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Made In UK

**Xenophobic propaganda, treatment of “Enemy Aliens” in Britain
prior and during WW1 , and the Mackintosh 78 Derngate commission**

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Abstract

This paper reviews the success of utilising craft activities, with a focus on woodwork, to relieve the suffer caused to civilians of German origin interned on the Isle of Man (Knockaloe Camp) by the British government during the First World War.

It is also examining, through the case of an order of commissioned furniture for the home of Wenman Joseph Bassett- Lowke, and designed by architect Charles Rennie Mackintosh, the challenges that the prevailing atmosphere in war time England had faced these two individuals with, and how they dealt with them. Chapter 1 will discuss the transition from a multi-ethnic, relatively harmonious society in the late 1800s, to a paranoid, foreign-fearing public fuelled by Jingoistic hatred speech and war propaganda. It continues to show the parallel transition in architect Mackintosh's professional arena in Glasgow, from booming internationalism towards traditionalism, a trend which Mackintosh had refused to follow. This refusal might have been one of the causes to his departure to England, where he was also blamed for endangering the country due to his German and Austrian working relations. Also introduced is Wenman Joseph Bassett Lowke. The second chapter is dedicated to description of the internment facilities allocated to the civilians who were separated from their families and businesses and sent to the Isle of Man where they could be easily monitored and controlled. The Quakers' Friends Emergency Committee was founded to seek a solution for the symptoms of "Barbed Wire Disease", which the interned men were suffering from, and James Thomas Baily, a craftsman who used his knowledge and his compassion to help the knockaloe men reclaim their individual human identities and rights by giving them tools and aiding with whatever he could source to encourage their initiatives. chapter 3 will share Thoughts about my encounter with furniture made at Knockaloe camp's cabinet-making workshop, and my discontent with the lacking representation of the historical narrative in a museum environment. Possible reasons for Bassett Lowke and Charles Rennie Mackintosh's involvement in the Knockaloe Commission, and an interview with Barbara Floyer, former archivist at The 78 Derngate Museum in Northampton.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank a few people who assisted with my research, contributed from their own experience and knowledge, and have been generous with their mind space and time, introducing me to their fellow academics, sharing materials, and guiding me during my site visits: Yvonne M. Creswell from Manx National Heritage, David Walsh from 78 Derngate, Barbara Floyer (Derngate former archivist) and Wendy Thirkettle (MNH archivist). Tom Krasny, May 2017

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Chapter 1: "Spy Fever": The prevailing atmosphere in Britain before the outbreak of the first world war and its effect on "Enemy Aliens", Charles Rennie Mackintosh and Wenman Joseph Bassett Lowke of Northampton.

Richard Dove writes in his book "Totally Un English? Britain's internment of 'Enemy Aliens' In Two World Wars" :

"The internment of 'Enemy Aliens' by the British government in two world wars is a subject which remains largely hidden from history."

He argues that historians of the two world wars have treated it, if at all, as a regrettable minor episode, a footnote to the main narrative of Britain at war.

Ronit Or, in her Thesis called "Humanizing the stranger", points to the rhetoric which made dehumanising civilians of German national origins possible and digestible for the British public. Quoting A. Gregory (the great last war) and other researchers, She indicates the British society gathered around a war narrative which benefited conformity, solidarity with the war's purposes, and civilian sacrifice, and at the same time, de legitimised "the war objectors", grouping together liberals, peace movements, and immigrants, depicting them as immoral traitors posing a threat to the National "War Effort".

During the First World War, (also known as : "The Great War"), Britain interned some 30,000 German nationals, most of whom had been resident in the country for a number of years, sometime decades; many were arrested and interned in May 1915 in the outbreak of "Spy Mania" , which followed the sinking of the liner Lusitania. 3

James T. Bailey, the industrial superintendent at Knockaloe internment camp IoM, writes in his diary :

"No nation can persist in a state of war unless it has the backing of public opinion. Knowing this, a nation upon declaring war, will establish a department led by those well versed in the psychology of public opinion; a campaign is started... to make public opinion to solidly back the war policy of the nation". 4

Britain has declared war over Germany on the 4th of August 1914, after two decades of economical and naval rivalry. The declaration of war was prompted due to Germany's invasion to Belgium, to which sovereignty Britain was liable.

By September 1914 the war had become a part of everyday British lives, and was "broadcasted" to the general public via war propaganda and the press, towing a line with government policy. "German Atrocities" were described with relation to the Belgium invasion. The more vile and grotesque the portraiture of the enemy, the more British society felt righteous and determined to win the war. 5

During the 19th century, Britain was a destination for economic migrants and a shelter for political refugees and army drafters from other countries. Irish, Chinese, Germans and Jews

from eastern Europe and Russia were unlimitedly accepted, perhaps due to a liberal immigration policy, perhaps as a solution for the shortage in cheap labour in the different industry strands. Unlike their government, many British citizens perceived the immigrants as a burden, competition for workplaces and as posing a societal and hygienic threat. 6

Starting circa 1880, the racist approach arguing that “Aliens” are the antithesis for the “British National identity” has become an inherent part of the agenda of Jingoist right wing politicians and was blatantly expressed in the printed press. 7

This type of spirit has influenced movements like “The British Brothers League” and led to a public protest which resulted in the 1905 “Alien Act”; The first in a series of acts which limited foreign citizens movement in Britain.

Before the declaration of WW1, the community of German speakers in Britain included some 70,000 people. These were mainly temporary work migrants, yet some integrated in the British society, married British wives and “naturalised”. The community spread all over the UK and wasn’t confined to a certain area, and its people practiced a wide range of professions, some of which weren't attractive to “native” Britons. 8

After the outbreak of war, the Germanophobia has spread out alongside patriotism and people of German origin were perceived as “un-loyal” and as enemy collaborators. On the 5th of August 1914, the “Alien restriction act 1914” was passed, and on the 8th of August 1914 it was joined by the “Defence of the realm act 1914”. Both emergency acts were approved by the parliament without any objection, and included a section which enabled the minister of interior to add amendments as they please. These acts expanded the enforcement authority for local administrations, and against the traditional British common law, where Habeas Corpus determines that every suspect should be brought into court of law, it made possible the detainment of “Enemy subjects” without a trial, while violating their rights in the name of “national security” and “the benefit of the public”. 9



ALIENS RESTRICTION ACT.

HIS MAJESTY THE KING has been graciously pleased to extend to the Isle of Man by an order in Council, under the Isle of Man (War Legislation) Act, 1914, the Aliens' Restriction Act, 1914, together with an Order in Council made thereunder.

1. All aliens resident in the Isle of Man must immediately register themselves with the Chief Officer of Police, Police Station, Douglas.
2. Every alien must furnish to the Chief Officer of Police any information which may reasonably be required for the purposes of registration.
3. An alien enemy shall not travel more than five miles from his registered place of residence unless furnished with a licence from the Chief Officer of Police, which licence shall not cover a period exceeding 24 hours from the date of its issue, and shall be returned to the Chief Officer of Police at the end of the period for which it was issued.
4. An alien enemy shall not, except with the written permission of the Chief Officer of Police, be in possession of—
 - (a) any firearms or other weapons, ammunition or explosives, or material intended to be used for the manufacture of explosives;
 - (b) any petroleum spirit, naphtha, benzol, petroleum, or other inflammable liquid in quantities exceeding three gallons;
 - (c) any apparatus or contrivance intended for, or capable of being used for, a signalling apparatus, either visual or otherwise;
 - (d) any carrier or homing pigeons;
 - (e) any motor car, motor cycle, motor boat, yacht, or aircraft;
 - (f) any cypher code or other means of conducting secret correspondence;
 - (g) any telephone installation;
 - (h) any camera or other photographic apparatus;
 - (i) any military or naval map, chart or handbook.
5. The circulation of any newspaper wholly or mainly in the language of a State, or any part of a State, at war with His Majesty, is prohibited without permission of a Secretary of State. For this purpose the expression "newspaper" includes "periodical."
6. Any person failing to comply with any of the requirements above referred to is liable to a fine not exceeding £100, or to imprisonment with or without hard labour, for a term not exceeding six months.
7. "An alien enemy" means an alien whose Sovereign or State is at war with His Majesty.

By Order,

B. E. SARGEAUNT,
Government Secretary.

Government Office,
Isle of Man,
2nd October, 1914

(number), taken from "IOM Government circulars, Relating to Aliens, Internees or Detainees 1914-1919 (Mnx national heritage)

According to Sergeant, a “Royal warrant for the maintenance of discipline amongst prisoners of war” was signed on the 3rd of August 1914.

“Our will and pleasure is that the custody of and maintenance of discipline among POWs interned in the United Kingdom and elsewhere shall be governed by the laws and customs of war, and the regulations attached to this..”

The regulations mentioned provided for the establishments of Military courts, which had the power to try any prisoner of war upon “Any charge or charges... or for any offence the commission of which shall be held prejudicial to the safety of well being of his majesty’s dominions, armed forces, or subjects...” 10 (Sergeant, p.61)

Apart from affecting “Enemy Subjects”, British professionals also who had trading or other professional relationships with Germany and Austria have suffered from the consequences of the prevailing atmosphere. Germany was artistically and industrially innovative, and its reputation (and sometimes British dependency) have “humiliated” the all mighty, self sufficient public image the war propaganda was promoting, resulting in accusations and the condemnation of any sort of business or professional collaboration with the enemy nation.

In the Hunterian’s publication from 1994, going back in time to 1913, Alan Crawford describes a “frustrated and worn-out Charles Rennie Mackintosh” who has made a decision to resign from the Architecture partnership of Honeyman, Keppie and Mackintosh. Between 1908 and 1914 he completed only 9 small jobs, and his financial situation was not ideal. 11

In July 1914, CRM and his partner and creative collaborator Margaret Macdonald went to Walberswick in Suffolk for their holidays. The war broke soon after. Margaret persuaded Charles to stay away from Glasgow and spend some time resting. She let their Glasgow house and as far as is known, CRM never went back there. It seems like Walberswick did the couple well, but in May 1915, after local residents learned that CRM had worked in Germany and Austria, the military authorities came and confiscated some of his private papers. This was followed by orders to leave the area. 12 Mackintosh, described by Robertson as “fiercely patriotic”, went up to London to clear his name. 13

Juliet Kinchin contextualise Mackintosh’s internationalist approach in the essay “Mackintosh and the city”: “As one of the richest cities in the world and as the centre for an immense network of trade and manufacture, Glasgow operated in an international rather than a narrowly Scottish or British context. Against this backdrop it is hardly surprising that Glaswegian artists, designers and architects did not seem to have the inbuilt resistance to continental or foreign influence that blinkered many of their English contemporaries” 14

Mackintosh’s reputation was the strongest in Europe. Geddes remarked about surprisingly finding “Mackintosh” almost as accepted descriptive term in architecture- and this not only in Germany, but from Belgium to Hungary. 15 Furthermore, Glasgow’s international trade required keeping in tune with political change, as well as technological developments abroad. 16 Small and large companies have participated in international exhibitions of the period.

Many Glaswegians sought work abroad, and independent foreign travel for business, education or leisure was commonplace within the middle classes. For Mackintosh's friends and associates it was a routine matter to study, work or take a holiday abroad. Mackintosh traveled to Italy in 1891 on a student scholarship, and later had work exhibited in Vienna (1900) and Turin (1902), and was in regular contact with international colleagues by means of letters and telegraph. It is also believed that Margaret MacDonald and CRM were considering moving to Vienna. 17

Gavin Stamp also mentions the documents in his essay "The London Years": "Mackintosh was living in London. The preceding year he had been served with an expulsion order in Walberswick as he was considered a security risk for the military. A strange, outlandish figure in the sleepy Suffolk seaside town, he was rumoured to have connections with Germany and Austria. and sure enough...they found some German and Austrian letters" 18

These letters are presumed to be from the likes of Hermann Muthesius and Josef Hoffman, relating to artistic and social affairs.19 Stamp continues to describe war-time England as xenophobic and paranoid, in which shops with German names were sacked and Dachshund dogs stoned in the open street.

Stamp presents a personified representation of the clashing agendas of the time, using the characters of CRM and Eugene Bourdon; the latter, a French architect who had been invited to become Glasgow's first professor of architecture in 1904, and was killed in July 1916, in the battle of the Somme, represents the Franco-American ideal, conflicting the Austro-German influence acting on Glasgow through Mackintosh. Bourdon was described by his obituarist in the *Scots Pictorial* as "waging war upon sheer mediocrity and upon a strong cult of eccentricity in architecture which, strangely enough, emanated from Austria and Germany-enemies alike of freedom and justice and of the spirit of beauty which evolves through the age and carries forward the great work of tradition" 20. It seems Mackintosh failed to "follow suit" and shift his artistic focus from Vienna to Paris; a choice which seems to have marginalised him within his national professional community. 21

Mackintosh is described as "rootless in London, trying to persuade the Home office that he was not a spy" 22. MacDonald joined him in August 1915, they found adjoining studios in Glebe Place, Chelsea, and accommodation nearby. The couple made friends with artists and musicians, and made a living from designing textiles and furniture and designing interiors. Soon after they settled in Chelsea, perhaps around late December 1915, CRM was offered a job by W.J Bassett-Lowke from Northampton.

W.J Bassett Lowke and his model engineering business

Wenman Joseph Bassett Lowke grew up around the engineering and boiler making business founded by his father's stepfather, Absalom Bassett in Kingswell street, Northampton, Joseph Tom Lowke, who had been brought up a Bassett, reverted to his real father's name when he got married, and his children were given Bassett as a middle name. Wenman Joseph was born in 1877, had a "hyperactive nature and drive to control the world around him" 23. He left school at 13 to pursue a practical training, and spent 18 months in

an architect's office, before continuing to the course of an apprenticeship with the family firm (J.T Lowke and sons as it was operated since 1897). W.J's father encouraged him to do a one-year electrical engineering apprenticeship around 1898, as he was keen to keep updating with technological progress.

by this time Bassett Lowke Jr was demonstrating entrepreneurial initiative and starting to make model steam engines and fittings. He launched "The Model Engineer and Amateur Electrician Magazine" in 1898, and 1899 saw the beginning of "W.J Bassett Lowke and Co.", introduced by the first catalogue. 24

In 1900 B-L visited the "Exposion Universelle" in Paris, which was a huge display of art and industry to celebrate the new century. He was particularly impressed by the high class toy production. As B-L had a natural talent for networking, he quickly established personal contacts with Nuremberg toy manufacturers Bing brothers and Georges Carette.

Their high quality model railways made anything available at Britain at the time seem crude and old fashioned 25, and B-L saw the opportunity of having locomotives made to his specifications in Germany. it was when his lasting admiration for German things began, as well as a lifelong passion for continental travel- Germany and Austria, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Scandinavia were his preferred destinations. 26

In the years before the First World War, manufacturing capacity of what became 'Bassett Lowke LTD' was rapidly growing. This was due to effective use of German suppliers and the addition of satellite companies such as George Winteringham's precision engineering firm, and the business of E.W Twining, a model maker and draughtsman. Operating several separate enterprises enabled B-L to respond to different opportunities 27. The first Bassett Lowke branch opened in London in 1908.

I have asked Barbara Floyer, former archivist at 78 Derngate, to comment on the conflict between B-L's personal connections with german manufacturers and his internationalist outlook, and the rabid anti-german feeling commonplace prior and during war time:

"Prior to the WW1 many of the models sold by Bassett-Lowke were imported, or made from imported parts, from Germany. So during the war W J Bassett-Lowke announced that he intended to replace all German made parts with those manufactured in Northampton.

He was clearly coming in for some criticism within the model community at this time. In the Models,Railways & Locomotives Magazine of September 1914, Henry Greenly, the editor, wrote,"....in our opinion the million a year we have passed over to the Fatherland for toys and models would have been better expanded in this country..... We submit that all our five thousand readers who are interested in models will be sufficiently patriotic to buy only British made models and accessories if they can, and in any case to demand a guarantee that what they buy is of British manufacture or not."

Bassett-Lowke felt that he had to defend his position and in his Handbook of 1915 makes a point of declaring that,"We are distinctly an All British Firm-English Capital-English Directors -English Staff and over 80% of the articles sold by us are British Made in our Works at Northampton."

By 1916 he felt obliged to write,“(we) have not or ever have had an enemy subject in our employ.”

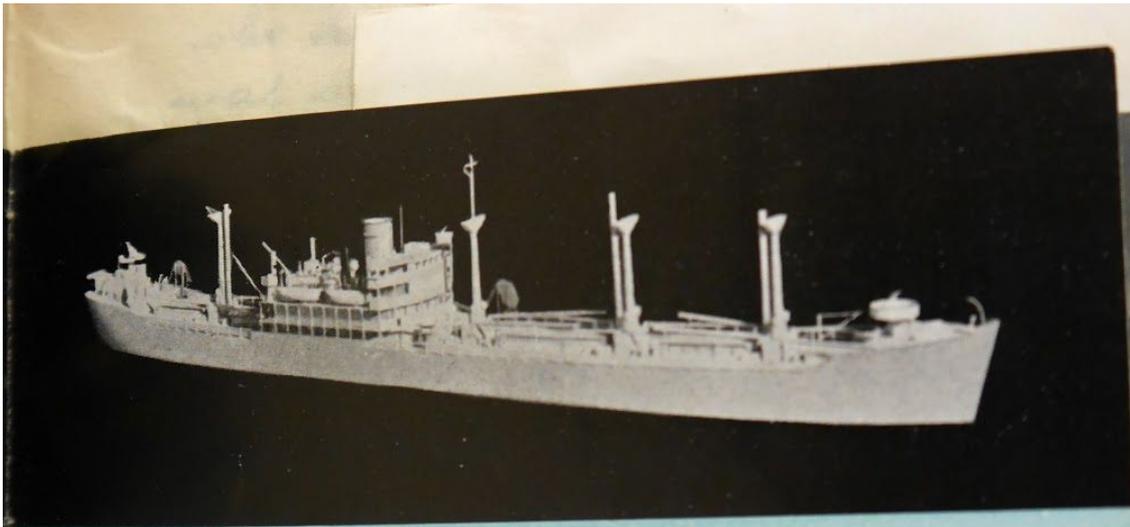
Understandably, as the war progressed, the civilian demand for models declined but Bassett-Lowke Ltd. became involved in important war work. The Admiralty commissioned miniature ships by the thousand, models of both allied and enemy vessels. These were used by the Navy for training purposes and a great degree of accuracy was essential.

The company arguably had an even more important role during the war in the design and manufacture of screw-gauges for munition factories. The model making staff of Bassett-Lowke Ltd. were used to the supreme degree of accuracy required to make gauges to ensure that all munition components were produced within very fine limits. Not surprisingly, this had a significant impact on the war effort.” 28

Bassett models were also used for training purposes, to guide British soldiers how to identify enemy ships. below is an image from a B_L LTD catalogue reading:

“ I do not think we should be able to reach the high state of training which we get, without the assistance of the Bassett Lowke models”.

and also: “ I wonder if those who make the models really understand the great part their models play in the training of the Royal Navy in their work at sea”. (a booklet attached to one of the James T bailey scrap books, Manx heritage museum) 29



A "Liberty" Ship modelled to a scale of 25 ft. to 1 in.

reconnaissance flights over the ocean is invaluable and I do not think we should be able to reach the high state of training which we get, without the assistance of the Bassett-Lowke models.

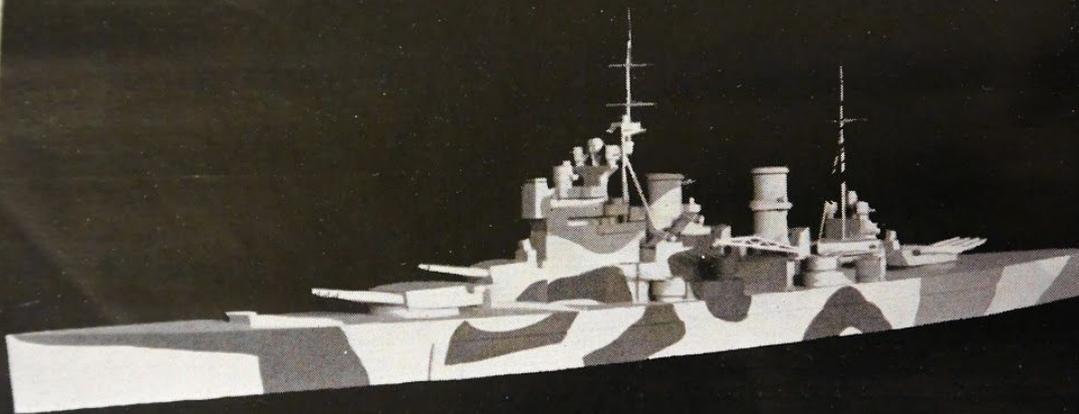
"During my extensive experience at sea in this war, it has been very rare for the Fleet Air Arm to make a mistake in the recognition of enemy ships, ships which they could not actually have seen before, but have been able to recognise by being trained on your models . . ."

Naval Air Service: Rear-Admiral A. L. St. G. Lyster, C.B.M.

" . . . I wonder if those who make these models really understand the great part their models play in the training of the Royal Navy in their work at sea.

"Ship recognition plays such a vital part in all sea warfare, and as far as my own branch of the service is concerned, that is, the Fleet Air Arm, an early appreciation by the aircrews and recognition of what they see during their

H.M.S. King George V in camouflage. Scale 25 ft. to 1 in. (1/300th).



Considering the similarities between CRM and B-L's international taste and preferences, it is not surprising that in 1916, when B-L's father bought a terraced house in 78 Derngate street, Northampton under his son's name, the latter sought to employ Mackintosh to re-model his first marital home. (During the first World War, under severe rationing, it was impossible to build a new house and Bassett Lowke compromised for transforming an existing one). 30

I will return and elaborate on The 78 Derngate commission in the next chapter.

* * *

Chapter 2: “Old Knockaloe”, the largest internment camp for civilian prisoners of War, the pacifist service work of the Friends Emergency and J.T Bailey, the Mackintosh furniture commission.

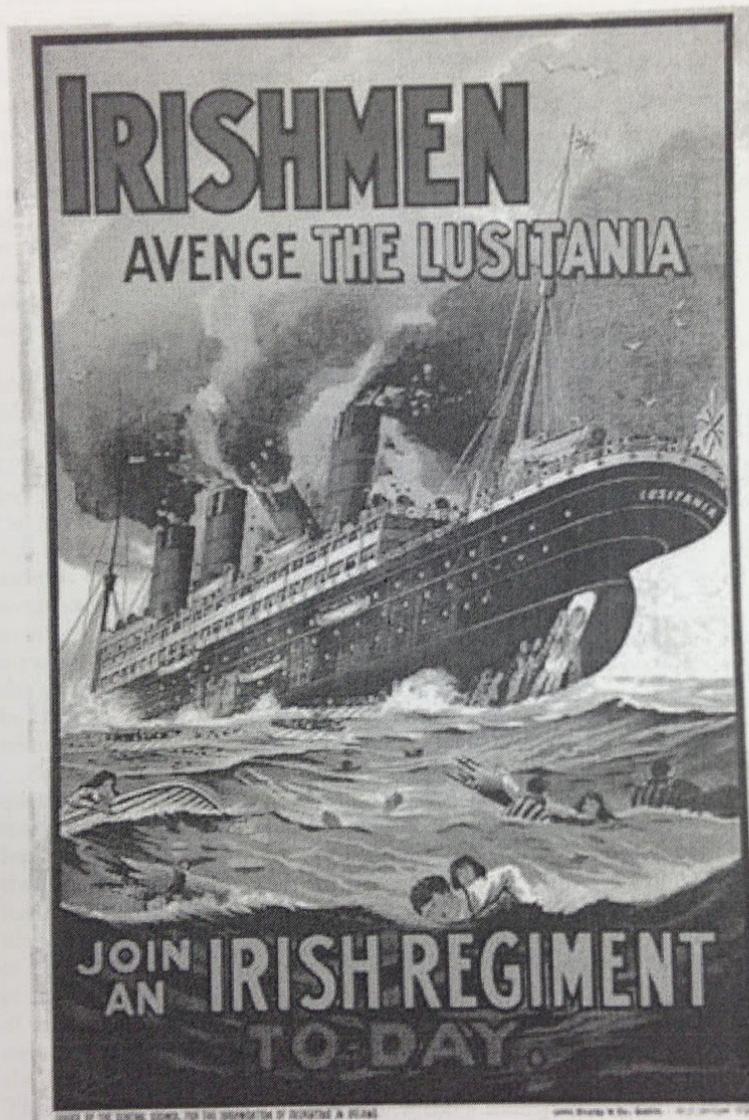
Nicoletta F. Gullace quoted from the memoirs of Pat O’mara from Liverpool. in the slum where he grew up, “Negroes, Chinese, Filipinos.. almost every nationality under the sun, most of them boasting white wives and large half-caste families, were our neighbours.. often intermarrying with other ethnic groups “ 31

O’mara’s neighborhood and others like it are described to have existed in a sort of fractious ethnic harmony until the declaration of war in August 1914. Economically, the need for working hands to replace drafted workers has been beneficial to those who replaced them. On the other hand, ethnic hatred erupted, as Germans came to be identified by O’mara and his neighbours as “The Enemy in our midst” 32. While some supported the Germans and suffered to defend their actions, most others, like O’mara’s mother, supported the draconian legal measures taken against enemy aliens living in port towns. O’mara recalls that unnaturalised Germans living in nearby were rounded up and sent to the Isle of Man detention camp. 33 O’mara continues to describe a debate between him and his mother , reflecting on the contradiction between treating an acquaintance of German ethnic origin as a friend or an enemy:

“ There were some others.. but they had their British naturalisation papers- cute rascals! I tried to reason with mother that perhaps it was a bit unfair, interning German sailormen, like Charlie Thomas for instance, who had raised big families and had forgotten all about the fatherland...’Sure it’s right to breakup the families- they’d do it to us, wouldn’t they?’ she’s ask. Yes, I suppose they would. Then to prove her point [she] showed me reports of the latest German atrocities” 34

The “German Atrocities” have proved to be a powerful rhetorical tool when it came to rationalising a visceral hatred towards ethnic Germans, sometimes of long-standing acquaintance. This is highly evident in the collective emotion stirred up by the sinking of the passenger liner *Lusitania* by a German submarine off the coast of Ireland, causing the death of 1195 of its passengers.

Figure 1
W.E.T., "Irishmen Avenge the Lusitania" (1915)



This recruiting poster plays upon Irish outrage over an atrocity committed in Irish waters. Parents and children are depicted prominently among the wreckage. (Courtesy Imperial War Museum, London, IWM PST 3299)

The Lusitania disaster sparked violent riots against the German speaking communities, which prompted the prime minister Herbert Henry Asquith (1852-1928) to introduce a policy of "wholesale internment", demanded by extreme nationalists, which would affect all

adult males enemy aliens between the ages of 17-55 and would remain in force until 1919. In October 1916 a Prisoners of War Department had come into existence, headed by Lord Newton. 35

According to Panay, only 3,100 of the 13,600 internees held in Britain on 22 September 1914 had originated on the battlefields. Most of remaining 10,500 came from the German civilian community in Britain. by 1 February 1915 there were between 19,000 and 20,000 merchant sailors and civilians (German and Austrian) interned. From the summer of 1915, men were interned at a rate of 1000 per week. By November 1915, following the decision to intern all enemy aliens of military age, the number of civilian internees had reached 32,440 .36

The first “Permanent POW camp” consisted of Dorchester, a ‘hastily converted army camp’, which opened in the middle of August 1914. It was used for housing soldiers as well as civilians and people captured at sea. On 8 October 1914, 450 civilians faced transfer to the Isle of Man.

Panay describes one of these hastily early camps, in Newbury, which was established on a race course. The prisoners lived in horse boxes with neither heat nor light. In October 1914 it housed 1,200 people, including wounded German soldiers. the Newbury camp faced closure at the start of 1915 because of its unsuitability. 37

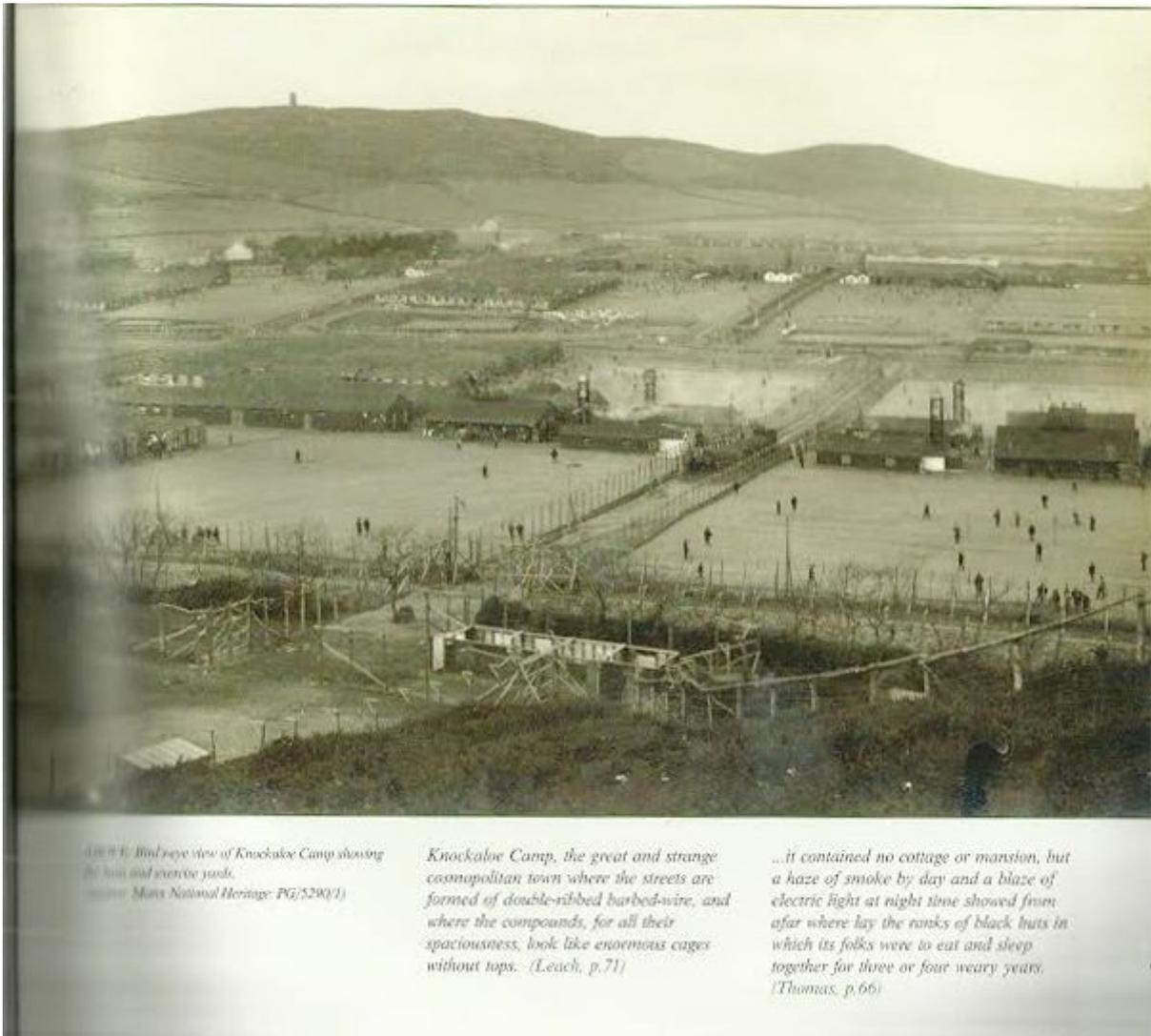
Designated camps for civilian internees became fully operational after the introduction of mass internment in May 1915. By far the most important of these were located on the Isle of Man. The first camps utilised the site of a former holiday camp in the city of Douglas, and held 2,300 prisoners, with a privilege camp, a jewish camp and an ordinary camp. Much bigger was Knockaloe camp, positioned on the west of the island near Peel, which would grow to hold 23,000 men, divided between four sub-camps. I will be focusing on Knockaloe internment camp in this essay.

Life conditions in the camp

Sargeant, Lieutenant governor of the Isle of Man writes: “[on] a farm known as Knockaloe Moar..[it had] previously been used as a camping ground for territorial troops (16,000 reserve soldiers)...[and] possessed an adequate water supply” 38.

An article published in the Isle of Man weekly Times helps to shed light on the difficulty to logistically deal with the sudden instruction for civilian internment:

“The extension of the alien camp at Knockaloe was to accommodate another 5,000 aliens, making a total of 10,000 altogether. It is not expected that the camp will even finish then, and goodness only knows the total number that will eventually be interned there, if the government’s intention is to intern all alien enemies of a military age-there are about 40,000 at large in Great Britain yet” 39



41894: Bird's-eye view of Knockaloe Camp showing the huts and exercise yards.
Source: Manx National Heritage PG/5290/1

Knockaloe Camp, the great and strange cosmopolitan town where the streets are formed of double-ribbed barbed-wire, and where the compounds, for all their spaciousness, look like enormous cages without tops. (Leach, p.71)

...it contained no cottage or mansion, but a haze of smoke by day and a blaze of electric light at night time showed from afar where lay the ranks of black huts in which its folks were to eat and sleep together for three or four weary years. (Thomas, p.66)

the image above shows a bird's eye view of Knockaloe including the huts and exercise yards. Source: Manx National Heritage PG/5290/1

The standard installation for internment camps consisted of huts which simply resembled army barracks.

a report by the Army Council dating 7 August 1915 discussed problems at Knockaloe. The report referred to the forthcoming introduction of a "new scale of dietary", to bring Knockaloe into line with other camps. Canteen prices on IoM were the highest among all of the camps. it had also noted a "great deal of trading and gambling among the prisoners", where some has openly sold items that were given to them. following this report , bulk supplies to the camp were to be restricted. 40

The poor conditions in the camp seem to have inspired the following satiric poem, found in the scrapbook of James T. Bailey, Written by "Old Sepp" (excerpt)

Oh Knockaloe, Written by "OLD SEPP"

Last night I dreamt of Ham and Eggs, the joy it made me weep
And sure enough when waking up the tears were on my cheek
But what do you think the moisture was when I from bed arose
'twas but the rain came through the hut and dripping on my nose.

Oh Knockaloe you're all in black
You took a jolly lot of us but gave us nothing back
Oh Knockaloe you're a lively spot
Of all the godforsaken holes you beat the blooming lot

Last week a good old pall of mine invited me to tea
I have got a real joint he said, of course I went with glee
And sure enough the meat was there, 'twas no blooming lark
But when I put my fork in it the joint began to bark.

There's not enough of meat about to feed our tailless cats
The only things that're living well are our fleas and rats
The ration's just enough to keep starvation from Compound
The reasons were alive at all, is "SCHIEBUNG" done all round.

Knockaloe Internee Frederick Nettel wrote directly to the US ambassador, Page, in November 1915, saying that instead of being given a proper mattress, pillows, blankets and a sheet, about half the prisoners at Knockaloe were still lying on the floor on straw sacks. only shabby blankets have been supplied. The heating was inadequate, with half the huts having no heating at all; bathing space was too cramped, vegetables were practically non-existent, and exercise provision was inadequate, the prisoners being allowed on to the recreation ground only two or three times a week. The huts have been built on a newly ploughed field which rain quickly turned into a quagmire, the camp was seriously overcrowded, with ninety prisoners being housed in each hut. Further complaints were received during November, some via the US ambassador and some from the internees directly. Among other things, these complained that some had no heating fuel. At the end of November, 34 internees from compound 5 at the camp sent a petition via the american embassy to the FO, which concluded: "The statement in the press that we are treated according to the rules laid down by the Hague Convention is not a fact and the treatment meted out to us leaves in every way much to be desired" 41

It seems that some of these claims were met by mid-1916, with US inspectors noting that accommodation as well as sanitary provision was better than in the last inspection, apart from the isolation hospital facilities where there were only one bath and one sink for the mutual use of patients suffering from different contagious diseases. Despite the notable improvement in conditions, Knockaloe continued to attract attention, and in October 1916, Mary Pankhurst submitted a petition to the government on behalf of the internees about the continuing poor conditions there. 42

Apart from logistical and material adjustment to camp life, an obvious emotional, psychological and mental adjustment was required from the internees, who were often torn away from their families, friends and businesses.

James Thomas Bailey, who was sent to Knockaloe by "The Friends' emergency committee", a Quaker committee practicing relief work in conflict affected zones, describes the situation:

"The sudden snapping of family ties and the frequent break up of home and business connections was an unfortunate state of affairs between the internees and their families, friends (Quaker relief workers, T.K) assisting the families often found it absolutely necessary to get into communication with the interned father so that arrangement could be made.."43
"citizens with their freedom lost, wrenched away from home and kindred, no sight but at rare intervals of woman or child, their future problematical and the duration of their detention unpredictable" 44

a condition known as "Barbed Wire Disease" has developed amongst the internees. The symptoms of this were "moroseness, avoidance of others, and an aimless promenading up and down the barbed wire boundary of the compound, like a wild animal in a cage" 45

Panay points to a book published by one of the inspectors from the Swiss Embassy in London, A.L Vischer. Vischer spoke of a "mental unity" among prisoners, and noted there are various degrees of Barbed Wire Disease. He claimed that, very few prisoners who have been in the camp over six months were free from it. Vischer mentions several causes for Barbed Wire Disease, including : complete absence of privacy and a chance of being alone, uncertainty of the duration of their internment period, irregularity of communication from home.

Leach mentions the problem of the lack of pastime activities: "The great problem of the camps is the provision of suitable employment. As a breezy subaltern put it to me, "You must either give 'em something to do or let them go 'dotty"". 46

In an attempt to deal with the isolation, the physical and mental distress and the detachment from their families and everyday lives, the internees have developed different adjustment strategies to make it easier for them and give them a sense of control and freedom of choice. The poem mentioned before, written by "Old Sepp" is one example as it "ventilates" the helplessness and frustration in a humorous way.

Because Knockaloe camp was run usually without any discipline problems or violations on account of the interned men, the military command passed over the responsibility for running the daily routine to the hands of the internees, as well as the aid organisations, including the Quaker relief movement "The Friends Emergency Committee". 47

The Quakers and James T. Bailey

The Quakers are a Christian religious, nonconformist community founded in 1650. Its members maintain a unique lifestyle according to six principals bound in the “testimonies”, and guided by what they refer to as “The Inward Light”. The Pacifist “Peace testimony” is the most publicly identified with the community whose members refused to hold weapons or take part in violent acts, during hundreds of years. In parallel, Quakers have been trying to eliminate the sources of violence by tending to societal wrongs, re-building of weak populations and humanitarian relief work. 48

During WW1, some 20,000 men of Quaker belief were facing a dilemma: They were forced to choose between their religious-pacifist belief, and their british nationality and the demand to join the national war force. out of 2,300 men in military age, about 650 were drafted to the British army. the rest declared their refusal to fight to military tribunals. 145 men were sentenced and jailed, the rest chose to express their protest by doing rehabilitation and relief work to minimise and amend the damage caused by the war. 49

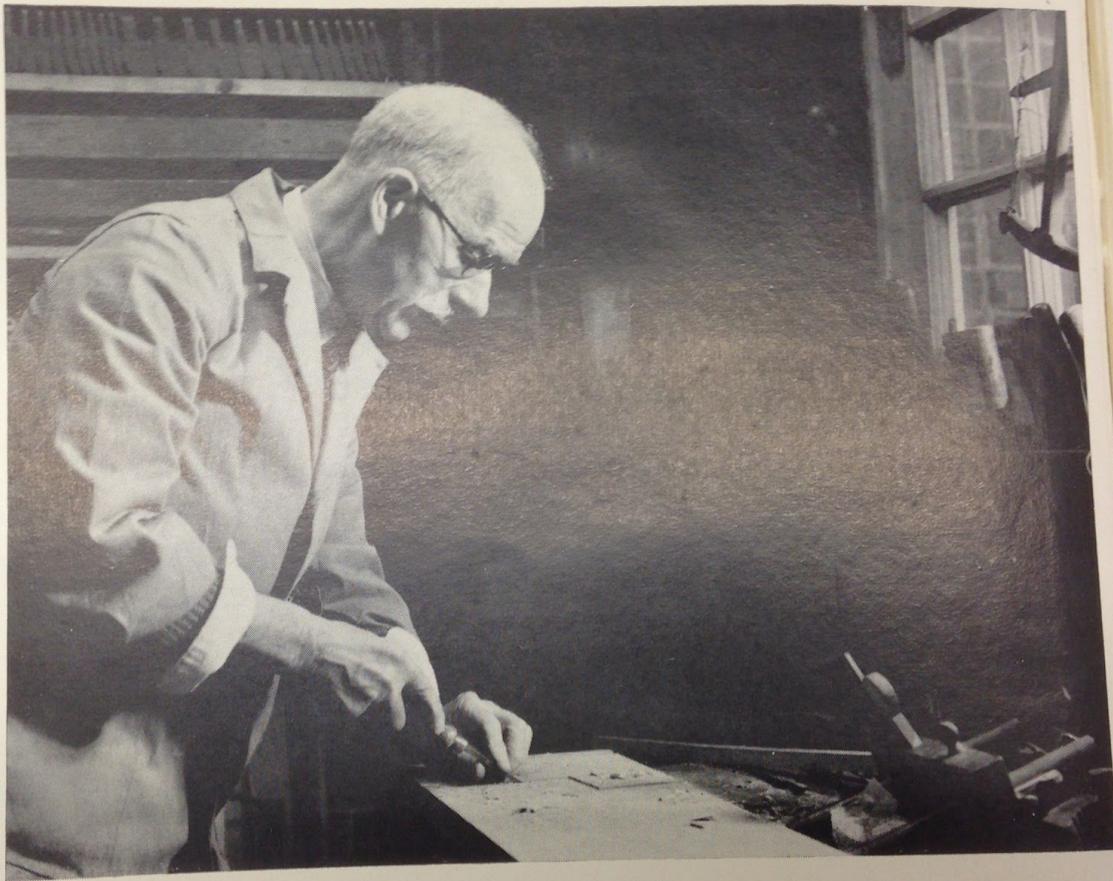
The Quakers’ relief work was done from a civilian perspective, detached from the military’s needs and was not committed to the national-patriotic narrative, but was a religious and moral alternative which defines “Patriotism” in terms of Universalism, Pacifism and humanitarianism. Most of the community members were not trying to disrupt the existing political order; they chose instead to incorporate themselves in the institutional systems through intervention practices which attempted to widen the consensus in peaceful ways so that it would contain their alternative take on citizenship. 50

Ronit Or mentions Heather Jones and other researchers discussing the development of the Quaker relief work and the strengthening of its status during World War 1, when it turned from an assortment of private initiatives, to a professional organisation granted world recognition. Researchers define the aid work’s role as a softening and moderating within the cruelty of war. They also emphasise the initial conflict between the ethics of relief work to the military’s needs. On the 7 August 1914, The London Quaker community founded “The Friends Emergency Committee” for Enemy Subjects in distress, in order to assist the rapidly growing interned population with the restrictions cast on them by The “Emergency Acts”. Anna Braithwait Thomas, secretary of the F.E.C, describes in her book the Quakers’ aid work and their aspirations to win the government’s recognition as a formal aid organisation, this was realised in 1916. 51 The legitimation for their volunteering aid work enabled practice of their belief and the “Peace testimony”, and also enabled the Quakers to demonstrate a presence alternative to the narrow minded “War Policy” and propaganda from within the institutional system.

Braithwait Thomas describes Knockaloe : four sub-camps, each ruled by a sub-commandant. Each compound was wired off from its neighbors, with permission granted to only a few men to pass from one compound to another. The inhabitants of each compound were subdivided again into groups, each under its own leader. constant head counts were made to ensure against escapes.

She writes: "St Stephen's House always felt drawn to do as much as possible for Knockaloe men.. The intrenchments that guarded the interned alien were many and formidable. If you wished to render some personal service to a man in Knockaloe, you might have to run the gauntlet of the home office, the war office, the Isle of Man government, the general camp commandant, the sub commandant (not to mention the assistant commandant), the sergeant, the quarter master or the doctor liable to put a word in also" 52

B.T mentions that Apart from The F.E.C's representative, James T. Baily was brought as the second full time worker to the camp. Bailey was the son of a carpenter and joiner from Sheffield, and became a teacher of craft and a leading authority on craft teaching in schools. 53



I

J. T. B. at his bench at home, after his retirement. The plane on the bench was used by his father and grandfather

Image taken from "A Craftsman and Quaker", James T. Baily's biography written by his son, Lesley Baily (George Allen & Unwin LTD, London)

Lesley Baily, James' son, mentions William Morris of The Arts and Crafts movement as "Doubly J.T.B's hero" because he was he was "the greatest craftsman of the age", and was "revolutionary in English design as well as in English politics." 54

Morris is quoted by Lesley Baily declaring "his cause is the democracy of Art, the ennobling of daily and common work which will one day put hope and pleasure in the place of fear and pain as the forces which move men to labour and keep the world going" 55

This is an incredible example of the amalgamation of social agenda and practice which existed in J.T Baily's way of doing things. Another fascinating example appears when he talks about about "mixing religion with business, in the context of World War 1":

"There was a movement among bolder spirits in some of the nonconformist churches at this time to align religion with social reform. This roused the protests of people who held that "you must not introduce religion into business", and certainly not into politics. This attitude seemed to me to be hypocrisy. My father and mother taught me that life was religion, and religion life" 56

Prior to joining the Quaker movement, JTB felt that that men of religion failed him, and spent more and more Sundays at the St. Albans Adult school, where men of all classes and types met together, and held discussions on religious and political topics, with the Quaker president Alfred Lynn balancing the debate. Baily was drawn to the Quaker record in social service, such as Elisabeth Fry's work to improve prisons and John Woolman's opposition to slavery, and the Quaker attitude to war seemed more consistent in comparison to the inconsistencies around him. 57

He started attending the Quakers' meetings, and in his biography, he is quoted saying "The main thing about Quakerism which attracted me, can be expressed quite simply. It is that the spirit of God is in every man, woman, and child, and may be expressed through all of life". 58

Baily was assigned to the task of 'banishing idleness' from Knockaloe camp by The Friends relief services at the end of 1915. Tools and timber were shipped to Knockaloe. A few men started to work, and then more and more. They first took the opportunity to improve their starck and un-homely living quarters and to make equipment for games, libraries, camp theatre sets, etc.

James T. Baily describes the development of craft activities in his diary from Knockaloe, which became the most important primary source for learning about life in the camp and the contribution of the Quakers to the improvement in the internees' situation.

"In the first few weeks nothing was done apart from the necessary for making life conditions bearable, and preserve health. after a time many of the men "sorted themselves out" the uncalled upon mess of being "dumped" in the camp, groups came together having things in common, individuals changed place to be in a preferred company, and objects and fixtures were made to render the quarters more comfortable. Occasionally two or three men would

set their living space to allow for a common living space and dining room in addition to separate places for their bed boards. When settling down was completed, came a need for other occupations. The internees made requests for Fretwood , but once fret works were supplied to family and friends there was not much demand for fretwork sales. Baily encouraged the use of Fret saws for toy making which became a permanent feature with orders placed from England, Sweden and USA". 59

Baily also mentions the clever improvisation in utilising waste materials which the Knockaloe men resourced: tin cans used to store beef, were flattened and used to make gutters and drain pipes to remove excess water from the hut roofs, even used for "field bakeries" embedded on their sides with clay to create an oven, and so on to make mugs, cake tins, "coat of armors" for theatre plays, lighting effect, and more. 60

Other artistic strands of the craft activity in the camp included bone carving, and later, bone teeth brush making; knitting, tailoring, boot and shoemaking, weaving, basket making, lithography print, and woodworking, with the latter, according to Baily's diary, being the most widely practiced. 61

In every one of the twenty three compounds there would be men working in the workshops and a large number had learned some woodworking skills during their time in internment. Baily became associated with several internees who had cabinet making training, but one in particular caught his attention: Charles Matt, who prior to his internment had been foreman over eighty cabinet makers in a large London firm. Matt was in Camp 4, and soon became the head of one of the compounds' workshop, along with his brother who was also an experienced craftsman. 62





Machine Shop
Foreman. C.O. Matt. at forend

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X Josef Arthofer.

xx Franz Fuchs.

→ Paul Weggemman





four Images above are from James T. Baily's scrapbook, and are the property of Manx National Heritage, IoM Ref MS 10417

When an industrial development took place, Baily and his colleague were able to persuade the camp authorities to allocate a couple of huts to the Matt brothers, they have gathered a small group of expert makers and under the oversight of camp 4's industrial committee, a small cabinet making factory was established which produced a large output of furniture.

Baily writes: "the first lot of this output was due to the very practical and generous interest taken in the work by Mr W.J Bassett Lowke the famous model maker of Northampton, he married about this time a lady who was educated at the Friends School at Sibford near Banbury and so through this became familiar with Friends service, he was one of the leading spirits, together with the late Harry Black in the formation of design in industries association, a strong advocate for sound craftsmanship and for the retention, as far as practicable of the traditional hand crafts... Mr Bassett Lowke conferred with me about the possibility of having the furniture for his new home made in the camp... When I assured him that he would get everything he desired and that it would be an invaluable opportunity for Charles Matt and his colleagues, he produced sets of full size drawings executed by a well known architect and furniture designer to his instructions. " 63

and so it happened that almost the entirety of custom made designer furniture designed by Charles Rennie Mackintosh, A Glaswegian living in London England, was built and shipped from an internment camp cabinet making workshop in Knockaloe farm, Isle of Man, to a terraced house in 78 Derngate, Northampton.

* * *

Chapter 3: Thoughts about de-humanisation and re-humanisation; a contemplation on Bassett Lowke and Charles Rennie Mackintosh's motivation for involvement in the Knockaloe Commission, and an interview with Barbara Floyer, former archivist at The 78 Derrnagate Museum in Northampton.

The Mackintosh/Bassett Lowke commission was successfully completed. The house in 78 Derrnagate was furnished and the newly wed couple had moved in. Over the course of Chapter one, we have seen the dehumanising of enemy aliens' public image, distorted and exploited by war time propaganda, and a re-humanising of the affected civilians by the Quakers' efforts, reconciling and convincing the military forces and government authorities to acknowledge and legitimise their pacifist participation in the war, and through that reconciliation, to help the Knockaloe men recollect their identities and dignity, and recharging their time on the isle of Man with a sense of value and meaning by providing occupation.

when I first realised mackintosh furniture were made in an internment camp, I was surprised and also keen to judge. My criticism grew after traveling to IoM and Northampton and discovering the commission was for furniture for a wealthy businessman's private home. The large furniture order was not Bassett Lowke's only connection to Knockaloe workshops. Baily describes in his diary a subsequent arrangement for Knockaloe workers to get involved in making waterline ship models for his firm. Baily writes:

"he supplied a finished model of each kind and proposed to send prepared materials Following enquiries we discovered an ex seaman P.O.W, Wilhelm Kurth who had just the qualification for the work, he was skillful, careful about details, particular about a clean finish and methodical ; B-L took to him at once and a small group was organised by Kurth to assist him. It was work of mass production and it was interesting to see him placing the models across longboards inspecting bow and stern aline and sighting masts for accuracy of height and the angle of slope. ...there were models of the lusitania, Cap trafalgar. There was a tiny model which was contained in a match box , and another of Nelson's victory which had to be enclosed in a glass fronted case. At the end of the war, Wilhelm Kurth was repatriated and settled in Sieg...W.J Bassett Lowke kept in contact with him later going over to arrange for him to continue making models" 64

After researching and studying about B-L's mode of operation, it appears that he had a very "practical" approach once he discovered about the knockaloe workshops; it makes sense for various different skills to be found among a vast group of more than 20,000 men, and I can assume that Bassett Lowke, once the "pilot" of the furniture was a success, had opted in to keep using the camp shops as yet another "satellite company" to outsource work to. It is intriguing to find out the financial aspect of the operation: unfortunately I have not been able to find any solid data on the subject of payment for the internees' work, and I can only assume that their labour was cheaper than paying "free" craftsmen. This line of thought might seem cynical in the light of the great impact the craft workshops, and surely a large

order of complex designs placed by a respected businessman, had on the community's morale and its part in prevention of barbed wire disease. Additionally, there was an obvious shortage of skilled craftsmen due to mass military draft during the war time.

Some original furniture pieces from 78 Derngate have been purchased by the Hunterian museum in Glasgow and are permanently displayed as part of the "Mackintosh House" exhibition. The plaque describing the guest bedroom replication, laconically states that "some of the furniture pieces were made by Prisoners of War in Knockaloe internment camp on the Isle of Man". I believe my suspicion towards both Mackintosh and Bassett Lowke for engaging in business with men who didn't have much freedom of choice, stems from the lack of names mentioned and from the absence of additional information relating to the history of the displayed objects, again, much like the propaganda erased their individual identities and bulked them into one: POWs. I am hoping the interest that Knockaloe still raises will encourage improvement in the way the story of internment is represented and told, also outside of the Isle of Man's National Heritage Museum.

I would like to conclude with an interview I held with Barbara Floyer regarding Bassett Lowke's relations with the Knockaloe camp.

TK: How did W.J Bassett-Lowke perceive the use of internees labour to make one-off, designer furniture?

BF: The best information I can give you on this comes from the biography of BL entitled Wenman Joseph Bassett-Lowke by Janet Bassett-Lowke, his niece and also employee at one point. I have scanned the relevant page and attached it. (WJBL page 106) It is quite likely that there was a shortage of craftsmen to make the furniture during WW1 and also I suspect that Knockaloe labour was cheap.

(image of page 106 follows)

My uncle was a pacifist but, when war arrived, it is evident that the firm went quickly on to war work. The whole firm was keen to help the war effort, and although a pacifist, WJ was no war profiteer. However, several of his German friends and business contacts were in London at the outbreak of war and they were interned at Knockaloe just on the outskirts of Peel on the Isle of Man. WJ secured a permit and regularly visited them until the time of their release.

The story of how German prisoners of war came to manufacture furniture for WJ really starts with James T Baily. He was a carpenter and became a teacher of crafts, being eventually recognised as a leading authority on craft teaching in schools. He was a Fellow of the College of Handicrafts, at one time Secretary of the National Union of Manual Training Teachers, and a devout Christian. He became a Quaker, using his craftsmanship and organisational abilities at the Quaker school at Ackworth but, during the 1914-18 War, he became involved in the introduction of craft work for prisoners held in the internment camps, including the one at Knockaloe.

Charles Matt, who before the war was a foreman in a London furniture factory, was a craftsman who found himself at Knockaloe with the many other internees and he gathered around him some skilled cabinetmakers. Woodworking and carving was thus developed and some less skilled were taught the craft. Some fine carving work resulted and the internees manufactured some of the modernist furniture, which Charles Rennie Mackintosh had designed for my uncle's home at 78 Derngate.

This pleased James Baily and it also allowed the internees to earn something during their years of captivity. WJ was sympathetic towards the Quakers and sometimes attended their meeting at Northampton. In fact, years later, I accompanied him on one occasion to a meeting. WJ may have met James Baily at some time, and may have known other internees, but would certainly have been appreciative of the teaching bestowed on these lonely men. In addition to the furniture made for WJ, he also brought back carved bone napkin rings, buckles, and other decorative items also made by the internees.

TK: Was he criticised by colleagues or anyone in the Northampton community regarding using "Enemy Alien" labour (or for assisting the Knockaloe workshops by providing materials/equipment)?

BF: We have no evidence that BL was criticised for using labour at Knockaloe for his furniture, but he was criticised within the model engineering fraternity for using German parts in his models.

Prior to the WW1 many of the models sold by Bassett-Lowke were imported, or made from imported parts, from Germany. So during the war W J Bassett-Lowke announced that he intended to replace all German-made parts with those manufactured in Northampton. He was clearly coming in for some criticism within the model community at this time. In the Models, Railways & Locomotives Magazine of September 1914, Henry Greenly, the editor, wrote,

“...in our opinion the million a year we have passed over to the Fatherland for toys and models would have been better expanded in this country..... We submit that all our five thousand readers who are interested in models will be sufficiently patriotic to buy only

British made models and accessories if they can, and in any case to demand a guarantee that what they buy is of British manufacture or not.”

Bassett-Lowke felt that he had to defend his position and in his Handbook of 1915 makes a point of declaring that,

“We are distinctly an All British Firm-English Capital-English Directors -English Staff and over 80% of the articles sold by us are British Made in our Works at Northampton.”
By 1916 he felt obliged to write,

“(we) have not or ever have had an enemy subject in our employ.”

Understandably, as the war progressed, the civilian demand for models declined but Bassett-Lowke Ltd. became involved in important war work. The Admiralty commissioned miniature ships by the thousand, models of both allied and enemy vessels. These were used by the Navy for training purposes and a great degree of accuracy was essential.

The company arguably had an even more important role during the war in the design and manufacture of screw-gauges for munition factories. The model making staff of Bassett-Lowke Ltd. were used to the supreme degree of accuracy required to make gauges to ensure that all munition components were produced within very fine limits. Not surprisingly, this had a significant impact on the war effort.

TK: How did he perceive Mackintosh's role in the remodelling of 78 Derngate- as an "executor"(=craftsman) or closer to an artist's status (understand Mackintosh was famed in Glasgow, and also had a good reputation in Austria and Germany but less so in England, and also that his name wasn't mentioned in the 'Ideal home' editorial)?

BF: Mackintosh had no role in 78 Derngate as an executioner, he was the designer.

Mackintosh was not really known in England. He had left Glasgow in 1914, quite depressed because of lack of work. As you say he was better known in Austria through his work exhibiting with the Viennese Secessionists.

Thomas Howarth in his biography of CRM writes: “A friend, probably F H Newbery, on holiday at Ravenglass in Cumberland in 1916, met the late W J Bassett-Lowke, the well-known engineer of Northampton, who was contemplating the alteration of a small house. Mackintosh was recommended as just the man for the job

However, on another occasion BL refers to this holiday as being in Cornwall. Perhaps BL’s memory was not so good. (ref Remembering CRM by Alistair Moffat and Colin Baxter)

BL was a visionary man with a great interest in design and so would never have settled for an ordinary architect. He initially used a local architect, also a Scot and a neighbour, Alexander Ellis Anderson, to submit plans for the structural alterations in June 1916. BL told Thomas Howarth later that CRM had nothing to do with the structural alterations (March

1946). This implies that Mackintosh's work was restricted to the internal designs, however, the final rear extension bears no relation to the Anderson plan and almost certainly reflects a touch of Mackintosh's genius. Also the front entrance is Mackintosh and original drawings for this survive at The Hunterian in Glasgow. In 1920, Mackintosh was not a fashionable architect so BL chose not to mention him in the Ideal Home article. However, in 1939 he did acknowledge him, "it was to his ideas that I reconstructed the whole interior of my house" . (ref Remembering CRM by Alistair Moffat and Colin Baxter) The truth is somewhere in between, Mackintosh designed parts of his house.

TK: Did they have any aesthetic or ethical disagreements? I would be interested in any correspondence/ memoirs by BL or between him and Mackintosh or other related figures, reflecting the process of work on 78 Derngate.

BF: Oh to be a fly on the wall during discussions between Mackintosh and BL!

I will have to refer you to The Hunterian for evidence of correspondence as they hold the only surviving letters from BL to CRM. Elements in Mackintosh's designs clearly respond to BL's preferences. As well as the letters in The Hunterian there are several drawings for designs at 78 Derngate that never came to fruition suggesting that BL maybe rejected them. There are also notes scribbled by BL on Mackintosh's designs for the Dining Room cabinets asking for alterations. These letters and drawings can be found online at:

www.mackintosh-architecture.gla.ac.uk
www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian/collections

There is only one surviving letter from CRM to BL and this does not mention 78 Derngate, it only refers to his up and coming marriage.

TK: What role did the difference in their financial status play in the relationship between BL and Mackintosh?

BF: No actual evidence to help here. My opinion - Mackintosh was known to not have liked clients to interfere with his designs. At 78 Derngate, BL seems to have had quite a bit of input. Perhaps Mackintosh tolerated this because he needed the job?

TK: Could you give any information on how the project was managed- did Mackintosh arrive to Northampton to see the project through? or it was BL who mostly supervised the work?

BF: BL supervised the work. As far as we know Mackintosh did not visit Northampton at all during the re-modelling of 78 Derngate. BL visited Mackintosh at his Glebe Place studio in Chelsea and they communicated through letters. BL visited London frequently as his largest shop was located in High Holborn. There is a suggestion in a letter BL wrote to Thomas Howarth in 1945 that Mackintosh visited later, but we have no evidence of this.

TK: How much was he paid?

BF: We know the total cost of the remodelling of 78 Derrigate came to about £600. Quite a sum given that the house only cost £250 to purchase. We do not know how much of this total was paid to Mackintosh.

TK: Were the Knockaloe craftsmen paid? or just provided with material and equipment?

BF: We have no information about this. I think you will have to ask The Manx Museum about this one.

They have an archive on Knockaloe and would possibly know if the Camp was paid, or indeed if the craftsmen were paid. We do know BL provided the wood. Evidence for this can be found in the journal of James Baily, the Quaker gentleman who set up the workshops at Knockaloe. I am attaching a transcript of the entry in his journal that refers to BL. (Journal from Knockaloe) This journal along with photographs of some of the Derrigate furniture is in the Manx museum.

The Manx Museum publish a leaflet with a list of resources on the internment camps, I am attaching it. (CG4-Internment-Nov 2105) If you do look at Leslie Baily's biography on James Baily, just a word of warning, on page 102 he writes about the furniture made for Bassett-Lowke as being for New Ways and no mention of 78 Derrigate. While the furniture did eventually end up in New Ways after 1926 when they moved there, it was made for the Charles Rennie Mackintosh remodelled 78 Derrigate during WW1. Mackintosh had nothing to do with New Ways, it was designed by the German architect Peter Behrens.

www.manxnationalheritage.im

TK: What was BL's prime motivation for using the IoM workshop?

BF: Possibly cheaper? Desire to help German internees? Plus the lack of craftsmen amongst the civilian population at a time of war. Or all of the above. No actual evidence, we can only guess.

TK: Was he involved in other projects of the Quaker community?

BF: His wife, Florence Jane Jones, had attended a Quaker school. BL was sympathetic towards the Quakers and sometimes attended their meetings in Northampton, but they were not Quakers themselves.

* * *

Notes

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- 4 .bailey-knockaloe FEC1915-19 p.1
- 5 .Or, Ronit, humanising the stranger p.5
- 6 .Or, Ronit, humanising the stranger p.6
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- 8 P.Panay, The enemy in our midst p2-4
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10. Sergaunt, IOM and the great war, p 61
- 11.the chelsie years, p 4
- 12.Mackintosh to William Davidson, 21 July 1915, HAG; home office register of correspondence for 1915 (HO46/186 Aliens restrictions)entries for 24 June, 9 July, 6 & 9 October 1915, Public record office, Kew)
- 13.Robertson, pamela, the chelsea years
- 14.Kinchin, J, in Kaplan, Wendy, "charles Rennie Mackintosh:", p 35
- 15.Geddes, city in evolution, p 186
- 16.Kinchin, J, in Kaplan, Wendy, "charles Rennie Mackintosh:", p 36
- 17.Kinchin, J, in Kaplan, Wendy, "charles Rennie Mackintosh:", p 39
- 18.Stamp, Gavin, "The London years", in Kaplan, Wendy, "charles Rennie Mackintosh:" p 201
- 19.Mackintosh to William Davidson, July 21, 1915, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow
- 20.Scots Pictorial, July 29, 1916, p 387 (presumably written by a former student of Bourdon.
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- 22.Robertson, pamela, the chelsea years p 5
- 23.The 78 Derngate guide, p 27
- 24.The 78 Derngate guide, p 27
- 25.The 78 Derngate guide, p 28
- 26.The 78 Derngate guide, p 28
27. The 78 Derngate guide, p 28
- 28.correspondance between Tom Krasny and Barbara Floyer, former archivist at 78 Derngate(B-L's home between 1916-1925) March 1 2017.
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- 30.The 78 Derngate guide, p 4-5
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see also Gullace f., Nicolleta, p 346
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47. Or, Ronit, *humanising the stranger* p.8 (Hebrew)
48. Or, Ronit, *humanising the stranger* p.8 (Hebrew)
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55. *ibid*
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57. Baily, L p.70
58. baily, L p.73
59. Baily, J.T p.16-17
60. Baily, J.T p. 17
61. Baily, J.T p. 26
62. Baily, J.T p. 25
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A visit to the '78 Derngate Guest bedroom' display at the Mackintosh House, Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (September 2016)

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