Legacies of Resistance to the First World War

Bringing to Life the Meaning of Conscientious Objection in Scotland
Many thanks are extended to everyone who participated in creating this booklet, and to contributing to the success of the Bringing to Life the Meaning of Conscientious Objection in Scotland project. The hard work and dedication of all involved has enabled us to highlight the stand taken by the WWI Conscientious Objectors and the legacy of their resistance.


Legacies of Resistance to the First World War: Bringing to Life the Meaning of Conscientious Objection in Scotland.

Compiled and Edited by Archie Campbell (WEA) and Brian Larkin (Peace & Justice).

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Opposition to the First World War in Scotland was significant, with more than 1,300 Scots claiming exemption from military service as conscientious objectors (COs). WEA Scotland adult learners in Glasgow, Dundee and Edinburgh explored the histories of some of these COs.

Some were granted conditional exemption and served in the Non Combatant Corps or with the Friends Ambulance Unit in France. Most were denied CO status, arrested and imprisoned. Many were sent to work camps on the Home Office Scheme. A few died, in or soon after imprisonment.

They held diverse views, from Quakers to internationalist and socialist to members of the United Free Church and Roman Catholics.

Beyond tracing the wartime experience of COs, learners also investigated their role in their communities. Amongst the COs presented here are a bootmaker, a coal miner, a University lecturer and the Chief Engineer on the Forth Road Bridge.

Some travelled far and met remarkable people while others stayed close to home.
Uncovered letters, drawings of their prison cells and pages from autograph books illustrate the stories of these men who were united in refusing to take part in a war that claimed the lives of some 135,000 of their Scottish contemporaries. Here are their tribunal statements, accounts of their loves, prison experiences, even death.

Key stages in the research project included a workshop at the National Archives of Scotland where 237 Edinburgh and Lothians CO tribunal records are housed and a Legacies of Resistance event in honour of International Conscientious Objectors’ Day held at the Scottish Parliament. Along the way learners gave input to the selection process for the design for the Opposing War Memorial to COs and all who oppose wars, planned for Princes St Gardens.

The project culminated in an enlightening celebration event at St Mungo Museum in Glasgow. The audience were treated to a range of presentations and talks from, amongst others, the Dundee, Edinburgh and Glasgow groups and learners who spoke with passion and authority about the COs they had studied and the fascinating stories they had unearthed. On the day we were also very fortunate to be joined by Alan and Ken McIntyre, son and grandson of Henry Clarke McIntyre, whose beautiful autograph book we have been able to delve into time and again. We hope the images we have included here from Henry’s book go some way to doing justice to Henry and his story, the fellow COs who contributed to his book and to all the other COs at that time and since.

As always with this type of Adult Education project, long-lasting friendships were forged - within and across the learner groups - and much fun was had! Many of the participants have continued to meet after the official project end as they enjoyed the experience and camaraderie and wish to build on what they have started.

Thanks to the Edinburgh Peace & Justice Centre for help with preparing the exhibition and booklet and to the Heritage Lottery Fund for funding the project.

WEA Scotland.
Conscientious Objectors (‘COs’) were often imprisoned more than once. They were also moved between prisons, typically travelling many hundreds of miles. For many COs, this may have been their first significant journey away from home. The work to the left commemorates imprisoned COs from World War One and today. Some figures have names and some do not as the identity of many COs remains unknown.

Song, poetry, plays, presentations and lively discussion!
This work commemorates World War One COs and those who fought. Many COs had non-combatant roles, for example in the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU), which brought medical aid to men at the front.
First World War
Anti-War Timeline

1914
4th August
Britain entered the War. The British Army relied upon voluntary recruits. The Independent Labour Party and the Women’s International League - amongst others - organised anti-war demonstrations on Glasgow Green and in other cities across Britain.

Truly the working class should hate and abhor war. It brutalises public life, dulls the sense of honour, lowers the tone of national thought, and debases everything it comes in touch with. - James Keir Hardie

1914
November
The No Conscription Fellowship (NCF) was formed by Fenner Brockway and Clifford Allen.

1914
Christmas
An unofficial truce broke out on the Western Front. German and British soldiers exchanged souvenirs and played games of football.

1915
With the numbers of casualties mounting the military needed more men to take the place of those who were lost.

1915
15th July
National Registration Act requires anyone aged 16 - 60 to register.

1915
27th November
First NCF meeting held in London.

1916
5th January
Prime Minister Herbert Asquith proposed a Conscription Bill. All unmarried men 18 - 41 were liable to be called up for military service. There were ‘exceptions’ including those with a ‘conscientious objection’ (COs). Military Service (No. 2) Bill. COs had to make their case to a tribunal, usually composed of respectable members of the local community which included a military representative. Tribunals interviewed over 16,000 Conscientious Objectors during WW1. They were generally hostile to COs despite the following instructions:

Whatever may be the views of tribunal members, they must interpret the Act in an impartial and tolerant spirit. Difference of convictions must not bias judgement. Every consideration should be given to the men whose objection genuinely rests on religious or moral conclusions.

[Image of German and British soldiers during Christmas Truce 1914]

[Image of German and British soldiers during Christmas Truce 1914]
On the whole, apart from a few sympathisers, people’s attitudes towards me were distinctly hostile.
- Harold Bing, CO. Repeated prison sentences. © IWM

The Battles of Verdun, Jutland and the Somme brought severe casualties. Conscripted troops were deployed to the front weeks later.

COs were subjected to harsh treatment. Once they completed one prison sentence conscientious objectors were re-arrested and sent back to prison.

Some died in prison, some went mad, some broke down in health completely, and some never recovered, some were discharged because they were on the point of death … it was almost unbearable for them. - Harold Bing. © IWM

1917 The Government ordered a ‘comb-out’ targeting men working in industries previously given ‘protected status’ who could be conscripted. This provoked a furious reaction, especially among young, militant miners.

1918 – 1919.

Most of the leaders and members of the NCF were in jail.

Women provided vital support, serving on committees, maintaining detailed records on COs and publishing the weekly newspaper The Tribunal.

For nearly 3 years the war has gone on, and we women have been … afraid to speak, afraid to act. The ghastly slaughter of our sons, our husbands, our brothers has gone on and the spirit of fear has paralysed us. We believed our Government until it has been convicted so often of dishonesty that we are forced to act for ourselves. Shall we remain silent any longer? - Helen Crawfurd: Glasgow Women’s Peace Crusade Leader. From letter to the Labour Leader, 21 June 1917.

11 November 1918. Armistice.

August 1919 The last CO was released from prison.

November 1919 The No Conscription Fellowship was disbanded.

The majority of tribunal records were destroyed, deemed ‘too sensitive.’

Legacy The conscientious objection movement did not stop an unjust, imperialistic war. The League of Nations aimed to ensure that the horrors of war should never happen again. Although the League failed the European Union was formed after WW2 to ensure peace through closer ties between countries. Europe has not seen any conflagration similar in scale for over 80 years.

Conscientious objection is now protected under the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which guarantees ‘the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion and belief.’ Is that a legacy worth having?

Researcher:

Trish Caird
(Glasgow Group)
A White Feather for William

Before the war William Kerr worked as a Pit Sinker, a skilled and highly dangerous job which involved using pneumatic drills and gunpowder to remove stone. Later, William decided he would rather work somewhere else and joined the Co-operative Society as a grocer, as his sister Sarah already worked there.

When war was declared William’s brothers joined up. When William said he was a conscientious objector his fiancée broke their engagement and handed him a white feather, a symbol of cowardice.

In his Tribunal appeal on 27 March 1916 William wrote: I do not believe in war as a means of settling disputes between nations, and I object to taking part in any form of work which aids the slaughter of human beings. His appeal was dismissed.

After the war William’s sister Sarah had a veg shop in Fort William. By chance William’s ex-fiancée visited the shop. In an awkward meeting she admitted she regretted handing William the white feather. There had been a lot of pressure to persuade men to sign up. William died at home in West Calder in February 1951.

He never married.

William Kerr was Marianne’s great uncle.
Escape from Ballachulish

After his appeal was denied William Kerr was referred to the Brace Committee which was set up to allocate work on an "equal sacrifice" to men at the front. He was among the COs sentenced to hard labour at Ballachulish work camp.

The interns were housed at Caolasnacon, between two villages and several miles away from both, in huts built for German prisoners. They were allowed to visit town after a shift but there was insufficient time to get back to camp by the 9pm deadline.

Six of them took absence without leave. James Maxton and John Lees went to Edinburgh. Only Maxton returned in time to resume work next day. Two others returned over the next few days. Two were arrested in Glasgow.

On 8 January police arrived at the camp ordering them all to Glasgow to account for their behaviour. A crowd of angry COs confronted the police.

Supporting letters were sent to the Scottish Secretary, including three from other COs, one of whom was William Kerr.

Conditions at the camp deteriorated and they were forbidden to go into town. The camp closed in 1917 and the men were transferred to Wakefield Prison. Ballachulish was then used for enemy aliens.

Alexander Fettes Neilson was a member of the No Conscription Fellowship (NCF), the National Union of Cabinet Makers and a Socialist. Alexander was an absolutist and faced many Court-Martials and served time with hard labour in Calton Jail and Perth Prison.

Alexander was not the only political member of the family: one of his sisters, Marjory, was a staunch Socialist and very politically minded and was the secretary of the No Conscription Fellowship in Glasgow. Marjory advised NCF members to give their religion as Quaker as when in prison they would get visits and support from the Quakers.

**Researcher’s View:**

The gentleman I have been researching is not from Dundee but he is important to me as he was my great-great uncle. Alexander Fettes Neilson lived in Beith, Ayrshire but the family originated in Arbroath. Alexander worked in the thriving furniture industry, just as his father had before him.

People could say that conscientious objectors took the easy way out but given the prison conditions at the time I don’t believe that they did.

I am proud of my uncle for standing up for what he believed in. We are lucky to have a lot of his documents, some of which you can see above.
Andrew was born in Edinburgh in 1882 to John and Jean Henderson. He appears on the 1901 Census with his family at 4b Meadowbank Terrace, Canongate, Edinburgh, stating that he is aged 18 and an Apprentice Compositor.

In 1908 he married Alison Thomson Colquhoun according to the forms of the United Free Church. By 1912 he is noted on the Post Office Directory as being in Dundee and Secretary of the Independent Labour Party (ILP).

His appeal against conscription in 1916 was denied. He was arrested in September 1916, court-martialled at Hamilton on 6 October 1916 and sent to Wormwood Scrubs. By February 1917 he is noted by Ewan Geddes Carr in his autograph book to be with other COs at Wakefield Work Centre.

In January 1918 he appears to have been at Talgarth, Mid Wales, possibly at the Lunatic Asylum there. He may have gone there for rehabilitation prior to discharge.

His long prison sentence and harsh punishment weakened him. He died on 24 October 1918 of influenza and bronchial pneumonia, leaving a wife and two children. Spanish Flu was widespread at this time.

By chance, when his funeral procession passed that of a soldier, salutes were exchanged between the two parties, the soldiers standing to attention and the COs doffing their hats. The two men had been acquaintances.

Researcher:
Jessie Sword
(Dundee Group)
At the outbreak of war the population of Dundee is 175,000
- James Caird announces plan to clear slums and build Caird Hall at cost of £100,000.
- The work is not completed until 1923. The Hall is officially opened on 26th October 1923 by The Prince of Wales.
- The jute industry is in decline. Industrial unrest is considerable.
- Two-thirds of the city’s workforce is employed in the textile industry.
- Low wages and a reliance on female workers create considerable social problems.
- Infant mortality is the highest in Scotland.

Dundee’s contribution to the war effort is widely recognised but it is also a leading centre for the anti-war movement. An active branch of the No Conscription Fellowship was formed in Dundee. This was backed by Edwin Scrymgeour the Dundee Prohibitionist. The anti-war newspaper Forward notes: Dundee was ‘fair hotchin’ wi conchies.’

**THE COST OF WAR FOR DUNDEE**

- 63% of eligible men (30,400) from Dundee join the fight.
- 4,213 Dundee men did not return from the war.

There were 94 Conscientious Objectors from Dundee.

**January 1919 onwards:** troops demobbed from services.

**April 1919:** COs who had been imprisoned begin to be released.
William was born in 1897 to William and Sarah Adamson. Upon leaving school William joined his father as a hairdresser and barber at 147 Victoria Road.

At age 19 William was called up. As a member of the Socialist Sunday School (SSS) he sought absolute exemption on the grounds of his beliefs. His case was dismissed as was his subsequent appeal.

He was court-martialled in December 1916 for refusing to obey orders and was sentenced to 112 days imprisonment with hard labour, served in Wormwood Scrubs. On release back to the army he was again court-martialled and sentenced to six months in March 1917. This was repeated twice more with sentences of 9 months and 18 months. He served nearly 3 years in prison with hard labour.

After the war he appears to have moved back in with the family and again joined his father in the hairdressing business. After the death of William snr. in 1934, William and his mother moved to 53 Dura Street.

There is no record of William marrying and he continued to live at this address with his mother until her death in 1962, and his own death in 1968.

It seems hard to imagine that a young man of nineteen could stand up to the authorities during this time. He may have had support from the SSS or members of the No Conscription Fellowship as well as his own family.
William Hodge was born in the Gorbals in Glasgow. From the outset of the war he took a definite stand on opposing the war on Socialist grounds, saying that war was fundamentally wrong and that from evil no good could possibly result. All war is unjustifiable.

The son of a fish market porter, William was one of eight children, and at the age of 16 was employed in Glasgow as an assistant bootmaker. He made the move to Dundee sometime after 1911, where he took up employment as a Beltman/Warehouseman. During his time in Dundee he resided at 37 Step Row and 50 Seafield Road.

He became a supporter of both Fenner Brockway and John Mclean, formative figures in the socialist and antiwar movement in Britain. In his statement to the Tribunal Hodge said, It was a war of the different national boss classes. He had more in common with the working class of Germany than with the capitalist class of Britain.

William refused to obey military orders when he was drafted into the Seaforth Highlanders. He was court-martialled and imprisoned in Perth (one-year hard labour), Edinburgh and Wakefield, and finally at the work camp at Loch Awe in the Highlands.

In 1925 he married Mabel Lillian Mounsey and after the war was employed as an Engineer’s Storekeeper. William died at the age of 97 at the War Memorial Hospital in Lamlash on the Isle of Arran.
An ordinary man frae Dundee
Robert Gourlay

Robert Gourlay appeared to be an ordinary man. He was a lathe splitter by trade and employed at Camperdown Mill. On 17th March 1916 he became an extraordinary man. On that date, at the age of 29, he had his turn before the tribunal to hear his case for exemption from military service.

“Socialism is my religion”
He claimed Absolute Exemption on the grounds that he “could not take part in the destruction of human life or take any oath that infringed his conscience”.

The case was dismissed and after appeal he was handed over to the 10th Seaforth Highlanders, court-martialled and landed up, along with several other “conchies” from Scotland, in Wakefield Work Centre, Yorkshire.

Robert was born in 1887 in Buckhaven, Fife. His father, Donald was a blacksmith and had been born in St Andrews. Robert’s mother, Jessie, was born in Dunning, Perthshire. By 1891 the family were living in Dundee at 14 Kinnaird Street and by 1911 they had moved to 17 North Wellington Street.

After the war Robert appears to have taken up his trade as lathe splitter. In 1929 he married Isabella Jane Robson. Robert died on 3rd December 1974.

Researcher:
Brian Batson
(Dundee Group)
Independent Labour Party Activist Ewan Geddes Carr

Born in the Overgate in 1886, Ewan Geddes Carr was a very politically active man. He was a member of the Independent Labour Party, the Dundee Labour Representative Committee and a Labour candidate for Dundee. In the years leading up to the outbreak of World War I he was active in the growing anti-war movement.

Carr appeared before the Military Service Tribunal on 7th July 1916 in the hope of receiving absolute exemption for his belief that ‘militarism was a danger to the peace of the world’ [The Courier 8th July 1916].

He was denied exemption and was instead assigned to the newly created Non-Combatant Corps (NCC). After failing to report for duty, Carr was arrested and marched to the nearest military depot under armed guard.

On 3rd October 1916 he was court-martialed at Hamilton and sentenced to six months hard labour at Wormwood Scrubs, London. He spent time at Wakefield Work Centre and Ballachulish Work Camp and was released in April 1919.

While imprisoned Ewan started an autograph book that his fellow objectors signed. It includes quotes, poetry and artwork from inmates across Britain including some Dundee comrades.

Autograph book and Convicted Prisoner card belonging to Ewan Geddes Carr.
Both images: Dundee City Council; Dundee’s Art Galleries and Museums.
Prohibitionist Party Dundee City Councillor 
Robert Stewart (1877-1973)

Bob Stewart was born in Eassie, in Angus, to William and Georgina Stewart. He was the tenth child of twelve and at the age of two the family moved to Dundee for better employment opportunities for his elder siblings.

Bob was working by the age of thirteen in the Dundee Jute Mills. At sixteen he became a joiner apprentice and later a ship joiner at Gourlay’s Shipyard working on the RRS Discovery.

On his return to Dundee, after a short time in South Africa, Bob was once again politically active, becoming a member of The Prohibitionist Party and a Dundee City Councillor, alongside Edwin Scrymgeour.

An active socialist, Bob believed the war was not his fight. As he had no quarrel with his fellow workers in Germany, he would not bear arms against them. He therefore became a Conscientious Objector and faced a military tribunal in 1916.

He was a bit of a celebrity with the press on both sides of the argument. He was an Absolutist so spent his time from 1916 until the end of the war in various prisons, being released in 1919 after going on hunger strike.

After the war he was a founding member of the British Communist Party and Acting General Secretary during the General Strike in 1926, following the arrest of most of the committee. In the National Archive there is a large MI5 file which includes records of his trips to Moscow. Bob died in London in 1973.

Researcher: 
Christina Howie
(Dundee Group)
A note from the researcher – I knew Jim Charleson many years ago as an International Socialist. A few years ago I tracked down some of his memoirs, recorded by friends, that had been lying in a drawer for over 40 years. I digitised them and transcribed the recordings. Listening to them I wanted to have his important experiences available and archived.

Jim Charleson was born in Leith, Edinburgh in 1903 and was one of those political activists hidden from history. His views were formed from living through the First World War and the aftermath. He resisted war, but was not registered as a Conscientious Objector. Jim spent his life in the forefront, fighting for justice for working class people. He travelled throughout the world campaigning for the rights of workers and social justice. An International Socialist he was against capitalist wars.

Eventually the war (WWII) broke out and I was hauled up for industrial purposes with the Ministry of Supply…, you became as active as you could in the factory.

There were comrades knew how to work industrially, through the unions, organise a faction in the factory … It was very difficult, because you were so restricted by laws, many of the workers were so afraid to infringe because the employers....

They had the money safe behind them and could jail you; they could transfer you from where you were to where they wanted you, isolated. The workers were pretty nery... But actually it was more trying to prepare the ground as it were. Prepare the soil for the inevitable that was going to happen when the war finished.

Acknowledgements: Jim Smith, Barbara Smith/Robertson for Photograph and original recordings of Jim Charleson. Rab Jeffery for digitisation and Helen Jeffery for transcribing.
Henry McIntyre was born on the 17th January 1899 in Aberdeen, the eldest of 7 children, 3 of whom died as babies.

On the 8th June 1917 Henry was sentenced to 112 days hard labour for being a conscientious objector. He was 18 at the time, working as a shop assistant in Aberdeen.

He was transferred to Wormwood Scrubs Prison in London. On the 30th July 1917 he faced the Central Tribunal and afterwards was transferred to Dartmoor Prison. A year later his own entry in his autograph book shows him still in prison in England.

Henry collected quotes, pictures and written reflections from fellow conscientious objectors in prison in an autograph book which he dedicated to his sweetheart Nora.

In 1921, Henry married Nora. On 19th September 1933, his son was only 3 years old, Henry died of coronary thrombosis.

Researcher:
Jill Williams
(Edinburgh Group)
C<br><br>filled the pages of each other's autograph books with words, quotes and pictures. Messages in Henry's autograph book include literary and political quotes from German, American and Irish writers.

COs were repeatedly tried and sentenced to 112 days hard labour. The inscription beneath the below drawing of a tribunal reads: John Thomas, 112 days, Quaker, tuppence ha'penny.

The artist, Maurice Walter, listed the prisons in which he had been held. Maidstone Barracks – Wormwood – Wakefield – Dartmoor – Minehead – Dartmoor (Encore).

Above: The inscription reads: ‘One is apt to forget that each little action of the common day makes a man’s character - Wilde’. It is signed ‘R.A. Lown, Dartmoor, Dec 10/17. Sentenced to be shot in France June 24th 1916.’

The sentence was commuted to ten years hard labour after intervention by Bertrand Russell, Philip Snowden MP, and Catherine Marshall, Honorary Secretary of the NCF with Prime Minister Herbert Asquith.

Macht eine end emit der Krieg<br>Translation: Put an end to war.
Somebody

We don’t know who is portrayed here, or the significance of the red flower which predates the red poppy.

What do you think?
Karl Liebknecht was a German socialist and was elected to the Reichstag (German Parliament) in 1912. Rosa Luxemburg & Liebknecht co-founded the Spartacist League and the Communist Party of Germany.

He was well known as a lone voice in Germany for his opposition to the war. He was conscripted into the German Army but refused to fight and so was made to bury the dead on the Eastern Front. By October 1915 his health was so poor he was allowed to return to Germany.

In May 1916 the Spartacists publicly called for an end to war. As a result Liebknecht was arrested and jailed for the rest of the war. He was a leader of the “German Revolution” in January 1919 which was easily crushed by the German authorities.

He and Rosa Luxemburg were taken prisoner and killed.


I was really struck by Alexander Sim’s drawing of Karl Liebknecht in Henry McIntyre’s Autograph Book – how accurate it was. I was also impressed that he could quote so clearly from Liebknecht too.
Multiple Trials, Repeated Imprisonment
James Fairweather

James Fairweather was born in 1889 and resided at 4 Temple Lane in Dundee at the time of the outbreak of the war. He was the son of a Ship Officer and was employed as a Hacklemaker in Dundee when the Military Service Act of 1916 introduced compulsory conscription to Great Britain. As an International Socialist and Anti-Imperialist he declined to take part.

At his Dundee Tribunal he was exempted from combatant service after delivering a powerful statement that he regarded human life as sacred and believed in peace and internationalism.

He opposed emancipation by physical force, Home Rule by force, and capital punishment. They could not condone one murder by committing another. He was opposed to Suffragettes or Anarchists in their policy of force, and he believed only in spiritual force.

When his appeal for total exemption was refused by the Tribunal James refused non-combatant service on the lines of communication, as he regarded this as part of the military machine and he must oppose the whole thing.

He was tried at the Police Court with a fine of 40s and handed over to a military escort in handcuffs. He was forcibly enlisted in two Scottish non-combatant corps and the Army Reserve. He had a trial by District Court-Martial at Hamilton and was sentenced to periods of imprisonment at Barlinnie and Wakefield with hard labour.

Under the Home Office Scheme he worked on the plantation of trees around Loch Awe. Ordered to act as beaters for a shooting party he and several several COs refused to be exploited for private gain. For disobeying orders he, James Croall and William Hodge were returned to Wakefield Prison.

In 1934 at the age of 45, he married Robina McIntosh and was still employed as a Hackle Setter.
Refusing to Wear the Uniform

John Shaw

John Shaw was born in 1879 and worked as a Painter/Paper Hanger and a Cloth Inspector while residing at 18 Hunter Street, Dundee. As a stern conscientious objector, he resisted the call-up to fight in World War One for King and Country. A member of the No Conscription Fellowship, he objected on socialistic grounds, based on the Brotherhood of Man.

At his Tribunal he said:

I have no country. I am a trespasser, no matter where I go. Nothing belongs to me but my labour power.

He also stated that he was the only son of a widowed mother, yet his case was dismissed at local and appeal tribunals. When arrested he told the constable that the only excuse he had to give was that he was a conscientious objector.

When he was tried at the Police Court, he argued his appeal had been refused by members of Tribunals who were themselves over the military age and that he objected to performing the functions of a soldier and concluded with the remark:

I desire to be a man but not a soldier.

He was fined £2 and handed over to the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders.

John described his treatment at Hayford Mills Barracks, Stirling:

I refused to sign all papers and to take Khaki. An officer gave evidence against me as to refusing the clothes. Later they took me to the clothing department and got them to put some clothes in a kitbag. I refused to take them, and the Sergeant Major got one of the soldiers to take it to the guard room. He ordered me to strip, and I refused. Then he ordered them to take off my clothes, which they did, and left the clothes in the kitbag, leaving me naked and cold. So I am in Khaki, as there was no other way; but I am still resisting.

He was sentenced to periods of imprisonment at Calton, Wakefield and Dartmoor and hard labour at Ballachulish Road Camp.
William Kerr was sent to Ballachulish camp and later moved to Wakefield Prison near Sheffield. COs were often sent away from home to put them in unfamiliar surroundings. The COs there successfully petitioned for cocoa as an alternative to tea.

As part of the Wakefield Experiment some COs’ doors were not locked. They were allowed to wear their own clothes, earn money, purchase tobacco and other items and receive visitors and food parcels, but the experiment was abandoned and they were again treated harshly.
In 1917 Thomas Hannan, a Maryhill, Glasgow Janitor applied for exemption from military service on moral grounds as a socialist with long held anti-war views.

He was supported by the Superintendent of Maryhill Parish Church Sunday School who confirmed Hannan’s sincere views on Peace and the Brotherhood of Man despite believing himself that the present war was a just war.

On 14 March 1917 Thomas was ordered to report to his local army recruiting office.
When first arrested for not presenting himself for duty Thomas was imprisoned in Malleny Camp, Currie. On 14 May 1917 George Stenhouse wrote to the Commanding Officer of Malleny Camp asking permission for Thomas’s wife, Hannah, to visit him. The visit was granted.

Thomas was soon transferred to Wormwood Scrubs and later to Dartmoor Prison where he spent the remainder of the war.

Thomas’s brother David was a serving soldier who respected the courage of Thomas’s convictions. Another brother, Stanley Livingstone Hannan, was killed in action in November 1917.

On 28 October 1917, Thomas wrote a page in Henry McIntyre’s prisoner’s autograph book.

Whilst in Dartmoor, Thomas wrote to his father. It is clear that the two have opposing views and that his father was not at all supportive of Thomas’s decision.

He ended the letter with this poem:

*If the world is going wrong  
Who’s to blame?  
If the rest of evils strong  
Whose the shame?  
Have I stood out from the fight?  
Never helped the cause of right?  
Nothing done to speed the light? -  
Mine the blame.*
The forgotten story of how a Scottish mining village resisted conscription to the First World War. Excerpted from bellacaledonia.org.uk/

It was at 3am that the police crossed over the bridge into the village, on the first day of July 1918. There were 60 of them packed into three vehicles, the early morning twilight the closest their raid could get to the cover of darkness.

The massed ranks of Lanarkshire constabulary had arrived to apprehend 26 young men who had, despite their pleas of conscientious objection, been conscripted into the British army. As the police went door to door around the “miners’ rows” with the local constable, it did not take long before the whole village was awake and in the streets.

With the great slaughter of the First World War still going at full pelt, and ever mounting losses leading to more men being called up, the people of Douglas Water – a socialist stronghold in the Lanarkshire coalfield – were having none of it. By the time the sun was up, both the gathered crowd and the arrested miners had erupted into a rendition of the internationalist anthem, the Red Flag.

The men of Douglas Water probably knew what was coming that morning. The day prior to the raid, senior police officers had visited in an attempt to pick up those who had been conscripted. It seemed to “have produced little or no results”, local newspaper the Carluke and Lanark Gazette would wryly note.

Amid the early morning commotion, the police would leave with 11 men, having dragged two from their sick beds, and drive them the seven miles to Lanark Jail.

Influenced by the ILP, the area became a bastion of radical politics, with local cooperatives, a Clarion Cycling Club, a Socialist Sunday School and even a socialist pipe band, pictured at a May Day rally in 1917 with a large “peace” banner. It was a tradition that continued over the following decades and one that was, apparently, amplified by the dramatic events of July 1918.
After the arrests were made, local miner James C Welsh wrote in the following Saturday’s edition of *Forward* (an anti-war newspaper published in Glasgow)

“We have to thank the militarists for thus converting the remaining 25 per cent of the population of Douglas Water to socialism ... Some of our erstwhile opponents were the most vehement in their condemnation of the methods adopted.” Welsh would go on to be a novelist and Labour MP, serving four terms.

That day, the district’s miners would down tools in protest at the arrests. Their minds were clearly elsewhere, with the *Gazette* reporting that “early in the forenoon, a large proportion of the male population of Douglas Water district began to pour into Lanark”. They didn’t have to wait long.

Shortly after noon, the 11 arrested miners were brought before the Lanark courtroom and charged with being absentees under the Military Service Act. Mr William Annan, J.P., presided, and was supported on the Bench by Mr Walter Brown, J.P. The first miner to appear was John Mitchell, who would go on to be a figure within the miners’ union and, for 23 years until 1947, chair of the Lanark Labour Party. Refusing to enter a plea, an exchange between Mitchell and the Justice of the Peace was detailed in the *Gazette*’s animated write-up of the “day of sensations” in Lanark.

“I will not recognise the authority of the Court at all,” Mitchell declared. “You must treat this Court with respect,” returned the JP. Shortly after, Mitchell would be found guilty and sentenced to a fine of £5 (around £270 in today’s money) or 20 days imprisonment. He was also to be handed over to the military.

The following are the names of those who appeared before the Court: - John Mitchell, Robert Muncie, Patrick Kerr, William Davidson, Charles Lively, James Clark, John Nay, John Davidson, Thomas McCallum, Alex Brown, John Morris. All were miners by occupation.

The other miners would follow Mitchell’s lead, and each was granted the same penalty. Meanwhile, a large crowd had gathered outside and “the singing of the Red Flag could be heard at intervals.” When a military escort arrived from Hamilton, it was the “signal for further excitement”, and as the men were escorted to the railway station, a large crowd gathered round them, “of which came hostile and friendly shouts”.

The stand taken in Douglas Water was unusual in a number of ways. Although there were around 20,000 conscientious objectors during the First World War, it was a largely individual endeavour, taken for religious as well as political reasons. The level of collective non-compliance with the military which occurred in Douglas Water is probably unique.

The idea of workers standing up for a cause beyond their own immediate conditions is one that retains an incredible potency. Far from an act of cowardice, it was one of resistance against the mass and aimless slaughter that had been unfolding in the trenches over the preceding four years.
Andrew White, a native of Fife, received his early education in Dundee. Having moved to Glasgow in his youth he took further training before entering a business career. After a few years in London where he met his wife and joined the Religious Society of Friends, he returned to Scotland shortly before the First World War joining an industrial ceramics manufacturer.

In August 1916 he attended his Military Service Tribunal in Kilmarnock and pleaded Absolute Exemption as a Member of the Society of Friends (Quakers). This was refused on appeal. On return to barracks he refused to obey orders and so started a repeated cycle of court-martial – prison.

By January 1919, he had served a total of four sentences, involving more than two years hard labour in Wormwood Scrubs, Ayr and both Barlinnie and Duke Street Glasgow Prisons. He was released on medical grounds in March 1919.

After the war, Andrew returned to his pre-war employer, becoming a company director by the time of his retirement.

Within Quakerism he served as treasurer on several Scottish committees and in bringing the London-based yearly British conference to Edinburgh in 1948.

Photo kindly provided by - Louise Gemmell

Quaker and Company Director
Andrew E. C. White

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Cyril Pearce Register
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Women’s Peace and anti-war songs
Helen Crawfurd

Helen Crawfurd was a woman of many talents. Vicar’s wife, Member of the Independent Labour Party [later Communist], social justice activist, organiser, peace campaigner and, alongside Agnes Dollan, Founder of the Women’s Peace Crusade in Glasgow.

Song of the Women.
A poem by Helen Crawfurd and the Women’s Peace Crusade, c.1916-18

Through our land the women gather
Overcoming trial and stress,
Great the task we gladly further,
On to peace we proudly press.
Courage springs from facing danger
Strong in love of life’s delight:
In our midst no-one’s a stranger,
In our hands the future’s bright.

Every street shall hear our message,
Every child deserve our care,
Guild and union, town and village
Ring with songs of hope we bear.
Time to come together, spilling
Talent far too often hid,
Time to act, our life fulfilling,
Peace on earth our glorious bid.

Women of the world: we greet you,
Sisters all in heartfelt aim.
Speed the hour when we shall meet you,

Heroines of peace acclaim.
Visions of the life we long for –
Full of joy as children’s play –
Urge us on and make us strong, for
Our invincible fight today.

Researchers:
Trish Caird and Mary Kennedy
(Glasgow Group)

Sing a song of more than Sixpence.
Sung to the tune of Sing a Song of Sixpence.
(Printed in January 1917 in the Tribunal, the official paper of the No-conscription Fellowship.)
University Lecturer
John Marshall

John Marshall was born on 27th February 1890 at 88 Dudhope Street, Dundee and attended Rosebank Primary School prior to admission to Harris Academy. According to the 1911 census, John and his family were living at 20 Cleghorn St, Dundee. John’s occupation is that of Science and Art student.

He was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge in June 1913, and gained a First Class Honours degree in Mathematics. A member of The United Free Church of Scotland he objected to war. In 1916 he was granted exemption from military service conditional upon service in the Friends Ambulance Unit. He was in charge of the laboratory at the Military Hospital in York from September 1916 until December 1918.

He went on to become Senior Lecturer in Mathematics at University College, Swansea and was Reader in Mathematics at Bedford College for Women, from 1923 – 1948. On 16th January 1948 Dr John Marshall died following surgery in St David’s Nursing Home of the Royal Northern Hospital. His obituary was in The Times.

Novelist Edward Gaitens

Edward Gaitens was born on 26 February 1897 at 104 South Wellington Street, in the Gorbals area of Glasgow, fourth of six surviving children of Edward Gaitens, Newsagent, and his wife Mary, née Colwell.

Life was a struggle living in the tenements. His parents often drank heavily as a means of escape, while Edward and his siblings yearned for a better life. He left school at 14 and did a number of unskilled jobs.

He became a Conscientious Objector and spent two years in Wormwood Scrubs. In 1948 he wrote the novel Dance of the Apprentices for which he is best known today, about the Macdonnel family, Eddy’s friends (the “Apprentices”) and his own bitter experiences in prison.

In an introduction to the novel Scottish author James Campbell commented that the protagonist Eddy tries to spring himself from his slum prison … only to be dumped in a real prison for his idealistic opposition to the Great War. His depiction of Wormwood Scrubs as a hell-hole has been described as an amalgam of fiction and undoubted authentic direct experience. (Objectors & Resisters. R. Duncan. CommonWeal.)

He never married and died of a heart attack in Deaconess Hospital, Edinburgh on 16 December, 1966.
Quaker, Ambulance Driver, Engineer
John A K Hamilton

John (Jack) Hamilton, the son of a medical practitioner, came from a Quaker family. He was 16 and at a Quaker boarding school, when the Military Service Act came into force. Three weeks after his 18th birthday Jack appeared before a Tribunal. He claimed Conscientious Objection but willing to do non-combatant alternative service as an ambulance driver.

He was granted Exemption on condition he joined the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU). He was sent to France where he served until the end of January 1919.

After the war, Jack graduated in civil engineering at Edinburgh University and in 1921 joined the consulting engineers, Mott, Hay & Anderson, and served as resident engineer on the Tyne Bridge, Newcastle. In 1936 he joined the Chief Engineer's Department of London County Council, with whom he remained until 1958, receiving the George Medal in June 1941.

In 1958, Jack returned to Mott, Hay & Anderson as a partner and to be the Chief Resident Engineer for the Forth Road Bridge. The bridge was opened by Queen Elizabeth in 1964 and although Jack was close to retirement age and this could be seen as the peak of his career, Jack built another bridge over the Tyne in Newcastle before retiring in 1969.

He died in 1982.

Researcher:
Andrew Farrar
(Edinburgh Group)
Friends Ambulance Unit Driver and Head Master Donald Gray

The son of a surgeon and University Lecturer, Donald Gray belonged to a large Scottish Quaker family. On leaving school he went to Glasgow University and then to Merton College, Oxford.

With the outbreak of war, Donald heard of the proposal to set up under the aegis of the British Red Cross Society what became known as the Friends Ambulance Unit. The FAU ran ambulance convoys and trains. Donald, after training, went with the first draft to cross to Dunkirk on 31st October 1914. He started by building a typhoid hospital, but much time was spent in providing civilians with medical treatment.

_We inoculated against typhoid, distributed chloride of lime to villagers to purify water, issued purified water from rows of barrels all over Ypres, and distributed relief. One of our chaps had charge of converting the swimming baths into a huge tank of purified water for the troops._

Donald was sent to an exposed aid-post near Ypres that covered the whole front – Canadian, British, Belgian and French. During 1915 the historian G.M. Trevelyan set up an ambulance unit in Italy aided by several of the FAU where Donald enjoyed the chance to explore the mountains and countryside of northern Italy. Donald’s judgements were proved by events to reveal a shrewdness of surmise that belied his age.

In August 1917 Donald joined the Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve as an intelligence officer on the staff of the Commander-in-Chief in the Mediterranean recording enemy submarine movements. After being demobbed in January 1919 he went back to Oxford to read Geography, returned to his Quaker school Bootham and became Headmaster in 1927.

**Researcher:**

Andrew Farrar

(Edinburgh Group)

Scottish Quaker Conscientious Objectors

Distribution of Scottish Quaker COs as shown under motivation in the Cyril Pearce Register of Conscientious Objectors.

**Member:** States they are a member of the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and attending a Particular Meeting or Monthly Meeting.

**Attender:** States they are regularly attending a Particular Meeting.

**Claim:** As the number of all groups exceeds the total number of men belonging to all Meetings in Scotland it is suspected that these men have mentioned an interest in Quakerism due to its known historic stance to Pacifism.

Researchers:

Andrew Farrar (Edinburgh Group)
Portrayals of Conscientious Objectors in First World War propaganda

First World War propaganda posters were designed to shame men into enlisting. Conscientious objectors were portrayed as cowards, shirkers and “Nancy boys” and shown as being lazy. White feathers were handed to men not in uniform.

The Legacies of Resistance to the First World War project tells a different story…

Researcher:
Etta Dunn
(Glasgow Group)
Conscientious Objection
Then and Now

Applications for exemption from military service on the basis of conscientious objection were usually denied and the systematic treatment of First World War COs was generally punitive and harsh, often brutal. The stories of these COs witness their courageous determination to follow the promptings of conscience and to stick to moral, religious and political principles in the face of enormous pressure.

While this project focused on a handful of Scottish COs their resistance took place in a context of wider opposition to the war. Women were equally active in the peace movement of that time, women like Chrystal Macmillan who, in the midst of war, travelled from Edinburgh to a peace conference in The Hague, and Helen Crawfurd and Mary Barbour, Glasgow based organisers of the Women’s Peace Crusade. Violet Tillard went to prison for refusing to reveal the secret location of the NCF’s printing press and thwarting government attempts to shut down publication of its newspaper.

Thanks to our liberal traditions, the strength of socialist and anti-war movements and the efforts of a few Quaker and other MPs, Britain was the first country to establish a right to conscientious objection during wartime, while most other countries involved in the war made no provision for COs. However imperfectly the authorities applied the conscience clause to COs, recognition of the right to conscientious objection to mandatory military service is a significant legacy of the First World War, one that we should celebrate.

With some fifty armed conflicts taking place around the world today the right to refuse to kill has had some recognition by the United Nations but continues to be denied by many countries. COs are imprisoned in Turkey, Azerbaijan, Columbia and Turkmenistan. Dozens of COs in South Korea have been released from prison, but hundreds still face alternative service that is twice as long as military service. Some COs in Eritrea have been imprisoned for more than 25 years. Israel imprisons COs repeatedly for short periods. Finland places COs under house arrest for 18 months. And conscription has returned to Sweden.
Geddes Carr was a member of the Independent Labour Party, the Dundee Representative Committee and a candidate for Dundee. In the years up to the outbreak of war he was in the anti-war movement.
Welcome to the UK’s largest voluntary sector provider of adult education in England and Scotland.

Founded in 1903, the Workers’ Educational Association (WEA) is a charity dedicated to bringing high-quality, professional education into the heart of communities. With the support of nearly 3,000 volunteers, 2,000 tutors and over 10,000 members, we deliver friendly, accessible and enjoyable courses for adults from all walks of life.

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We also have a special mission to raise aspirations and develop educational opportunities for the most disadvantaged. This includes providing adult literacy, numeracy, ICT and ESOL skills for employment; courses to improve health and wellbeing; creative programmes to broaden horizons and community engagement activities that encourage active citizenship.

Our members also help support our mission and campaign for adult education.

**Vision**

A better world - equal, democratic and just; through adult education the WEA challenges and inspires individuals, communities and society

**Mission**

- Raising educational aspirations
- Bringing great teaching and learning to local communities
- Ensuring there is always an opportunity for adults to return to learning
- Developing educational opportunities for the most disadvantaged
- Involving students and supporters as members to build an education movement for social purpose
- Inspiring students, teachers and members to become active citizens

**Approach**

We deliver our mission by developing partnerships to meet individual and collective needs, using active learning and a student centred approach in which teachers and students work as equals. We constantly strive to adapt our services to meet people’s needs, making full use of technology.

**Values**

- Democratic
- Equal
- Inclusive
- Accessible
- Open
Drawing by Wm Johnson from Henry McIntyre’s Prison Autograph Book.

Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is in prison.

– Thoreau.

Wm. Johnson
Battersea.
London.
Dartmoor. 1917