrates that he was effective in maintaining a high level of morale and the thesis contends that these two aspects were inherently connected. The thesis also argues that this was the basis for the effectiveness in combat at various junctures in the War before other events beyond the Division's control took hold.

The local reaction to the stand at Givenchy is analysed, providing further evidence of the relevance of success in combat for the links with the local community. In particular for 7<sup>th</sup> and other Battalions in the 55<sup>th</sup> Division who had fought at Festubert, this area of the Lys battlefield held a resonance beyond the end of the War. While Southport had links with Festubert itself, Liverpool, the home of the Division as well as the Liverpool Regiment,

attached itself to Givenchy. The whole community was able to recognise the significance of the sacrifices made here as part of its mutual remembrance of the War.

However, chapters four and five will also demonstrate the way in which relations became strained. While the Division earned some respect and mixed success on the battlefield, the numbers of men from Southport and Bootle in the ranks of the Battalion and the Division started to fall, partly through casualties and partly through the drafting of conscripted men without geographical connections. This was countered by Jeudwine's drive to maintain that sense of belonging and community connection with Lancashire and Lancastrian tradition. In this he was successful, even to the point of being castigated for creating a Lancashire graveyard on the Somme.

At home, the civilian part of the community was making its own sacrifices, especially women. The growth of the munitions industry brought with it mixed fortunes for the working woman – independence and improved standards of living, certainly for a limited period – but also the dangers to health and safety of the explosives factories. Nor was the local population in general safe from the fumes and dangers of explosions. Their sanguine approach to these dangers demonstrated their own degree of commitment to the community and the Battalion's War effort.

In the final chapter the thesis analyses examples of community cohesion and the shared sense of experience and belonging created by the memorialisation movement. The majority response to the subscription to and erection of memorials, civic and military, was one of mutuality. These events were marked by their links with the local Battalion and the veterans of the campaign. If the driving force behind the memorial was the home community anxious to praise and remember, in equal measure, their own boys and the dependents of the dead, this was not to the exclusion of other groups. The military establishment too was keen to maintain the sense of community and involvement after the War through clubs and comrades associations, and reunions linked to anniversaries of key events.

The chapter provides the clearest evidence of a shared community experience and identity through a study of the adoption of French towns by an English community whose Battalion's dead lay in that foreign soil. This development had its roots in the mutual sense of identity between the local community and the Battalion and sought to put these elements to effective and constructive use after the War.

## The Military Context

Without wishing to further perpetuate the concept of division between Home and Front it is important to assess some of the historical contributions which have established the military and the community contexts for this thesis. The division continues to be reflected in the work of historians and in the media.<sup>40</sup> While this is understandable to some extent, given the scale of the War and its myriad topics, it is still disappointing that so many writers perpetuate this emphasis on either the military or the social aspect at the expense of the other.

Military histories were very common throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Primarily these were accounts of particular units and 'their War'. Many were commissioned as a memorial to the men who had been lost and they have a largely uncritical style being particularly strong in heroic deeds, the steadfastness of the men and, especially, the commanding abilities of leading officers. Many were also written by people who had either been directly involved in the conflict - or were in contact with those who had.<sup>41</sup> Some individual writers were prolific in their production of such volumes. Colonel H C Wylly, in addition to those listed below, wrote the first two volumes of the history of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, a history of two battalions of the Leicestershires and one on the Green Howards, all published between 1923 and 1932.<sup>42</sup> The principal skill required in writing these histories or accounts was an ability to make War Diaries more readable.

Their proliferation reinforced the emphasis on the need to identify with the regiment or division as a key element in sustaining the morale of the men. They were frequently

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<sup>40</sup> Sheffield, GD *The Somme* Cassell London 2003; Hart *The Somme*; to a large extent, Beckett *The Great War 1914 – 1918*; De Groot *Blighty* and *The First World War* Palgrave London 2001; and the Channel Four series accompanied by Strachan, H *The First World War* Simon & Schuster London 2003

<sup>41</sup> Examples include: Hodgkinson, Capt. A *The King's Own Territorial Forces - being a record of the 1/5 Battalion of the King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment in the European War 1914-18* Lewis Press Manchester 1921; Latter, Maj.Gen. JC *A History of the Lancashire Fusiliers 1914-18* Volume 1. Gale and Polden Aldershot 1949; Wadham, Lt.Col. WFA and Crossley, Capt. J *The Fourth Battalion The King's Own (Royal Lancaster) Regiment and the Great War* Crowther and Goodman London 1935; Wylly, Col. HC *The Loyal (North Lancashire) Regiment* Royal United Services Institute London 1932; Wylly, Col. HC *The History of the Manchester Regiment (late 63rd and 96th Foot)* (2 volumes) Forster, Groom and Co. London 1923-25; Wylly, Col. HC *The York and Lancaster Regiment 1758-1919* (2 volumes) Butler and Tanner Ltd. Richmond 1930; *War History of the 1st/4th Battalion The Royal North Lancashire Regiment now the Loyal Regiment 1914-18* George Toulmin and Sons Ltd. Preston 1921

<sup>42</sup> Bond, RC *History of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry* (3 Volumes) Percy Lund, Humphries and Co. Bradford 1930 [Volumes 1 and 2 by Wylly]; Wylly, Col. HC *The Green Howards in the Great War 1914-19* Butler and Tanner Ltd. Richmond 1926; Wylly, Col. HC *The History of the 1st and 2nd Battalions the Leicestershire Regiment in the Great War* Gale and

commissioned by the regiment as an act of memorialisation. In this sense they could have provided a useful social work function in gradually assisting men back into civilian society after the trauma of war, giving them something to grasp in a period of great uncertainty. In the event, they were unlikely to have been widely available to ordinary soldiers, while the evidence collected for their production by the authors came from the officers, not the men. Nonetheless, those involved in ex-comrades associations may have had wider access to them. Some histories were of a division, others the regiment or just individual units. As a result, some Territorial Battalions had histories of their own. There appears no external logic to which units may or may not have had their deeds written up.

Although no study of 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion, King's Liverpool Regiment exists, there are a number of studies of closely connected units. Wyrall's overall history of the Regiment during the War remains the definitive version.<sup>43</sup> The difficulty with Wyrall's account, worthy and comprehensive as it is, is that it tends to be incoherent, jumping from the narrative of one Battalion to that of another. In nurturing the honours and traditions of the Regiment, it was not able to take a strategic view of particular events as there were, inevitably, many other Battalions involved from other Regiments. The Regimental historian rarely dealt with a solitary fighting unit. As a history of the most consistent and significant Army unit, the division, Coop's narrative of 55<sup>th</sup> Division, commissioned by the West Lancashire Territorial and Auxiliary Force Association in 1919, is therefore potentially a much more relevant account.<sup>44</sup> The advantage of the Regimental history, however, was the attention paid to the individual Battalions, particularly useful if the original source material has been lost or destroyed. Coop's work only focused on particular units if they were key to a specific action or to a point he wished to make. The 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's fought most closely with 1/5<sup>th</sup>, 1/6<sup>th</sup> and 1/9<sup>th</sup> Battalions of the King's Regiment, even prior to the reforming of the 165<sup>th</sup> (Liverpool) Brigade in the West Lancashire Division in 1916. Tilsley's oft-quoted *Other Ranks* was based on a sister brigade, 164<sup>th</sup>, and McCartney's thesis on 1/6<sup>th</sup> King's and the Liverpool Scottish has covered related ground to this

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Polden Aldershot 1928

<sup>43</sup> Wyrall, E. *The History of the King's Regiment (Liverpool) 1914-19* (3 volumes) Edward Arnold London 1935. Like Wylly, Wyrall was a prolific military writer whose other works included – *The West Yorkshire Regiment in the War 1914-18* (2 volumes) The Bodley Head London 1924-7; *The East Yorkshire Regiment in the Great War 1914-18* Harrison London 1928; *The History of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry 1914-19* Methuen London 1932; *The History of the 2nd Division 1914-18* Thomas Nelson London 1921; *The Gloucestershire Regiment in the War 1914-18* Methuen London 1931; *The Die-Hards in the Great War: A History of the Duke of Cambridge's Own (Middlesex Regiment) 1914-19* (2 volumes) Harrison and Sons London 1926-30; *The History of the Somerset Light Infantry (Prince Albert's) 1914-19* Methuen London 1927

<sup>44</sup> Coop, Rev. JO *The Story of the 55th (West Lancashire) Division 1916-1919* Liverpool Daily

study.<sup>45</sup> In addition, the number of related accounts of Liverpool's Territorials means that a new appraisal of the Regiment during the War is now required to update Wyrall's efforts.<sup>46</sup>

While unit histories were both specific and unconnected with each other, the Government sanctioned a comprehensive record of the War in the *Official History*.<sup>47</sup> Though the later volumes have sometimes been discredited, at the start of the project, the *Official History* was going to be the definitive work on the War, based on as many interviews and contributions as possible.<sup>48</sup> This, in part, explains the lack of tactical or strategic discussion in the unit histories, although the main purpose of these histories was rarely intended to be analytical. As a result, some events in the unit histories may now appear to have more significance than when the same event was recorded in the *Official History*.

Any analysis of the Territorial Force during the War has tended to be part of a wider study. There has been no real attempt to study their wider military contribution in depth, or in isolation. Studies of particular battles or campaigns have tended to analyse the contribution of all units involved and, where relevant, this has included Territorial units.<sup>49</sup>

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Post Liverpool 1919

<sup>45</sup> Tilsley, VW *Other ranks* Cobden-Sanderson London 1931; McCartney "The 1/6<sup>th</sup> and 1/10<sup>th</sup> Battalions of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment in the period of the First World War"

<sup>46</sup> Burke-Gaffney MC, Lt.Col. JJ *The Story of the King's Regiment 1914-48* Sharpe and Kellet Liverpool 1954; Threlfall, TR *The Story of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment, formerly the 8th Foot Country Life* London 1916; Wurtzburg, Capt. CE *The History of the 2/6th (Rifle) Battalion, the King's (Liverpool) Regiment 1914-19* Gale and Polden Aldershot 1920; McGilchist, AM *The Liverpool Scottish 1900-1919 (1/10th and 2/10th King's)* Henry Young Liverpool 1930; Giblin, H *Bravest of Hearts: The Biography of a Battalion - The Liverpool Scottish in the Great War* Winordie Liverpool 2000; *The Record of the 11th Battalion of the King's (Liverpool) Regiment, August 1914- March 1919* RE Thomas and Co. Liverpool 1920; Roberts, EHG *The study of the 9th King's in France* Northern, Liverpool 1922; Bigwood, G *The Lancashire Fighting Territorials* Country Life 1916; Brown, JH "The King's Regiment (Liverpool) – 1 Liverpool's Volunteers and Territorials and their Shako, Helmet and Cap Badges" *The Bulletin of the Military Historical Society* Vol.IV No.14 Nov.1953 pp23-7; Moore, Lt.Col.(TD) AJ "The Territorial Battalions of the King's" *Stand To!: The Journal of the Western Front Association* No.49 April 1997; Stanley, Brig.Gen. FC *History of the 89th Brigade 1914-18* Liverpool 1919

<sup>47</sup> Volumes of *The Official History* most relevant to this study: Edmonds, JE and Wynne, GC *1915, December 1914- May 1915* London 1927; Edmonds, JE and Wynne, GC *1915, Aubers, Festubert and Loos* London 1928; Edmonds, JE *1916 to July 1* London 1932; Edmonds, JE *1916, July 2 to End of Somme Battles* London 1938; Edmonds, JE *1917, Messines and Passchendaele* London 1949; Miles, W *1917, the Battle of Cambrai* London 1949; Edmonds, JE *1918, March-April* London 1937; Edmonds, JE *1918, May-July* London 1939; Edmonds, JE *1918, August 8 – September 26* London 1947; Edmonds, JE *1918, September 26 - November 11* London 1949

<sup>48</sup> See below for an appraisal of the *Official History* as a source for this study

<sup>49</sup> Clark, A *The Donkeys* Pimlico London 1991 (1965); Passingham, I *Pillars of Fire: the Battle of Messines Ridge June 1917* Sutton Stroud 1998; Steel, N and Hart, P *Passchendaele: the sacrificial ground* Cassell & Co. London 2000

Recent re-evaluations of the Somme and the events of 1918 by Gary Sheffield, have attempted to provide interpretations of particular events within a more holistic appraisal of the strategic developments of the War, drawing attention to Territorial units where appropriate.<sup>50</sup> Griffith's more general study of tactics and strategy referred to the Territorials within the context of the overall study of the BEF and he did not consider the Territorials separately in terms of tactics, except to try and point to a hierarchy of divisions in which Regular units were to the fore.<sup>51</sup> In his time-limited review of the Hundred Days, Simkins, in contrast, suggested that New Army divisions were the more prominent divisions.<sup>52</sup>

Although work on the Pals battalions as a whole has also been limited, there are many extant accounts of individual Pals battalions, including the series which has attempted to cover some of the more well-known units.<sup>53</sup> These recent studies have built on the romantic and tragic histories but have sought to examine the community as a whole. Although the Liverpool Regiment is famous for its Pals battalions due to Lord Derby launching the idea in Liverpool, it also had a high number of Territorial battalions.<sup>54</sup> Derby's role in establishing the Pals as a notion, and an entity, primarily though not exclusively in the North of England, has never been fully explored. Lord Derby was and remained hugely committed to the Territorial Force, yet at times appeared to give more attention as Kitchener's recruiting sergeant to the new Service battalions. These new units, especially the locally raised units (Pals) were, ironically, built on the notions of local community pride and identity, not dissimilar to that forged within the existing Territorial Force.

Regardless of the abilities of the battalion as a combat unit, or of the platoon or the division, success depended to a great extent on the tactics handed down from GHQ and the overall strategy within which the operations were occurring. From the *Official History* onward, there has been a plethora of studies of tactics and strategy in the Great War, particularly on the extent of blame which can be apportioned to Haig and his commanders. Some, including attempts to present a wider biography in the context of

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<sup>50</sup> For example, in relation to 46<sup>th</sup> (Midland) Division (TF): Sheffield *Forgotten Victory* p.251; Sheffield *The Somme* pp. 41-47

<sup>51</sup> Griffith, P *Battle tactics of the Western Front: the British Army's art of attack 1916-18* Yale University Press New Haven 1994 pp.80-81

<sup>52</sup> Simkins, P "Co-Stars or Supporting Cast? British Divisions in the 'Hundred Days', 1918" in *British Fighting Methods in the Great War* ed. P.Griffith Frank Cass London 1996 p.64

<sup>53</sup> Pen and Sword/Leo Cooper publications: in addition to Liverpool, volumes include Birmingham, Accrington, Leeds, Barnsley, Sheffield, Salford, Hull, Newcastle and Manchester.

<sup>54</sup> Maddocks, G "Remembering the Liverpool Pals" *Bulletin of the Western Front Association*



the First World War, have focused on Haig's own role.<sup>55</sup> However, more recent works have tried to address the military rather than the personal issues.<sup>56</sup> Sheffield and Bourne have returned to the personal angle in an attempt to revise the popular picture of what Winter called the 'fiction' of 'Haig's Command.'<sup>57</sup> Within such a range of assessments the extent of direct relevance to this study of 7<sup>th</sup> King's is limited. General appraisals of events which the Battalion experienced are useful, such as on the Somme, at Passchendaele and in the initial 1918 Spring Offensive.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, some key experiences in the Battalion's War - Festubert and the German offensive in April 1918 - have barely received any historical assessment.<sup>59</sup>

Griffith's analysis of the development of training and the emphasis on all-arms tactics as important elements in the effectiveness of a Division was reflected in the evidence relating to 7<sup>th</sup> Liverpool which shows this progression over the four years of the War.<sup>60</sup> Despite the Pyrrhic victory at Passchendaele, it was clear from Lee's brief analysis that

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No.42 June 1995; Maddocks, G *The Liverpool Pals* Leo Cooper London 1991

<sup>55</sup> Terraine, J *Douglas Haig: The educated soldier* Cassell & Co. London 1963; de Groot, G *Douglas Haig, 1861-1928* London 1988; Hussey, J "A contemporary record or post-war fabrication? The authenticity of the Haig diaries for 1914" *Stand To!; The Journal of the Western Front Association* No.42 January 1995; Laffin, J *Butchers and Bunglers of World War 1* Alan Sutton Stroud 1988; Travers, T *The Killing Ground: The British Army, the Western Front and the emergence of modern warfare 1900-1918* Routledge London 1993

<sup>56</sup> Travers, T *How the War was won: Command and Technology in the British Army on the Western Front 1917-18* Routledge London 1992; Prior, R and Wilson, T *Command on the Western Front* Blackwell Oxford 1992; Ashworth, T *Trench warfare 1914-18: The live and let live system* Macmillan London 1980; Terraine, J *The Smoke and the Fire* Sidgwick and Jackson London 1980; Griffith *Battle tactics of the Western Front*; Griffith ed. *British Fighting Methods in the Great War*; Sheffield *Forgotten Victory*

<sup>57</sup> Sheffield, G and Bourne, J *The Haig Diaries: The diaries of Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig* Weidenfeld & Nicholson London 2005; Winter, D *Haig's Command: A reassessment* Penguin London 1992 p.225

<sup>58</sup> Middlebrook, M *The first day on the Somme 1 July 1916* Penguin London (1971) 1984; Liddle, PH *The 1916 battle of the Somme: a reappraisal* Leo Cooper London 1992; Prior, T and Wilson, T *Passchendaele: the untold story* Yale University Press New Haven 1996; Liddle, PH ed. *Passchendaele in perspective; the third battle of Ypres* Leo Cooper London 1997; Middlebrook, M *The Kaiser's battle* Penguin London 1983; Pitt, B *1918 The Last Act* Papermac London (1962) 1984

<sup>59</sup> Some of the few to even mention these events include: Samuels, M *Command or Control? Command, training and tactics in the British and German Armies, 1888-1918* Frank Cass London 1995; Holmes, R *Fatal Avenue* Pimlico London 1993; Taylor, AJP *The First World War* Penguin London 1963; Gilbert, M *First World War* Weidenfeld and Nicolson London 1994. Clarke's *The Donkeys* studied Neuve Chapelle and Aubers Ridge, but did not consider the continuation of that sequence, at Festubert, before moving on to Loos. A few accounts for these actions do exist from the perspective of other units: Andrews, W L (1/4<sup>th</sup> Black Watch) *Haunting Years: the commentaries of a War Territorial* Hutchinson London 1930; Rogerson, S (2nd West Yorkshire) *The Last of the Ebb* Arthur Baker York 1937; Messenger, C *Terriers in the Trenches: The Post Office Rifles at War 1914-1918* Picton Chippenham 1982. An honourable but recent exception is Blades, G D "The battles of the Lys: The British Army on the defensive in April 1918" M.Phil thesis King's College London 1999

<sup>60</sup> Griffith *Battle Tactics of the Western Front* p.200

by late 1917 there was no doubting the abilities of Territorial Divisions,<sup>61</sup> a fact acknowledged by Griffith.<sup>62</sup> Both Coop's enthusiastic appraisal of the Division's performance and Tilsley's sometimes rose-coloured<sup>63</sup> view of his 164<sup>th</sup> Brigade could be read with some scepticism, but now also need to be seen in the context of such analyses by Lee and Griffith.<sup>64</sup> Sheffield's revisionist history of the War has also referred to the 55<sup>th</sup> Division's tactical growth, learning the lessons of Guillemont in 1916 to be applied within a few short weeks at the end of September, and in the defensive training so vital to the stubborn British resistance to the German attack in April 1918.<sup>65</sup>

## Society at War

The main proposition of this thesis is that military endeavour and a sense of identity derived from community are closely linked. Until recently, studies of society and the Home Front during the War have been much less prevalent than those of the Battle Front. In the main they have tended to reinforce the concept of a gulf between the two by concentrating on home almost to the exclusion of events across the Channel. This is despite the argument, put clearly by Bourne, that a modern industrialised war involves the whole of society and its political and economic resources – the notion of 'Total War'.<sup>66</sup>

The wartime economic and social development of the geographical area in which the 7<sup>th</sup> King's were recruited has received limited historical study. Some implications about Bootle can be drawn from such studies as there have been on aspects of Liverpool at war, but these are no substitute for a detailed analysis of the effects of the War on the local community. Sufficient attention has been given to both Southport and Bootle and the towns in between, to establish that wealthier parts existed in Bootle, just as there was poverty and unemployment in Southport. The generalised picture, though, is of a distinction between the two areas, based on class, politics, religion and economy. This is borne out by the analysis in chapter two. Despite this, both communities had cause to, and did, claim the Battalion for their own.

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<sup>61</sup> Lee, J "The British Divisions at Third Ypres" *Passchendaele in Perspective: The Third Battle of Ypres* pp. 224 -225

<sup>62</sup> Griffith *Battle Tactics of the Western Front* pp. 80 - 83

<sup>63</sup> As a Lancastrian, it was probably **red** rose-coloured.

<sup>64</sup> Coop *The Story of the 55<sup>th</sup> Division*; Tilsley *Other ranks*

<sup>65</sup> Sheffield *Forgotten Victory* p.181 and pp. 228 -9

<sup>66</sup> Bourne *Britain and the Great War* p.199

The recruiting ground for 7<sup>th</sup> Battalion was clearly defined, as were all the areas for the West Lancashire Territorial Division. For the 7<sup>th</sup> King's it consisted of the coastal swathe from Bootle up to North Meols, going inland only as far as the canal and main road.<sup>67</sup> In theory, Ormskirk was outside the boundary. Away from the bounds of Liverpool, this area was, and is, particularly rural and of key importance to the supply of food.<sup>68</sup> It was also subject to the pervading influence of the local landowner, Lord Derby.<sup>69</sup> Implications for the recruitment of men from this area included the potential that they would be healthier and fitter than their comrades from the factories. However, it also raised the question of the balance between the need for farm work and the need for men for the Front Line. Southport also had its share of light engineering companies, some of which were devoted to munitions work, while at the other end of the region Bootle was the main part of the Liverpool northern docks.<sup>70</sup>

Despite the importance of agricultural support during the War, only limited attention has been paid to its study and that which there has been has not directly addressed south west Lancashire.<sup>71</sup> Research has shown that, with a few exceptions, there was widespread unemployment and poverty in much of rural and coastal Lancashire before the War.<sup>72</sup> Such shared experiences were important in fostering camaraderie in the Battalion. Walton has not been the only one to draw attention to the seaside resorts of Blackpool, Morecambe, Lytham and Southport, and the economic differences between them.<sup>73</sup> The significant differences between Blackpool, popular with the working classes and Southport, which had a more selective and higher class of patronage, have been commented on by other historians, giving a clear indication of the context to the composition of the Southport companies of the Battalion.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> 356 WES 56 - West Lancashire Territorial and Auxiliary Force Association, Recruiting and Discharge Committee minutes 2nd July 1913

<sup>68</sup> Phillips, CB and Smith, JH *Lancashire and Cheshire from AD1540* Longman London 1994 pp. 237 - 240

<sup>69</sup> Walton, J *Lancashire: a social history 1558 – 1939* Manchester University Press Manchester 1987 pp.221- 224

<sup>70</sup> Crosby, A *A history of Lancashire* Phillimore Chichester 1998 pp. 71 - 98; Hyde, FE *Liverpool and the Mersey: the development of a port 1700-1970* Newton Abbot 1971

<sup>71</sup> For example: Mutch, A "Rural society in Lancashire 1840-1914" Unpublished PhD thesis m University of Manchester Manchester 1980; Horn, P *Rural life in England in the First World War* Dublin 1984

<sup>72</sup> Walton *Lancashire* p.290

<sup>73</sup> Walton *Lancashire* pp 294-297 Aspin, C *The First Industrial Society: Lancashire* Carnegie Preston 1995 pp. 204 - 211

<sup>74</sup> Little, J "Estate management and Land Reform politics 1824-1914" *Patricians, power and politics in nineteenth century towns* ed. D.Cannadine 1982; Foster, M "Landownership and residential differentiation: a Southport case study" Unpublished BA dissertation University of Sheffield 1987; Walton, J *The English seaside resort: a social history 1750-1914* Leicester 1983

Southport and its immediate hinterland, where employment opportunities were more varied, was quite different from Bootle where the docks were the principal source of employment and income for most people. For dockers, the War brought more work and a more regular income as the casual hiring arrangements that normally prevailed were suspended.<sup>75</sup> For those who were caught out by the Union-Employer stranglehold on labour which, among other things, kept women out of the docks in the War, poverty was permanent and military service or munitions work offered the only escape routes. Bootle was heavily influenced by Liverpool's economy and politics and this has been reflected by studies of the city which inevitably included passing references to Bootle.<sup>76</sup> This close geographic proximity meant that religious divisions and industrial relations in the city impacted on Bootle in a way which did not happen to Southport, notwithstanding the large number of people who commuted from there to Liverpool to work in the insurance and shipping company offices.<sup>77</sup>

In terms of the wider historiography of society and the Great War, the emphasis has been on the importance of the War for society, continuing the theme and concept of a division or gulf. Historians have studied the way the War influenced society afterwards, specifically in relation to the economy of the 1920s and political developments in the protagonist countries, from Russia to Germany, Britain to France.<sup>78</sup> In Britain, studies have been drawn (for example) to the developing role of women in society and the growth of a controlled public economy. This so-called 'discontinuity' view of the War was a mirror of many of the military studies which had established the War as the start of the technological age, or the first civilian war, or the first war where propaganda played an important part.<sup>79</sup> Another interpretation sees the War as just another step in the development of many different aspects in military, social, political and economic themes. The study of the War as part of this notion of 'continuity' reinforces the link and

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<sup>75</sup> Stephens "Dock labour in the Port of Liverpool 1890 – 1914" ; Bean "Custom, job regulation and dock labour in Liverpool 1911-39" ; Grieves, K "The Liverpool Dock Battalion: Military intervention in the Mersey Docks 1915-1918" *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire* Vol.131 1982

<sup>76</sup> Waller *Democracy and Sectarianism* ; Adams "Working class organisation, industrial relations and the labour unrest 1914 - 21"; Humphreys "Experiences of and attitudes towards working class women in Liverpool"; Brogden *On the Mersey Beat*.

<sup>77</sup> Marriner, S *The economic and social development of Merseyside* Liverpool 1982

<sup>78</sup> Fridenson, P ed. *The French Home Front 1914-18* Penguin London 1992; Hardach, G *The First World War 1914-18* Penguin London 1977; Mowat, CL *Britain between the Wars 1918-1940* Methuen London 1968; Burk, KM ed. *War and the State: the transformation of 1918-1941* *British Government 1914-1919* London 1979

<sup>79</sup> Travers *How the War was won*; Simkins *Kitchener's Army*; Sanders and Taylor *British propaganda during the First World War*

connection between the physically divided Home and War Fronts. Marwick's groundbreaking study of Society and the War identifies changes which, he asserts, would not have happened, at least as substantially as they did, without the War.<sup>80</sup> Conversely, more recently, De Groot argues that the War was simply part of the continuous process of changes which had begun in late Victorian society.<sup>81</sup> De Groot has identified that the War did precipitate changes, but they would have happened at some point: they occurred sooner due to the the impact of the War. Both historians began to study society in relation to the War as it occurred, rather than as a separate item and, as such, identified the need to tackle the subject as a whole. Marwick's concept of the War as a Total War was novel at the time and required the suspension of in-depth discussion of military tactics in favour of the cause and effect of particular strategies, at home and abroad. Wilson, perhaps too comprehensively, pursues a similar focus.<sup>82</sup> Winter's examination of the statistical effects of the War on Britain in terms of recruits, the Home community and post-War society is particularly valuable.<sup>83</sup> His contextual argument, demonstrating the improvements in living standards from a quantative viewpoint, is a useful complement to De Groot and Marwick.

The recognition of the need to study the War in the round is, therefore, relatively recent and represents a significant step in bridging the myth of the gulf between the two Fronts. Such a development reflects the way in which late twentieth century society has viewed the War, balancing the immediacy of events and feelings with the longer term effects and ramifications. The more populist strand has seen the development of work based on first-hand reminiscences, particularly by Lyn MacDonald.<sup>84</sup> However, much of her work has been made possible by the collation of personal archive material at various institutions.<sup>85</sup> This feature itself has been driven by the increased attention to personal and community history in a transient society. Although there are particular problems in relying on oral testimonies, due to time, age, perspective and the way in which the material was recorded and collected, they remain a valid opportunity to demonstrate what all the strategic and political thinking meant for individuals in practice. Some collections have

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<sup>80</sup> Marwick *The Deluge* pp. 329- 353

<sup>81</sup> De Groot *Blighty* p. xi - xii

<sup>82</sup> Wilson, T *The myriad faces of war* Cambridge University Press Cambridge 1988

<sup>83</sup> Winter, JM *The Great War and the British People* Macmillan London 1986

<sup>84</sup> The following books by Lyn Macdonald have the most relevance to this study: *They called it Passchendaele: the story of the third battle of Ypres and of the men who fought in it* Michael Joseph London 1978; *The Roses of No-Man's Land* Michael Joseph London 1980; *Somme* Michael Joseph London 1983; *1914* Michael Joseph London 1987; *1915: the death of Innocence* Headline Book Publishing London 1993

<sup>85</sup> Notably the Imperial War Museum, and the Liddle archive housed in the Brotherton Library,

done little more than simply present such reminiscences without providing the narrative framework.<sup>86</sup> However, oral sources do provide a useful cross reference when considering other material.

Peter Liddle's edited volumes have bridged the gap between Home and War Fronts, as well as linking our own turn of the century with the events of 1914-18. *Facing Armageddon* presented a broad, international perspective, reflective of the Conference from which it stemmed. On the other hand, Liddle's work on Passchendaele clearly shows the development of that principle to study one episode imprinted on the nation's psyche, from each and every angle. The pattern of study of the events emphasised that the events themselves were and are multi-dimensional.<sup>87</sup> This has facilitated cultural and community identification on a variety of levels. De Groot's claim that the survival of so much of pre-War society is evidence of a continuum, takes us to an understanding of the importance of any cultural and community identity.<sup>88</sup> The soldiers had to return to something they knew, rather than something that was irrevocably changed. If home had changed while they were away, what were they fighting for?

If the division of studies of War and Society into continuity or discontinuity schools is accepted, then the evidence in Southport and Bootle favours the argument of continuity. For those who survived, re-assimilation and adaptation to post-War society were not cataclysmic and appeared relatively harmonious. Where the individual soldier found it difficult to re-assimilate into society this was largely because they had changed as a result of their experiences. Leed's analysis of the neuroses of the veteran lays the blame on the War experience rather than a changed society.<sup>89</sup> What held society in Britain together in the years after the War was the commonality of the identification felt by veterans and non-combatants, the opposite of what could be seen to be happening in Russia or Germany. Such communal identification was so strong that society developed and altered together in an era dominated by Conservative politics but with the

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<sup>86</sup> Arthur, M *Forgotten Voices of the Great War* In association with the Imperial War Museum Ebury Press London 2002; van Emden, R and Humphries, S *All Quiet on the Western Front: An oral history of life in Britain during the First World War* Headline London 2003

<sup>87</sup> Cecil, H and Liddle, PH *Facing Armageddon: The First World War Experienced* Leo Cooper London 1996; Liddle *Passchendaele in Perspective*; Cecil, H and Liddle, PH *At the Eleventh Hour: Reflections, Hopes and Anxieties at the Closing of the Great War, 1918* Leo Cooper London 1998

<sup>88</sup> De Groot *Blighty* p.291; Coetzee and Shevin-Coetzee *Authority, identity and the social history of the Great War* p.xix

<sup>89</sup> Leed, *No Man's Land* p.x

introduction too of a Labour Government in 1924, something that would have been unthinkable only ten years before.<sup>90</sup>

A significant part of the re-integration lay in the memorialisation and remembrance processes undergone by both the combatants and the bereaved. Most attempts to return to some form of normality revolved around the concept of a common identity and shared experience. Lloyd draws attention to the return visits to the battlefields by some veterans who, as others sought comfort amongst their fellows in ex-comrades associations and reunions, used these trips as part of a cathartic response to their experiences.<sup>91</sup> He also draws attention to the differences between pilgrim and tourist.<sup>92</sup> King concentrates more on the importance of the memorial where local boys from the village, town, firm or city were remembered, praised and mourned.<sup>93</sup> Gregory concluded that in the early years of remembrance and the Armistice, all parties understood the notion and effect of the sacrifice which had been made and that this was the crucial element in its preservation.<sup>94</sup> The development of memorialisation was a key factor in cementing the bond between Battalion and Community, and has only recently started to receive attention from historians.<sup>95</sup> The emphasis on remembrance and identification with ex-comrades, with families, within families, and with communities, served to reinforce the importance of the community's role in the War. Visits to the war graves by civilians were underway as soon as the War was over.<sup>96</sup> They have continued since and formed part of the search for an understanding of the War. Such displays of commemoration and remembrance have reached an apotheosis in recent years, as the ranks of veterans from even the Second

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<sup>90</sup> Davies, AJ *To build a new Jerusalem: the Labour movement from the 1880s to the 1990s* Michael Joseph London 1992 pp. 84 -85

<sup>91</sup> Lloyd, D.W. *Battlefield tourism: Pilgrimage and the commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939* Berg Oxford 1998 p.1

<sup>92</sup> Lloyd *Battlefield Tourism* p.13

<sup>93</sup> King, A *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The symbolism and politics of Remembrance* Berg Oxford 1998 p.20

<sup>94</sup> Gregory, A *The silence of memory: Armistice Day 1919-1946* Berg Oxford 1994 p.227

<sup>95</sup> Winter "Communities in Mourning" *Authority, Identity and the Social History of the Great War* pp.325 - 356; Winter, JM *Sites of memory, Sites of Mourning* Cambridge University Press Cambridge 1996; Inglis, KS "The Homecoming: the War Memorial movement In Cambridgeshire, England" *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol.27 No.4 1992; Kavanagh, G "Museum as Memorial: The origins of the Imperial War Museum" *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol.23 No.1 1988; Moriarty, C "Christian iconography and First World War memorials" *Imperial War Museum Review* 1992 6 pp63-75; West, J "A Book of Remembrance" *Local History* January/February 1998; McIntyre, C *Monuments of War: how to read a War Memorial* Robert Hale London 1990; Boorman, D *At the going down of the sun: British First World War Memorials Sessions*, York 1988; Brown, J "Recording War Memorials in Northumberland" *The Local Historian* November 1996

<sup>96</sup> Longworth, P *The unending vigil: a history of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission 1917 - 1984* Leo Cooper London 1985 (1967) p.42; Kingsley Ward, G *Courage remembered: a history of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission* HMSO London 1989

World War are progressively thinner at each Remembrance Sunday. Yet conversely, our popular culture is increasingly interested in pilgrimage tours to the war cemeteries and walks along the Front Line. Lloyd's division between tourist and pilgrim remains blurred. This trend has formed part of a general search for roots and identity in an age of rapid change and internationalism and has been commented on, as well as driven by, several respected writers from a variety of backgrounds.<sup>97</sup> Such studies have become as much a part of the history of the War as being about the War and are part of the exploration of the memory of the War which began almost immediately it concluded, as commented on by Fussell and Hynes.<sup>98</sup>

This thesis draws out the links and connections which existed between Battalion and local community. Both Moorhouse and Fox (whose book, significantly, has a Foreword by Moorhouse) attempt to place their respective Battalions and Regiments in the context of their local communities.<sup>99</sup> Their emphasis, with respect to the communities, however, lies in the pre- and post-War situation. The growing number of similarly minded local studies, many stemming from the list of names on the village war memorial, linking the local Battalion's fighting with the community, also demonstrate the key aspect of that shared experience. Despite the acceptance that a holistic approach to the War is required, however, few studies have tackled the subject in the parallel way in which this study aims to do.

## Primary Sources

In the light of the strengths and weaknesses of the historiography related to this study, the appraisal of primary sources has been widespread. The material falls into four main areas - newspapers, official and private papers, individual testimony, and a grey area of published work which, by its very nature, is close to being a primary source. In this latter group fall the King's Regimental history by Wyrall, Coop's history of the 55<sup>th</sup> Division and the other work written and published in the relative immediacy of the War, such as

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<sup>97</sup> Coombs, REB *Before Endeavours Fade* Battle of Britain Prints International Ltd. London 1994; Holt, T and V *Battlefields of the First World War* Pavilion Books Ltd. London 1993; Dyer, G *The Missing of the Somme* Hamish Hamilton London 1994; Holmes *Fatal Avenue*; Holmes, R *Army Battlefield Guide* HMSO London 1995; Holmes, R *Riding the Retreat* Jonathan Cape London 1995; Holmes, R *War Walks* BBC Books London 1996; Jones, NH *The War Walk* Robert Hale London 1983; O'Shea, S *Back to the Front: An accidental historian walks the trenches of World War I* Robson Books London 1997; Cuttell, B *148 days on the Somme: 2nd July to 26th November 1916* GMS Enterprises Peterborough 2000

<sup>98</sup> Fussell *The Great War and Modern Memory*; Hynes *A war imagined*.

<sup>99</sup> Moorhouse, G *Hell's Foundations: A town, its myths and Gallipoli* Sceptre Dunton Green 1993; Fox, J *Forgotten Divisions: The First World War from both sides of No Man's Land* Sigma Leisure Wilmslow 1994



Threlfall's *Story of the King's (Liverpool Regiment)*, and even Kearsley's *1915 Campaign in France*.<sup>100</sup> The *Official History* also falls into this group, and is commented upon separately, below. Any consciously written history needs to be seen in the context of the author and the market, and will always be a 'reinterpretation of the past in the light of the present'.<sup>101</sup> The authorship, date and relevance of these early works to this study provide a direct and tangible link to the events themselves which separates them from traditional secondary source material.

Tilsley's *Other ranks* deserves special mention as one of the most relevant of the 'faction' autobiographies which were prevalent in the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>102</sup> Tilsley told the story of his involvement in the 1/4<sup>th</sup> Battalion Loyal North Lancashire which was in 164<sup>th</sup> Brigade, 55<sup>th</sup> Division. Consequently, a lot of his comments, narrative and perspective were common with comrades across the Division, such as 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's. Mottram's *Spanish Farm Trilogy* is also of some considerable assistance as the Territorial Division at its heart spent a great deal of time in the Lys battlefield area, the 'Spanish Farm' being somewhere close to Hazebrouck and Armentieres.<sup>103</sup> The little-known diary of the Autumn of 1917, *The Winding Road Unfolds*, is surely about life in a Liverpool Battalion in 55<sup>th</sup> Division, probably 1/10<sup>th</sup> (Scottish) Battalion, and contains references to the attack on 20<sup>th</sup> September and also the rout at Cambrai.<sup>104</sup> There were also passing references in the writings of both Graves and Sassoon to their time at Litherland camp and the Formby golf range.<sup>105</sup>

Newspapers, or perhaps more accurately, reporting, flourished during the First World War, maintaining the link between Home and Front. It has been widely argued that the British public was kept in the dark - increasingly by mutual collaboration between the military and the Press - over what was really happening overseas.<sup>106</sup> Despite this, the newspapers were keen to print practically anything in the early years to report what was

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<sup>100</sup> Wyrall *History of the King's Regiment*; Coop *The Story of the 55<sup>th</sup> Division*; Threlfall *The Story of the King's*; Kearsley, Lt.-Col. A. *1915 Campaign in France: the battles of Aubers Ridge, Festubert and Loos considered in relation to the Field Service Regulations* Naval & Military Press (reprint) London [1929]

<sup>101</sup> Samuel, R *Theatres of Memory: Vol 1 - Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* Verso London 1994 p.430

<sup>102</sup> Tilsley *Other ranks*

<sup>103</sup> Mottram *The Spanish Farm Trilogy*

<sup>104</sup> Hope, TS *The winding road unfolds* Putnam London 1937

<sup>105</sup> Graves, R *Goodbye to all that* Penguin London 1960 (1929) pp. 169-170; Sassoon *The complete memoirs* p.383

<sup>106</sup> Haste *Keep the Home Fires Burning*; Sanders and Taylor *British propaganda during the First World War*

happening. Equally, the public had a voracious appetite for news. This was seen most in the local papers, as they followed the progress of local battalions and the sons of the town.<sup>107</sup> Those studied were no exception, although it should be noted that studies of the role of local newspapers have been sparse, notwithstanding local studies which have drawn heavily on local papers for evidence.<sup>108</sup> In contrast, the emphasis of most historians to date has been on propaganda and the role of the War correspondents.<sup>109</sup> According to Finn the study of the local press has been 'long-neglected'. Using the newspapers of the Liverpool area as a case study – including Southport and Great Crosby – Finn was concerned to show that the local and community focus of their reports was crucial to ensuring the reality of the War was not hidden from local people.<sup>110</sup> Until the press was controlled more systematically by the War Office in mid-1915, in terms of what it printed, they were able to secure information and reports from letters home from troops, from the wounded and from some reporters who made it to the frontline.<sup>111</sup> The difference between these first-hand reports and the 'Eyewitness' reports given to them by the official press organisation of GHQ was vast. The example from Festubert was 'Eyewash' of the highest order.

The differences between local and national organs was a significant one. Local papers were much more likely to be able to have letters and first-hand information than the nationals, though they did rely on the nationals for the wider picture. The history of the national press in the War has been chronicled elsewhere, and this study does not add to it.<sup>112</sup> Local papers included many first-hand accounts received in letters from the Front, and their articles as a whole reflected local interest. This became increasingly difficult as the War progressed. The difference between the reports which appeared in local papers in May 1915 and those in September 1915 after Loos, are now quite obvious. Letters and reports from men were almost absent by September. As a result, the newspapers prove to be a good source of battle reports predominantly in the first year of the War. Subsequently, they regurgitated manufactured reports, although there continue to be

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<sup>107</sup> Bourne *Britain and the Great War* p.206

<sup>108</sup> Pandrich, BFJ "Dundee's Flodden - the Battle of Loos: a sociological study through the written word" Unpublished MPhil thesis Dundee University 1988

<sup>109</sup> Farrar, MJ *News from the Front: War correspondents on the Western Front 1914-18* Sutton Publishing Stroud 1998, amongst others cited above

<sup>110</sup> Finn, M "The realities of war" in *History Today* Vol.52 No. 8 August 2002 p.p.26 -31

<sup>111</sup> Grieves, K "War correspondents and conducting officers on the Western Front from 1915" in *Facing Armageddon* pp. 719 – 735; Knightley, P *The first casualty: the war correspondent as hero, propagandist and myth maker from the Crimea to Vietnam* Andre Deutsch London 1975

<sup>112</sup> Haste *Keep the Home Fires Burning*; Knightley *The first casualty*; Sanders and Taylor *British propaganda during the First World War*

examples of letters from the Front being printed, including those which demonstrated the harshness of the life and death of the soldier in the Front Line. The attempts of local editors to maintain the local interest obviously continued, but soldiers' letters home dwindled, although photographs and short obituaries or biographies did not. The purpose of writing these letters, the choice of which letter to print and the extent to which they were representative of general feeling, needs taking into consideration, but they are nonetheless a valuable source. Editorials criticising the conduct of the War were rare, and not evidenced in Southport or Bootle. Encouragement and motivation for more and more recruits, including the castigation of shirkers, were more prevalent in most editorial comment.

The principal local papers used for this study have been *The Bootle Times*, *The Waterloo and Crosby Herald and Formby*, *Bootle and Seaforth Gazette*, *The Formby Times*, *The Southport Guardian*, and *The Southport Visiter*. The *Southport Visiter* was published three times each week, on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. The *Southport Guardian* came out every Saturday, as did the *Formby Times* and the *Waterloo and Crosby Herald*. The *Bootle Times* came out once a week, on a Friday. These publication dates clearly influenced the immediacy and extent of some news reports. Some reports and letters appeared in more than one paper. The two Southport papers were divided along political lines, with the *Southport Guardian* favouring the Liberals, and having close connections with the Liberal Councillors, and the *Southport Visiter* holding a more Conservative line. The other local papers were traditionally conservative.

The papers are important sources throughout the War for what was happening at home. On average, the *Southport Guardian* devoted two of its twelve pages per edition to War stories, the rest concentrating on local news and events. These local stories also included reports of hospital visitors, troops billeted in the town, meetings and fundraising events, as well as the more usual and predictable local affairs, such as Council meetings and court reports. The *Bootle Times* reduced its pages to eight during the crisis, saving resources. It also had a different approach to War coverage, with a much more integrated style across the whole paper. There were not the same column inches devoted to major actions of the local Battalion as were seen in the Southport papers, though there was not the same level of coverage of the wider War perspective either. The almost verbatim reports of Council meetings, court actions and military tribunals are useful sources and quite different to today's reporting of similar occasions.

The survival of local Council records across the region has been inconsistent. This has meant that sometimes the evidence has not been a direct comparison of like with like.

Nonetheless, the study has been able to rely upon many Council minutes, Health Officer reports and other routine material. Collections of Military Service Tribunal records, school records and original correspondence have been less complete and may have resulted in a slight bias of attention to one place or another.

The study will use four main sets of personal testimony relating to the Battalion – Marriott, Critchley, Cook and Fearnhead. The papers of Sydney Marriott consist of letters home to his wife, father, brother and other family members.<sup>113</sup> Marriott started the War as a pre-War Territorial officer, a company commander. By the end of 1915, he was in command of the Battalion and remained until the middle of the battles of the Somme when he was sent home on medical grounds for a rest. When he returned to France it was with the 11<sup>th</sup> Battalion, Manchester Regiment. His letters provide a unique insight to some of the politics of the Battalion, as well as the action and life on the Front. He was married to Cicely, sister of a brother officer, and was a native of Southport. Copies of his letters are held by the Regimental Museum in Liverpool, but originals and other material including a set of photographs are in the Liddle Collection. Some of his photographs have been published.<sup>114</sup>

Arthur Critchley was interviewed in 1982 and a copy of this interview has also been used as a source.<sup>115</sup> Critchley enlisted as a 17 year old in 1913 because he thought it was a good way into boxing. He was discharged in 1920, having volunteered to join a composite Battalion going to Russia evacuating the British forces from Archangel. He was awarded the Military Medal but was also disciplined on more than one occasion, once for hitting an officer.

Private correspondence, for access to which the author is indebted, has provided important additional source material. Captain James Watson Cook MC and bar, from a solicitors' family in Southport, wrote home of his experiences in 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's.<sup>116</sup> As Private Cook No. 2388, he served in 8 Platoon, B Company and later in the Lewis Gun Section, until he returned to England for his commission in September 1916. Private Jack

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<sup>113</sup> 1984.321 War diary of Sydney Marriott 1/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment, King's Regiment Collection, Museum of Liverpool Life, National Galleries on Merseyside: also at the Liddle Collection, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds - hereafter 'Marriott'

<sup>114</sup> Liddle, PH *The Worst Ordeal: Britons at home and abroad 1914-1918* Leo Cooper London 1994 pp. 49-52

<sup>115</sup> 1982.250 Photocopy of diary of Arthur Critchley MM, King's Liverpool Regiment Collection, NGM - hereafter 'Critchley'

<sup>116</sup> Access to Cook's letters home was provided by his daughter, Mrs. Diana Spalton.

Fearnhead No. 2390 served in A Company.<sup>117</sup> He missed the first draft out to France in March 1915 due to an injury sustained in training at Blackpool. He spent time in 2/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion and secured his commission with 3/7<sup>th</sup> before going to France at the end of May 1916 to join 1/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion. Unfortunately he was killed on 13th August at Guillemont. One of the 'Battleground Europe' series on First World War Battlefields is dedicated to Fearnhead.<sup>118</sup>

Official records which have proved invaluable have included War Diaries at Battalion, Brigade and Division levels, and higher. War Diaries were written for one purpose and, in research, are now being used for something else. Specifically, the Diaries were written for the Officer next up in the chain of command to read. As a result they will usually have been what he wanted to see, and occasionally not. One quotation from Jeudwine will demonstrate their relative reliability. In writing to Edmonds about what he had put in the official War Diary Jeudwine said: 'I have a full narrative of events which took place at ... Cambrai ... written very shortly afterwards. It is not in its entirety in war diaries but unfortunately it is warehoused with my belongings'.<sup>119</sup> It is not clear if the details to which he referred were handed over to Edmonds, or with his other archives, to the Liverpool Record Office or the Imperial War Museum. The Diaries studied for this thesis appear to have covered this range. Jeudwine's Papers at the Imperial War Museum and his Divisional records at Liverpool Record Office, the Derby Papers and the records of the West Lancashire Territorial Association, have also provided a range of complementary perspectives on the subject area. Jeudwine was an artilleryman and was a Staff Officer through the South African War and afterwards. He worked under Haig in I Corps in 1914 and was promoted first to V Corps staff, and then to command 41<sup>st</sup> Brigade. He was appointed to command the newly reformed 55<sup>th</sup> Division at the start of 1916. At the Armistice he became a Commander of the British Army on the Rhine before being posted back to Ireland until July 1922. He was subsequently made Director General of the Territorial Army and he reportedly used this position to 'do everything possible for the efficiency and well-being of the citizen soldier, for none knew better than he the military value of the Territorial'.<sup>120</sup> On his appointment to the post, he said: 'I revere the Territorial most deeply and I have always found him a thoroughly worthy, creditable and

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<sup>117</sup> Access to Fearnhead's letters home was provided by Pam Hall.

<sup>118</sup> Stedman, M *Somme - Guillemont* Leo Cooper London 1998 p.p.5, 26, 27, 82

<sup>119</sup> CAB 145/182 Jeudwine correspondence with Edmonds in compiling the *Official History* 22nd October 1925

<sup>120</sup> Obituary Lieut. General Sir Hugh Sandham Jeudwine *The Times* 3<sup>rd</sup> December 1942 p.10

brilliant exponent of all the best principles of the British Army and of the character of the British soldier.<sup>121</sup>

The papers of 17<sup>th</sup> Lord Derby were also a valuable source. Moorhouse has provided a short appraisal of Derby<sup>122</sup> but in direct relation to this study, Derby was Chairman of the West Lancashire Territorial Force and had close links with Jeudwine. He was Honorary Colonel of several battalions and regiments. His brother commanded the 89<sup>th</sup> Brigade which began as a brigade of Liverpool Pals. He owned vast tracts of land and property in Lancashire, particularly Merseyside. He was also a senior Conservative politician, given specific responsibilities for recruiting in 1915-16 and he was Secretary of State for War 1916-18 and again after 1922.<sup>123</sup> After the War he was Ambassador to Paris during the Peace negotiations and he was involved in the British League of Help. The significance of these connections will be seen through this study.

This study often makes reference to the *Official History* because it is the established narrative of the War, sanctioned and funded as the official record. In relation to the operations of 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's, however, some of the key aspects of their combat experience have not received much treatment by the official historians. It is also largely accepted that the earlier published volumes have more accuracy than the later ones, notwithstanding the in-built bias of officialdom, although Griffith's complaint is that too much space was given to the early years at the expense of the important battles later in the War.<sup>124</sup> This was due, in part, to the gradually declining numbers of witnesses to rely on for first-hand accounts.

Winter records that Haig received and commented on all the drafts, up until his death.<sup>125</sup> However, as the major players departed this life over time, then different opinions, often from lower ranking officers who had been outwith the loop, were likely to proliferate. After the death of Haig or, indeed, of other influential Generals of particular battles or campaigns, those more junior officers may have felt more able to contribute. Where one major player did survive, he would be able to exert undue influence to enhance his own reputation, should he have had a mind to do so. Travers is clear that this is exactly what Gough did in relation to the Passchendaele volume, as is Griffith who referred to the

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<sup>121</sup> 356 COU 1 Jeudwine remarks, November 1923: Council of County Territorial Associations Minutes 1922 - 1933

<sup>122</sup> Moorhouse *Hell's Foundations* pp. 160 - 175

<sup>123</sup> Taylor, AJP *English History 1914-1945* Oxford University Press Oxford 1965 fn p.53

<sup>124</sup> Griffith *Battle tactics of the Western Front* pp. 11; 259-260

<sup>125</sup> Winter, D *Haig's Command* p.228

massaging of reputations.<sup>126</sup>

The key figure in the process of compiling the 'Official Histories' was Sir James Edmonds, whom Griffith calls unstable, devious and opinionated.<sup>127</sup> Griffith asserted that Jeudwine and the 55<sup>th</sup> Division had a good press, despite the Cambrai affair, however, both Travers and Winter refer to the inaccuracies in the Cambrai volume and those covering the Spring Offensive.<sup>128</sup> Jeudwine went to a great deal of trouble to try to secure an accurate version of events at Cambrai.<sup>129</sup> Travers finds the Somme volumes particularly problematic in their interpretation of events, but even worse was the history of 1917 and the Passchendaele Campaign, which took eight years before the final volume was published.<sup>130</sup> Travers notes the changes in interpretation which were made in this period and finished by describing it as 'plainly wrong'.<sup>131</sup> Strangely, he even sees Haig's removal from the scene as an opportunity for Edmonds to exercise a growing bias in favour of Haig.<sup>132</sup> Both Travers and Winter note that the *Official History* avoided criticism and controversy wherever possible.<sup>133</sup> Winter perhaps goes too far in calling the result 'fraudulent';<sup>134</sup> Griffith was more temperate in calling it 'idiosyncratic'.<sup>135</sup> Griffith believes that, all this aside, the result is only rarely a distortion, but can only be a guide to a version of events and not the primary source which was the intention when the project began.<sup>136</sup>

Recent academic research has, however, countered this view of Edmonds and his work.<sup>137</sup> For instance, Green refutes Denis Winter's and David French's claims that Edmonds sought to protect the reputation of Haig and his senior officers, and he calls

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<sup>126</sup> Travers *The Killing Ground* p.206; Griffith *Battle tactics of the Western Front* p.259

<sup>127</sup> Griffith *Battle Tactics of the Western Front* p.258

<sup>128</sup> Griffith *Battle Tactics of the Western Front* pp. 80 – 81; Travers *The Killing Ground* p.205; Winter, D *Haig's Command* pp. 125-127; 188

<sup>129</sup> 356 FIF 44-57 Jeudwine MSS

<sup>130</sup> Travers *The Killing Ground* Chapter Eight

<sup>131</sup> Travers *The Killing Ground* p.216

<sup>132</sup> Travers *The Killing Ground* p.215

<sup>133</sup> Travers *The Killing Ground* pp 203 and 215; Winter, D *Haig's Command* p.243

<sup>134</sup> Winter, D *Haig's Command* p.255

<sup>135</sup> Griffith *Battle tactics of the Western Front* p.259

<sup>136</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> Green, A S *Writing the Great War: Sir James Edmonds and the Official Histories 1915-1948* Frank Cass London 2002

Travers' interpretation of the Passchendaele volume 'an over simplification'.<sup>138</sup> Green has contended that Edmonds was unequivocal in his criticism of Haig and other senior officers. He conceded that this criticism at times 'could have been more forcefully put', but the detailed record, the thousands of accounts on which it was based and the depth of involvement in the project have left us with volumes which are in line with much current academic thought on the tactics of the First World War. With reference to the kind of criticism Griffith levelled against Edmonds' critique of Jeurwine's Division, Green believed that despite loyalty to friends and colleagues it was rare for the 'personal pleas of high-ranking officers' to override his intention of maintaining 'literary and academic integrity.'<sup>139</sup>

It is worth noting that there are limitations in the sources, caused either by a lack of consistency of records or by the varying depth of material in the sources which are available. The 2/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion's War Diaries may appear to have more information in them than 1/7<sup>th</sup> Battalion, for example. However, the importance of studying this First Line Battalion lies not just in the evidence of its daily routine and ritual but also in its military experience as a fighting Unit from early in 1915. The private letters and papers of Marriott, Cook and Fearnhead do peter out by late 1916 but the material they contain is significant. This may also relate to a wider change in the nature of the War itself in that year. The newspapers had their own political and editorial agenda, but in combination they reflected the communities which read them. No one Unit will ever have a complete and consistent array of source material to support a comprehensive examination and 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's is no exception. However, the principal conclusions reached in this thesis are based on evidence which has been combined or triangulated and tested, using more than one source. Where it is possible to draw only tentative conclusions this has been indicated in the text.

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<sup>138</sup> Green *Writing the Great War* p. 188 re. Winter, D, Travers, and French, D 'Sir James Edmonds' in B. Bond (ed.) *The First World War and British Military History* Oxford 1991

<sup>139</sup> Green *Writing the Great War* pp 224 and 287



## Conclusion

While it has been possible to draw on a wide range of relevant published works in writing this thesis, a number of important gaps in our knowledge exist and these will be highlighted in the following chapters. The study will rely on primary and secondary source material to demonstrate where further research could be developed in order to start to address some of these omissions. The study will evaluate previously untapped sources as well as seeking to re-interpret existing evidence to challenge previously held views. For instance, the study will demonstrate the impact and importance of single momentous events on the future path of a community or organisational unit during the War. As an example, the Battle of Festubert was a reference point for soldiers later in the War in relation to new drafts, Derby men and conscripts. Festubert was also significant for Southport which twinned with the village after the War in part-memorial, part-assistance. At the same time, the development in combat effectiveness of the Battalion, from its first engagement at Festubert, through the battlefields of the Somme and Ypres to its rapid advance to Ath in Autumn 1918, was an experience shared by the vast majority of other Territorial battalions on the Western Front. This study will provide an assessment of that experience, and the significance of the part played by the Territorial Forces in the War.

This study shows that Festubert was not the only focus for solidarity and identity within the Battalion. The significance of Southport and Bootle, of the Red Rose of Lancashire, of Lord Derby himself and the name of the Regiment should not be underestimated. These elements of community identity and recognition were vital aspects of the troops' morale, contributing to their combat effectiveness. The study also demonstrates that the success of the Battalion and Division in battle, though tested after Cambrai and questioned by Griffith, was surely endorsed by Jeudwine's subsequent appointments, first as commander of the Lancashire Division of the Occupation Army, then in Ireland and then over the whole Territorial Force. Other studies including Moorhouse's work on Bury, have established similar themes of the important aspects of community identity.<sup>140</sup>

Nothing could entirely fill the knowledge gaps for a civilian who did not go to the Front; to this extent there was clearly a difference between the two experiences of the War but there is also much evidence of the bridging of that difference. Perhaps a more important

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<sup>140</sup> Moorhouse *Hell's Foundations*

division existed at Home over the way in which the War was being run by the politicians and the Generals. The dichotomy between appealing for more and more men and the need to arm and feed the nation does not feature directly in this study.

Finally, the study will reveal the extent of different attitudes towards memorialisation and remembrance. The debate over the usefulness and cost of stone memorials, rather than utilitarian ones, was clearly in evidence in the area. Similarly, the approach to a utilitarian memorial was varied, with hospital wings and scholarships vying for attention with rebuilding on foreign soil. The study will demonstrate the extent of the assistance given to the rebuilding in France, though its significance may appear to have been more symbolic than real. But, regardless of individual perspectives, the evidence relating to these movements will demonstrate the importance of community involvement and identification with the War effort and its aftermath to an extent which has previously been emphasised more in theory than grounded in real examples.

The analysis over the following chapters will develop these factors and provide further evidence of the significance of the links between the Battalion and Home. The next chapter will examine the nature of the communities of south west Lancashire that fed the 1/7<sup>th</sup> King's at the onset of war. It will also consider the immediate impact of war on the communities and on their relationship with 'their' battalion.



James Cook (marked with a cross) with some comrades  
in France, while still a Private, March 1915.

*Photograph courtesy of Diana Spalton*