ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF ARTS, LAW AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

TOWN, GOWN, AND COUNTRYSIDE: THE IMPACT OF WAR ON CAMBRIDGESHIRE COMMUNITIES, 1914-1918

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A thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Anglia Ruskin University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ANGLIA RUSKIN UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the impact of the First World War at a local level, using the interlinked communities of Cambridgeshire as a case study. It begins with a statistical analysis of enlistment and appeal to Tribunal, based on a study of 37,000 individuals who were either resident in one of the selected Cambridgeshire districts or who attended Clare College. This shows the influence of age, occupation, and location on wartime experience. It goes on to examine methods of recruitment, the operation of Tribunals, and the impact of the war on communal and individual relationships. It demonstrates the continued connection of the home front and fighting front through local war news, and assesses communal response to the war, both through voluntary mobilisation and increased wartime regulation. Despite being absent from their home communities, men on active service remained part of them through local war news and the symbolic return of the dead on local war memorials. The thesis concludes with an analysis of the fractures the war created in the local communities, through the loss of undergraduates and the issue of conscientious objection, and a series of short case studies on wartime suicide. This thesis argues for a progressive mobilisation of society, moving at different rates in different areas from volunteerism to conscription or compulsion, while showing that this movement was not solely dictated by the centre. It also demonstrates the importance of the local in understanding the war as a whole, and in enabling a more connected picture of different wartime narratives.

Key Words: First World War; County Study; Cambridgeshire; Conscription; Home Front;

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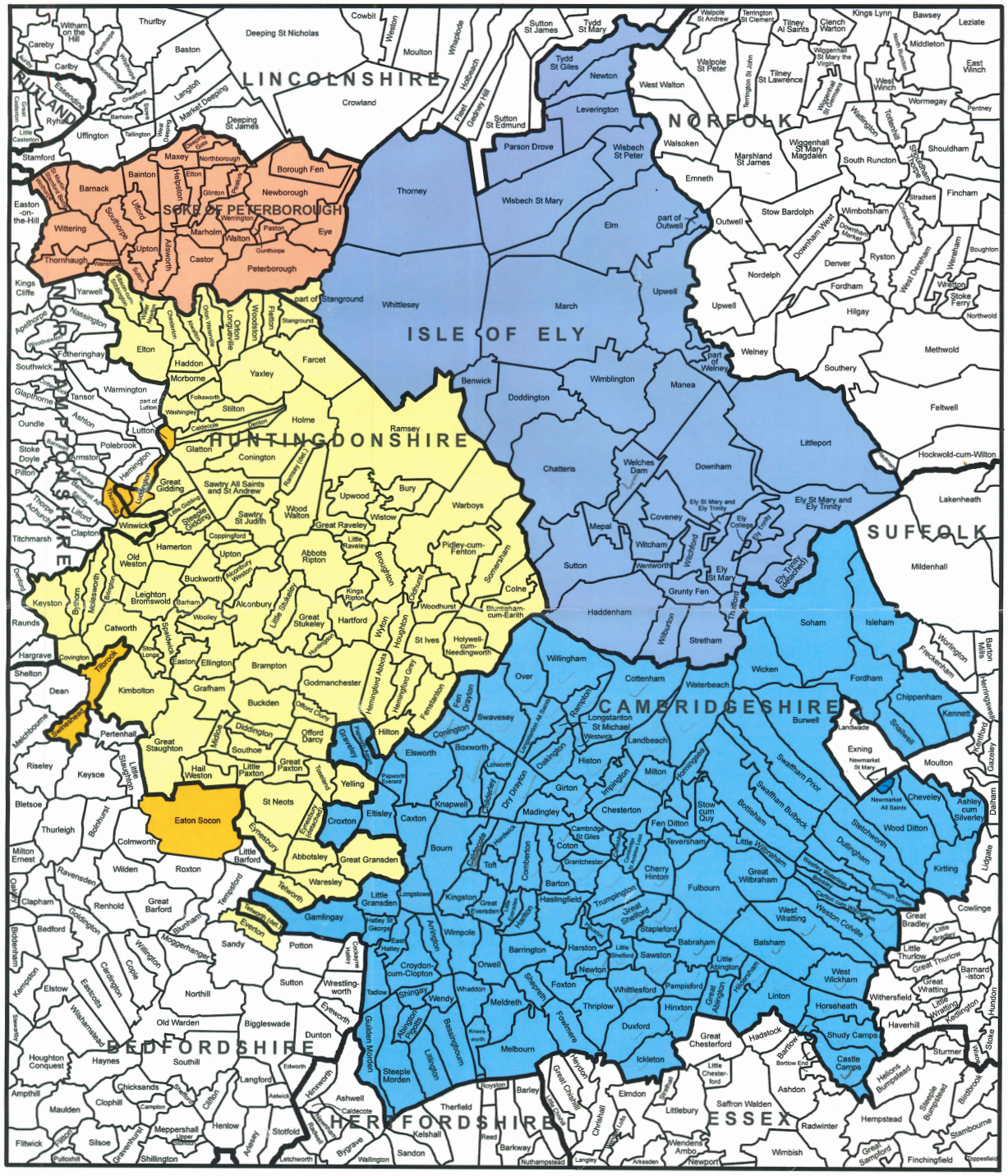
List of Abbreviations

ASPM	*All Saints' Parish Magazine*
CC	*Cambridge Chronicle*
CCDM	*Castle Camps Deanery Magazine*
CDN	*Cambridge Daily News*
CIP	*Cambridge Independent Press*
CM	*Cambridge Magazine*
CPA	The Corn Production Act
CUOTC	Cambridge University Officers' Training Corps
CWAC	County War Agricultural Committee
CWAEC	County War Agricultural Executive Committee
CWN	*Cambridge Weekly News*
DORA	Defence of the Realm Act
Lives	Lives of the First World War
MSA	Military Service Act
OCB	Officer Cadet Battalion
OTC	Officer's Training Corps
Review	*Cambridge Review*
TFA	Territorial Force Association
VTC	Volunteer Training Corps

ANCIENT COUNTY AND PARISH BOUNDARIES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND HUNTINGDONSHIRE



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Introduction

In February 1918, the widowed Eliza Maria Livermore stood before the Cambridge Borough Tribunal to apply for the exemption of Charles William Starling, the only male assistant in her hardware shop. 'Although an invalid, Mrs Livermore was a very capable business woman, carrying on the business in a thoroughly businesslike manner with this one assistant applied for and three or four girls. She had three children to look after.' No exemption was granted, doubtless in part because of the situation on the Western Front.[1] It was six months since her husband, Corporal Arthur John Livermore, of the Royal Army Medical Corps, was killed 'by shell fire when he was doing his duty'. His lieutenant wrote to his wife that he died as he had lived, 'in the endeavour to succour others who were in need of help.'[2] Arthur[3] served in the First East Anglian Field Ambulance, a locally-raised unit containing a number of other Cambridge men.[4] Their early training was reported locally—one of the members wrote frequently to the *Cambridge Independent Press (CIP).* In September, he mentioned Arthur in his account of their arrival at a new camp: 'The kitchens were ranged down the centre, and the men's food was cooked on the spot. The fact that Section A, then under the charge of Cook A. Livermore, of Cambridge, had the trenches dug and a fire burning within 10 minutes of arrival on the ground speaks well for the efficiency of the staff. (Another record! - Editor.) It may be added that Mr. Livermore acted as cook to an R.A.M.C. Ambulance through the Boer War and is thus an old hand at the work.'[5] On Eliza's death in 1959, she was buried in her family grave at Mill Road Cemetery, with a line to commemorate her late husband.[6]

1 *Cambridge Daily News (CDN)* 22 February 1918.
2 *Cambridge Independent Press (CIP)* 7 September 1917.
3 Throughout this thesis I have generally referred to individuals by their first name. Several of the stories given involve members of the same family, and it has therefore been clearer to use first names.
4 See Appendix 3 for a full list of local units.
5 *CIP* 2 October 1914.
6 http://millroadcemetery.org.uk/brown-elizabeth-ann/ , accessed 19 June 2018; see https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/2679773 for Arthur's life story page.

Eliza Livermore was one of thousands of women in Cambridgeshire affected by the war, but her story brings out several of the key themes of this thesis. Even before her husband's death, her life was deeply affected by his absence; she had been running the hardware business since he enlisted. By 1918, the staff consisted of her, several girls, and one married man in his thirties. The huge number of men physically absent from their home communities altered day to day life, through loss both of labourers and customers. The University, and those trades dependent on the University, was particularly hit by the enlistment of undergraduates.

Local newspapers played a crucial role in mediating the local experience of war. Prior to his death, and in connection with it, Arthur appeared in the local news. The training scenes above were a cheerful story; other published letters gave graphic details of the fighting. Letters reporting deaths rarely gave many details—although it was noted that Arthur was killed by shell fire, while doing his 'duty', there was no description of being under shell fire. Other letters were much less reticent. Corporal Pointer wrote to his wife 'I have seen more this last three months than I ever saw in South Africa; in fact it is only murder, and not fighting. The sights are enough for one to see—some of the poor fellows blown to pieces.'[7] These letters formed part of a connection between the home front and the fighting front, their publication in local newspapers emphasising that they were part of a community experience of war.

Local men did not disappear from their home communities with their death. Although Arthur appears to have been added to his family grave only after his widow died, with other family graves it is possible that names were added during the war. These family graves were part of a wider war memorial movement that begun before the war's end—although post-war commemoration lies outside the scope of this thesis, discussion about war memorials, and even the erection of some, took place before the war was over.

7 *Cambridge Chronicle (CC)* 13 November 1914; see https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/3542384 for his life story page, containing the full letter.

Local tribunals marked the final portion of a progression from volunteering to conscription. Arthur was a volunteer; when refused exemption on his employer's claim, Charles became a conscript. The increased regulation of society was not merely seen in the introduction of conscript service, but also in a wider move from the voluntary mobilisation of society to greater regulation. The change did not occur at the same time or in the same way across the whole of society—while the transition to compulsory service took place in 1916, the Defence of the Realm Act brought in greater regulation of civilian lives from the outbreak of war, and the change in agricultural mobilisation took place arguably only from the end of 1916.

This thesis will explore the impact of war on Cambridgeshire communities by first quantifying and analysing war service, through a statistical survey that encompasses the basic details of over 37,000 individuals who lived in Cambridgeshire villages or attended Clare College Cambridge, and an additional database of over 6,500 cases heard in three local tribunals. It then seeks to explore community life in the county during the war period, within all of the county's interlinked communities. The university suffered a substantial loss of undergraduates; by the start of the academic year 1916/17 those who remained were either ineligible for military service or conscientious objectors. The place of students was largely taken by cadets. These changes had a knock-on effect in the town, which was further affected by regulatory changes. The villages were not unaffected; the war touched on agricultural communities through enlistment and conscription, and through the regulation of farming. But there were also voluntary responses to the war both in charitable giving, and in local mobilisation for non-military or quasi-military service. Throughout, this thesis will seek to draw comparisons with other county and local studies, to illustrate areas of similarity and difference, tying Cambridgeshire's communities into the national picture.

This thesis engages substantially with two areas of historical research traditionally unpopular in academia: military and local history. The former can be castigated with reference to the 'drum and bugle brigade', the latter as the domain of antiquarian, amateur pedants. Neither characterisation is fair, and in recent years local history in particular has become a mainstay of academic historical enquiry. Military history, too, is enjoying greater prominence within academia.

Turning first to local history, its roots in antiquarian enquiry no longer dominate the field. Instead, following the championship of W G Hoskins, and through the work of the 'Leicester School' and CAMPOP, local historians frequently produce academically rigorous works which contribute to wider debates.[8] Tiller highlights, in particular, the work done on the early modern period, where local history studies such as that of Withington and Irvine engage with the 'big themes' of the period.[9] Local history has also become entangled with 'community history', though Tiller argues that the concept of community is central to local history.[10] Deacon and Donald, however, give community history a different meaning, arguing that although communities are found in localities, the two are not synonymous. Instead, they define community history as contextual, setting local places in wider historical and theoretical debates.[11] Jackson and Mills argue that the distinction between community history and local history is to be found in duration, with the former focussed on people and relationships, the latter on place and the long view.[12] With a focus on the First World War period alone, and on the interlinked communities of Cambridgeshire, this thesis falls more into the description of 'community history' than local, though the two are evidently closely related.

8 Dennis Mills, 'Defining Community: A Critical Review of 'Community' in Family and Community History', *Family and Community History* (2004), 9; Kate Tiller, 'Local History Brought Up to Date', *The Local Historian* (2006), 149 and 156.

9 Kate Tiller, 'Local History and the Twentieth Century: An Overview and Suggested Agenda' *International Jouranl of Regional and Local Studies* (2010), 29.

10 Tiller, 'Local History Brought Up to Date', 160.

11 Bernard Deacon and Moira Donald, 'In Search of Community History', *Family and Community History* (2004), 13-15.

12 Andrew J H Jackson, 'Process and Synthesis in the Rethinking of Local History: Perspectives Contained in Essays for a County History Society, 1970-2005' *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies* (2006), 7; Mills, 'Defining Community', 10.

The nature and meaning of community is one that has been the subject of much recent debate. Tiller stresses that community needs to be recognised in the urban and suburban context, not merely in geographically bounded rural parishes.[13] Deacon and Donald go further, emphasising the importance of social networks, suggesting that community 'is better viewed as a process rather than a place'. They also highlight that people can be part of multiple communities.[14] Anderson's conception of 'imagined communities' is useful in understanding not just nationalism, but also in understanding the local community where it moves beyond the face-to-face. His arguments about the importance of the newspaper and 'print capitalism' in establishing national identity have their echo in the importance of the local newspaper in establishing a county identity.[15] Finn also makes this argument in relation to war news and the construction of local heroes, arguing that because local papers could not compete in reporting breaking news, they relied upon a focus on community to sell papers.[16] This thesis follows Deacon and Donald's conception of communities as social networks, and individuals as members of multiple such networks. It is also influenced by Anderson's 'imagined communities', particularly as relates to the county community.

Within military history, a growing appreciation of and inter-communication with trends in wider historiography (particularly the influence of the 'cultural turn') can be seen. Although a number of books continue to be published on battles and generals, many engage with more than just battle itself. Philpott's *Bloody Victory*, for example, incorporates training, communications, and strategy, alongside a detailed account of battlefield events.[17] The battles and battlefields chosen, even within the First World War,

13 Tiller, 'Local History Brought Up to Date', 159.
14 Deacon and Donald, 'In Search of Community History', 14.
15 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism Revised Edition* (London, 2006).
16 Michael Finn, 'Local Heroes: War News and the Construction of "Community" in Britain, 1914-18' *Historical Research* (2010), 520.
17 William Philpott, *Bloody Victory: The Sacrifice on the Somme and the Making of the Twentieth Centry* (London, 2009).

are also becoming more diverse. A recent publication of Stand To![18] contains reviews of books on the Russian Front, aerial warfare, women at war, the law, artists, and film, alongside the perhaps more expected books on Neuve Chappelle and Arras.[19]

The social and demographic were particularly popular in military history in the 1980s and 1990s. Jay Winter set the scene, followed by Dewey with a particular focus on agricultural labour.[20] Despite both Lamm and Beckett highlighting the potential of the 'Burnt Documents' (WO 363) and the pension documents (WO 364) over thirty years ago, they have not been really taken up until Grayson's study of Belfast.[21] This is particularly surprising when technological advances are taken into consideration. Wrigley and Schofield's epic of demography was published in 1981.[22] The computation power available has since increased exponentially. Previous studies, excepting Grayson's, have all worked top down, from official statistics not necessarily intended for the purpose. Working from the bottom up, in contrast, allows a unique perspective of war service, and war experience. The closest besides Grayson's to the statistics of this thesis is the massive *Lives of the First World War* (*Lives*) project of the Imperial War Museums.[23] There is not, however, any intention at present to use it for statistical analysis. By exploring the statistics of enlistment and conscription in Cambridgeshire, this thesis aims to shed further light on the question of occupations and enlistment patterns during the First World War.

Although the social and demographic is now less popular, the influence of the 'cultural turn' has become increasingly marked in military history over the last two decades.[24] While Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* is as much a study of English Literature as a historical study, it has played a key role in the debates around the

18 The Western Front Association's journal.
19 *Stand To!* (March 2018).
20 Jay Winter, *The Great War and the British People* (Basingstoke, 1985); P E Dewey, 'Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force during the First World War', *Historical Journal* (1984).
21 Doron Lamm, 'British Soldiers of the First World War: Creation of a Representative Sample' *Historical Social Research* 13 (1988); Ian F W Beckett, 'The Soldiers' Documents of the Great War and the Military Historian', *Archives* (1998); Grayson, 'Military History from the Street'
22 E A Wrigley and R S Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541-1871* (Cambridge, 1981).
23 https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/ , accessed 19 June 2018.
24 Jeremy Black, *Rethinking Military History* (Abingdon, 2004), 8.

First World War.[25] Memory has been a key concern of much of this work, either through studies of war memorials like Winter's *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, or examining the continued use of the Great War and the way in which the war has been remembered, as shown by Todman, and Winter and Prost, along with a host of historiographical articles and chapters.[26] The cultural turn has also influenced the methods of analysis and sources used by military (and local) historians. Grieves' article on the propinquity of place, for instance, uses poems to illustrate a point about language, culture, and identity.[27] Similarly Bet-El's study of conscripts is heavily influenced by linguistics, and Roper's *Secret Battle* embraces a psychoanalytical framework.[28] Likewise Bourke's *Dismembering the Male* shows the influence of debates about gender(s) and identities on military history.[29] This has not gone so far as it might—there is as yet no analysis of the language of official training material, battalion orders, or war diary reports.

The 'cultural turn' has also led historians to look closely at specifics, bringing the contours and complexities of the experience of war to the foreground.[30] This in turn leads to an increased emphasis on the local and on microhistory. Gregory's *The Last Great War* for instance, uses evidence of the local and particular throughout to highlight wider issues. He also argues for the need to walk the balance between 'new' cultural history and 'old'

25 Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (Oxford, 1975).

26 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: the Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge, 1995); Dan Todman, *The Great War: Myth and Memory* (London, 2005); Jay Winter and Antoine Prost, *The Great War in History: Debates and Controversies, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge, 2005); Roger Chickering, 'Why are we still interested in this old war?' in eds Jennifer D Keene and Michael S Neiberg, *Finding common Ground: New Directions in First World War Studies* (Leiden, 2011); Alex Danchev, '"Bunking" and Debunking: The Controversies of the 1960s' in ed Brian Bond, *The First World War and British Military History* (Oxford, 1991); John H Morrow Jr, 'Review Article: Refighting the First World War' *The International History Review* 28.3 (2006); Michael S Neiberg, 'Revisiting the Myths: New Approaches to the Great War', *Contemporary European History* 13.4 (2004), 505-515; Adam R Seipp, 'Review Article: Beyond the "Seminal Catastrophe": Re-imagining the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* 41.4 (2006); Gary Sheffield, '"Oh! What a Futile War": representations of the Western Front in modern British media and popular culture' in ed Ian Stewart and Susan L Carruthers, *War, Culture and the Media: Representations of the Military in 20th Century Britain* (Trowbridge, 1996), 54-74; Peter Simpkins, 'Everyman at War: Recent Interpretations of the Front Line Experience' in ed Brian Bond, *The First World War and British Military History* (Oxford, 1991).

27 Grieves, 'The Propinquity of Place'.

28 Ilana R Bet-El, *Conscripts: Lost Legions of the Great War* (Stroud, 1999); Michael Roper, *The Secret Battle: Emotional Survival in the Great War* (Manchester, 2009).

29 Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the male: Men's Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (London, 1996).

30 Catriona Pennell, 'British Society and the First World War', *War in History* (2009), 506.

social history, saying that there was a reality of lived experience 'beyond the purely linguistic, albeit one that is more or less impossible to recover unmediated.'[31] As a work which combines both the microhistorical and wider trends and themes, Gregory's shows some of the best uses microhistory can be put to, using individual experiences to open out larger issues. Townsley makes a detailed case for the importance of using regional studies, arguing that 'Britain in 1914 was not purely perceived and constructed by its inhabitants as a nation', but also existed as a set of diverse regions and localities.[32] Pennell in a review article also argued for the importance of integrating region in studies of the home front.[33]

Amongst the first works to combine the military and the local were the Pals books by Pen&Sword. This series began in 1986, after the *Barnsley Chronicle*'s series on the Barnsley Pals proved popular enough to justify a book. William Turner's *Accrington Pals* soon followed. The series has continued to grow since.[34] The earlier works use oral history interviews, while later ones focus to a greater extent on local newspapers and other written sources. Married with war diaries, which give censored details of location, and offer a 'fact check' for oral histories, these books can give valuable insight, especially though not exclusively at the local level.[35]

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31 Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), 7.

32 Helen Townsley, 'The First World War and Voluntary Recruitment: A Forum for Regional Identity? An Analysis of the Nature, Expression, and Significance of regional Identity in Hull, 1900-1916', PhD Thesis, University of Sussex (2007), *4.*

33 Pennell, 'British Society and the First World War', 512.

34 Roni Wilkinson, *Pals on the Somme 1916* (Barnsley, 2006), 7-10.

35 David Bilton, *Hull Pals: 10th, 11th, 12th * 13th Battalions East Yorkshire Regiment* (Barnsley, 1999); Jon Cooksey, *Pals: The 13th & 14th Battalions York and Lancaster Regiment* (Barnsley, 1986); K Cooper and J E Davis, *The Cardiff Pals* (Cardiff, 1998); Joanna Costin, *The Cambridgeshire Kitcheners: A History of the 11th (Service) Battalion (Cambs) Suffolk Regiment* (Barnsley, 2016); Ralph N Hudson, *The Bradford Pals: A Short History of the 16th and 18th (Service) Battalions of the Prince of Wales Own West Yorkshire Regiment, 2nd Edition* (Bradford, 1993); Andrew Jackson, *Accrington's Pals: The Full Story: The 11th Battalion, East Lancashire Regiment (Accrington Pals) and the 158th (Accrington & Burnley) Brigade, Royal Field Artillery (Howitzers)* (Barnsley, 2013); Steven John, *Carmarthen Pals: A History of the 15th (Service) Battalion The Welsh Regiment 1914-1919* (Barnsley, 2009); Paul Oldfield and Ralph Gibson, *Sheffield City Battalions: The 12th (Service) Battalion York & Lancaster Regiment: A history of the Battalion Raised by Sheffield in World War One* (Barnsley, 2006); Jon Sheen, *Durham Pals: 18th, 19th & 22nd (Service) Battalions of the Durham Light Infantry: A History of the Battalions Raised by Local Committee in County Durham* (Barnsley, 2007); Michael Stedman, *Manchester Pals: 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd & 23rd Battalions of the Manchester Regiment: A History of the Two Manchester Brigades* (Barnsley, 1994); Michael Stedman, *The Somme 1916 & Other Experiences of the Salford Pals* (Barnsley, 2006); William Turner, *Pals: the 11th (Service) Battalion (Accrington) East Lancashire Regiment* (Barnsley, 1993); Roni Wilkinson, *Pals on the Somme 1916* (Barnsley, 2006); Steve Williams and John M Garwood, *Chorley Pals* (Chorley, 2009).

In more academic circles, a number of theses have been published in recent years which cover the First World War at a local level. These can be usefully split into two categories. Some of the studies begin with place, and cover the war as a whole, putting together disparate trends. Others have a focus on a particular aspect of the war, such as volunteering or conscription, and use local sources and local history to explore those aspects.

Devon has been a popular choice in the first type, with two theses on the county alone and a third covering the West Country.[36] Others in the same vein include Riddell on Shetland, Hancock on Pembrokeshire, Hallifax on Essex, Gower on Wolverhampton, and Cranstoun on East Lothian.[37] They can be usefully be joined by Gregson's study of the 1/7th King's Liverpool Regiment, which connects this Territorial unit and its home towns.[38] In published work, Grieves' edited collection of Sussex papers contains a valuable introduction, Parry has covered the experiences of Gwynedd, and Ronayne (briefly) those of Jersey.[39]

In the second category, Townsley and Young's theses cover the voluntary period, while Littlewood and McDermott cover the conscription period.[40] Good's thesis on the early portion of the war also focusses heavily on the local picture, though with a

36 Richard John Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', PhD Thesis, University of Exeter (2013); Andy Gale, 'The West Country and the First World War: Recruits and Identities', PhD Thesis, University of Lancaster (2008); Bonnie White, 'War and the Home Front: Devon in the First World War', PhD Thesis, McMaster University (2008).

37 Linda K Riddell, 'Shetland and the Great War', PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh (2012); Simon Hancock, 'The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire', PhD Thesis, Cardiff University (2005); Stuart Hallifax, 'Citizens at War: The Experience of the Great War in Essex, 1914-1918' D.Phil Thesis, Oxford University (2010); Stephen John Lawford Gower, 'The Civilian Experience of World War I: Aspects of Wolverhampton, 1914-1918' PhD Thesis, University of Birmingham (2000); James G M Cranstoun, 'The Impact of the Great War on a Local Community, the Case of East Lothian' PhD Thesis, Open University (1992).

38 Adrian S Gregson, 'The 1/7th Battalion King's Liverpool Regiment and the Great War – the experience of a Territorial Battalion and its Home Towns', PhD Thesis, Coventry University (2004).

39 ed. Keith Grieves, *Sussex in the First World War* (Lewes, 2004); Cyril Parry, 'Gwynedd and the Great War, 1914-1918' *Welsh History Review* (1988), 78-117; Ian Ronayne, 'Jersey Royals' *History Today* 58.11 (2008), 3-4;

40 Townsley, 'The First World War and Voluntary Recruitment; Derek Rutherford Young, 'Voluntary Recruitment in Scotland, 1914-1916', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow (2001); David Littlewood, 'The Tool and Instrument of the Military? The Operations of the Military Service Tribunals in the East Central Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire and those of the Military Service Boards in New Zealand, 1916-1918' PhD Thesis, Massey University (2015); James McDermott, 'The Work of the Military Service Tribunals in Northamptonshire' PhD Thesis, University of Northampton (2009)

comparison across localities.[41] Many of the published works follow a similar divide between the voluntary and conscription periods, with works studying volunteering in a local context, or the operation of local tribunals.[42] Others relate to trends in the wider historiography of the First World War through the investigation of war memorials, including work by Grieves and Inglis.[43] Work has also been done using local newspapers to investigate morale.[44] Similarly, Mansfield and Horner's edited volume on local history, amongst others, collects a range of articles which use the local to speak to wider questions of the war.[45]

The existence of other county studies has allowed points of comparison to be raised in this thesis. This highlights that although the war was experienced locally, many of the same experiences appeared across localities. In other words, while people may have said country and meant county, they were not alone in doing so. The importance of place cannot be doubted; ironically this importance holds good to such an extent across all the local histories thus far produced that it seems to be a national trend.

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41 Kit Good, 'England Goes to War 1914-15', PhD Thesis, University of Liverpool (2002).

42 Richard S Grayson, 'Military History from the Street: New Methods for Researching First World War Service in the British Military' *War in History* (2014), 465-495; Keith Grieves, '"Lowther's Lambs": Rural Paternalism and Voluntary Recruitment in the First World War' *Rural History* 4.1 (1993), 55-77; Keith Grieves, 'Military Tribunal Papers: The Case of Leek Local Tribunal in the First World War', *Archives* (1983), 145-150; J Hartigan, 'Volunteering for the Army in England, August 1914 to May 1915' *Midland History* XXIV (1999), 167-186; John Morton Osborne, 'Defining Their Own Patriotism: British Volunteer Training Corps in the First World War', *Journal of Contemporary History* (1988), 59-75; Ivor Slocombe, 'Recruitment into the Armed Forces during the First World War. The Work of the Military Tribunals in Wiltshire, 1915-1918', *The Local Historian* (2000), 105-123; Bonnie White, 'Volunteerism and early recruitment efforts in Devonshire, August 1914-December 1915', *Historical Journal* 52.3 (2009), 641-666.

43 Keith Grieves, 'Investigating Local War Memorial Committees: Demobilised Soldiers, the Bereaved and Expressions of Local Pride in Sussex Villages, 1918-1921', *The Local Historian* (2000), 39-58; K S Inglis, 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', *Journal of Contemporary History* 77.4 (1992), 583-605.

44 Michael Finn, 'Local heroes: war news and the construction of "community" in Britain, 1914-18' *Historical Research* LXXXIII (2010); Lee P Ruddin, 'The "Firsts" World War: A History of the Morale of Liverpudlians as told through letters to Liverpool Editors, 1915-1918', *International Journal of Regional and Local History* (2014), 79-94.

45 eds Nick Mansfield and Craig Horner, *The Great War: Localities and Regional Identities* (Newcastle, 2014); Keith Grieves, 'The Propinquity of Place: Home, Landscape and the Soldier Poets of the First World War', in ed Jessica Meyer, *British Popular Culture and the First World War* (London, 2008), 21-47; Keith Grieves, 'War Comes to the Fields: Sacrifice, Localism and Ploughing Up the English Countryside in 1917' in ed Ian F W Becket, *1917: Beyond the Western Front* (Lieden, 2009), 159-176; Bonnie White, 'Feeding the War Effort: Agricultural Experiences in First World War Devon, 1914-17', *Agricultural History Review* (2010), 95-112;

Investigating individuals in communities opens up the lived experience of the war through its public expression and articulation. Choosing a community on the scale of a county, which was in turn made up of interlinked communities, allows for a range of experiences and individuals to be studied. Counties sat at an intermediate stage between the national and the parish, and were treated as such both administratively and by cultural institutions like newspapers.

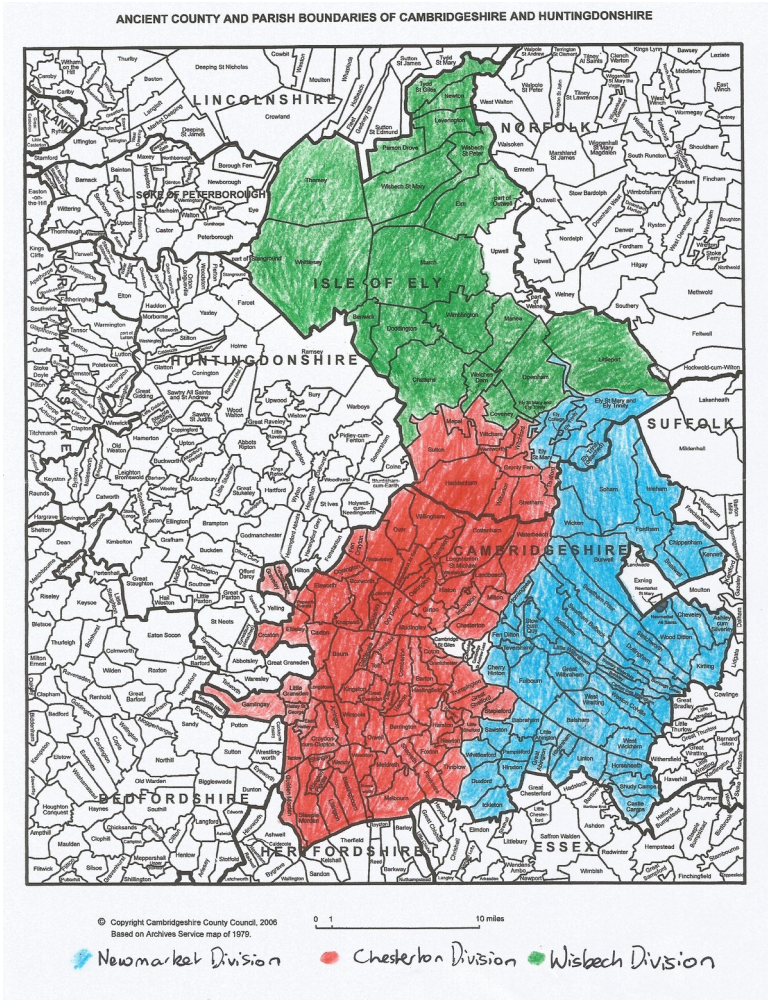


Illustration 1: Map showing the Parliamentary boundaries

Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely were two counties in 1914, but in practice tended to be treated as a single unit.[46] The parliamentary boundaries did not follow the dividing line of the county councils either, showing greater integration than looking at county councils alone suggests (see Illustration 1). Likewise, a number of official institutions covered both parts of the modern county. The Territorial Force Association (TFA), which was to play an important role in recruiting covered both. The Military Service Tribunals in both counties likewise fed into a County Appeal Tribunal which sat alternatively at Cambridge and Ely, with members representing the whole of the

46 The counties were merged in 1965.

area. The Church of England, too, embraced both parts of the modern county in the bishopric of Ely.

It was not merely official institutions which combined the two—Cambridgeshire newspapers covered the Isle of Ely and the map in Illustrations 2 and 3 clearly shows the two as a whole. It is also interesting to note that this ‘New Business Map’ has advertisements for businesses across the whole county, maps of several towns, not just Cambridge and Ely, and shows the extant road and rail networks. Rail timetables were featured in the *CIP* every time there was a change, and the regular editions of Kelly’s Street Directory listed the days and times of carriers from Cambridge to each parish—and sometimes between parishes too. The rail, road, and carrier networks linked the parishes of the county together, facilitating not just the spread of goods and people, but also ideas via the county newspapers, which were delivered across the whole county by train and carrier.

Illustration 2: New Business Map of Cambridge (University Library, Maps.c.53(1).90.2)

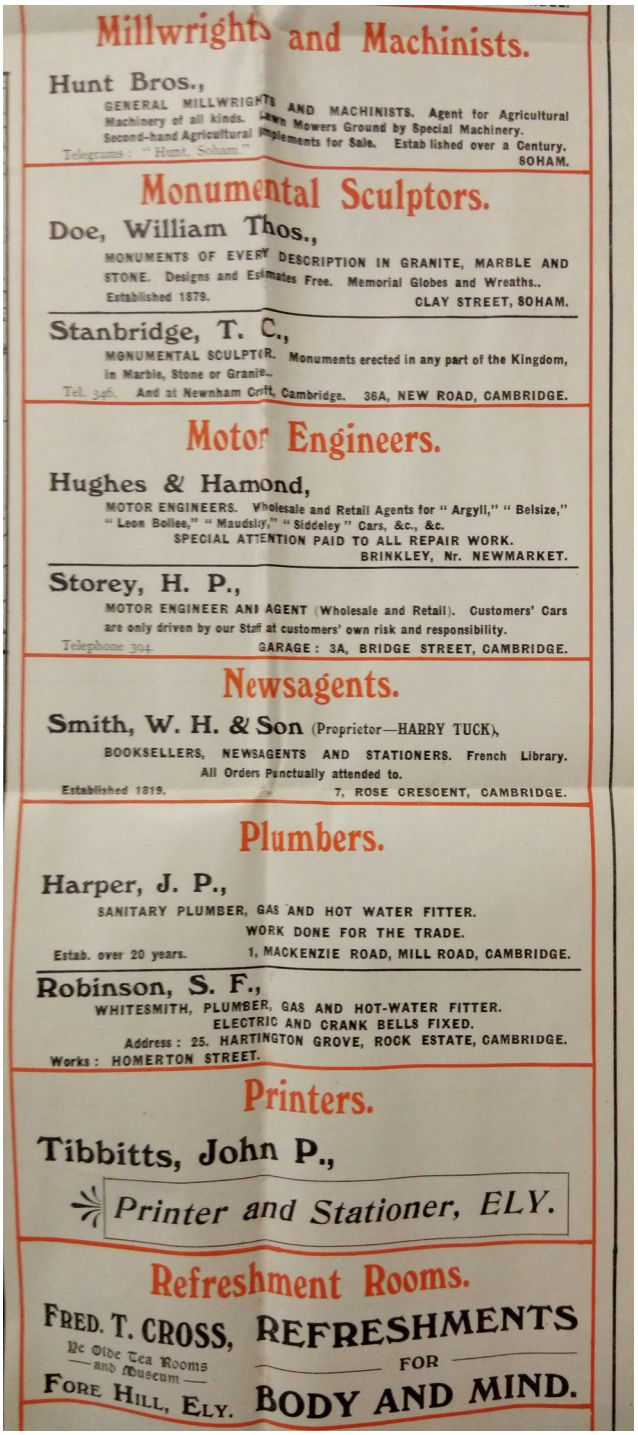

Millwrights and Machinists.
Hunt Bros.,
GENERAL MILLWRIGHTS AND MACHINISTS. Agent for Agricultural Machinery of all kinds. Lawn Mowers Ground by Special Machinery. Second-hand Agricultural Implements for Sale. Established over a Century.
Telegrams: "Hunt, Soham." SOHAM.
Monumental Sculptors.
Doe, William Thos.,
MONUMENTS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION IN GRANITE, MARBLE AND STONE. Designs and Estimates Free. Memorial Globes and Wreaths..
Established 1879. CLAY STREET, SOHAM.
Stanbridge, T. C.,
MONUMENTAL SCULPTOR. Monuments erected in any part of the Kingdom, in Marble, Stone or Granite.
Tel. 346. And at Newnham Croft, Cambridge. 36A, NEW ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
Motor Engineers.
Hughes & Hamond,
MOTOR ENGINEERS. Wholesale and Retail Agents for "Argyll," "Belsize," "Leon Bollee," "Maudsly," "Siddeley" Cars, &c., &c.
SPECIAL ATTENTION PAID TO ALL REPAIR WORK.
BRINKLEY, Nr. NEWMARKET.
Storey, H. P.,
MOTOR ENGINEER AND AGENT (Wholesale and Retail). Customers' Cars are only driven by our Staff at customers' own risk and responsibility.
Telephone 394. GARAGE: 3A, BRIDGE STREET, CAMBRIDGE.
Newsagents.
Smith, W. H. & Son (Proprietor—HARRY TUCK),
BOOKSELLERS, NEWSAGENTS AND STATIONERS. French Library.
All Orders Punctually attended to.
Established 1819. 7, ROSE CRESCENT, CAMBRIDGE.
Plumbers.
Harper, J. P.,
SANITARY PLUMBER, GAS AND HOT WATER FITTER.
WORK DONE FOR THE TRADE.
Estab. over 20 years. 1, MACKENZIE ROAD, MILL ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
Robinson, S. F.,
WHITESMITH, PLUMBER, GAS AND HOT-WATER FITTER.
ELECTRIC AND CRANK BELLS FIXED.
Address: 25, HARTINGTON GROVE, ROCK ESTATE, CAMBRIDGE.
Works: HOMERTON STREET.
Printers.
Tibbitts, John P.,
Printer and Stationer, ELY.
Refreshment Rooms.
FRED. T. CROSS, REFRESHMENTS
Ye Olde Tea Rooms and Museum
FOR
FORE HILL, ELY. BODY AND MIND.

Illustration 3: Detail from New Business Map of Cambridge

Local newspapers endeavoured to create an idea of the county as a whole. They printed news from Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, not just in those advertised as county newspapers but also those like the *Wisbech Standard*. Similarly, recruiting speeches made reference to 'Cromwell's Ironsides' across Cambridgeshire, not just in the immediate vicinity of Ely, with the assertion that where Cromwell had recruited his famous cavalry, men would surely not be remiss in coming forwards for Kitchener's New Army.[47] Bearing in mind the close associations between the two parts of the modern county, and indeed the difficulty of separating them in any terms other than those of the county councils themselves, it therefore makes sense to speak of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely as a single entity.[48]

47 See Chapter 2 for a discussion of local and county appeals in recruiting.

48 For brevity, I have tended to refer to both parts as Cambridgeshire—as indeed did contemporary newspapers in the majority of cases. The Appeal Tribunal, for instance, was variously referred to as either the 'Cambridge Appeal Tribunal', the 'Cambridgeshire Appeal Tribunal' or simply the 'Appeal Tribunal', despite strictly being the 'Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Appeal Tribunal'.

Cambridgeshire on the eve of the First World War was predominantly agricultural, the main exceptions being mining and cement-making in Cherry Hinton, a paper mill in Whittlesford, and a significant canning factory in Histon. The University was a major employer in the town and in nearby villages, both directly and indirectly. A large number of 'bedders' and other University workers lived in villages on the outskirts of Cambridge, as well as in the city itself, and several steam laundries catered to the University and the hospitals.[49] Students played a significant part in the town's economy, with tailors and punt-proprietors alike geared towards the student trade. However, it was not merely in the town that the University's presence was felt; Illustration 4 shows those parishes in Cambridgeshire where the University or one of its constituent colleges was either a main landowner or held the living.

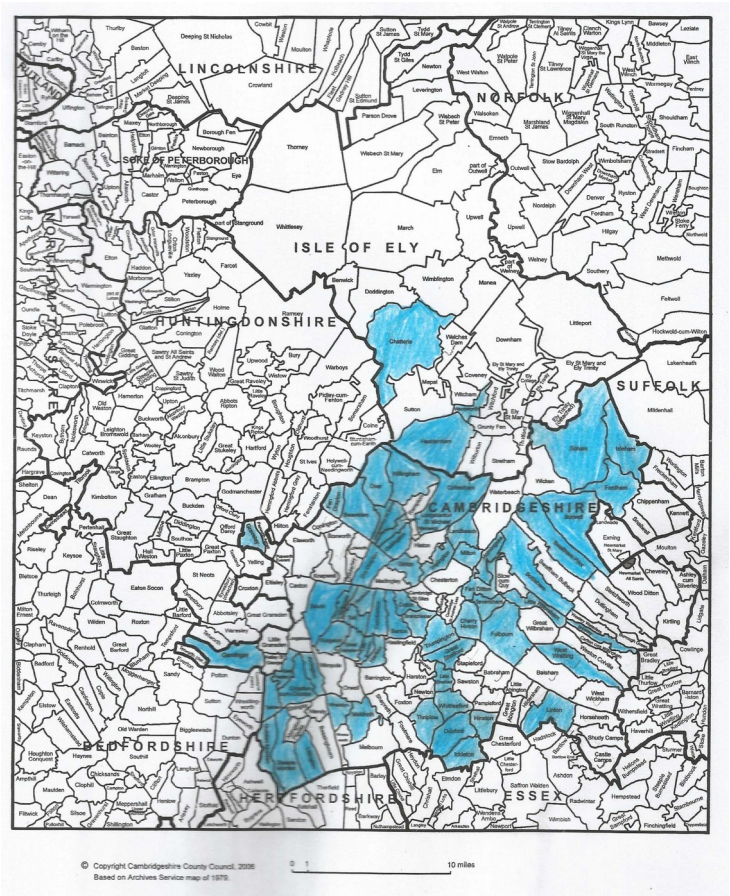


Illustration 4: Map of Cambridgeshire, showing parishes where either the University of Cambridge or one of the colleges was a major landowner or held the living. Information from Kelly's Directory of Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk (London, 1916). Hereafter, Kelly's Directory 1916.

49 Addenbrookes was the main hospital then as now, but there were also smaller hospitals in the town.

Of the parishes in the county, only a handful could be described as ‘closed’, with a single landowner. Illustration 5 shows their locations. Instead, the majority had a mixture of farm sizes (though with varying proportions of each in the different parts of the county), primarily rented. Illustrations 6 through 11 show the proportions of different sizes of farms. The first set show the percentages as a proportion of the total number of farms, while the second set show an estimate of the proportion of land in each parish which was farmed in the different sizes of farm. These two ways of looking at landholding give somewhat different results. However, they clearly show the much higher proportion of smallholdings in the north of Cambridgeshire and in the Fen areas of the Isle of Ely, compared with a higher concentration of larger farms in the south of the county (especially in the south-east).

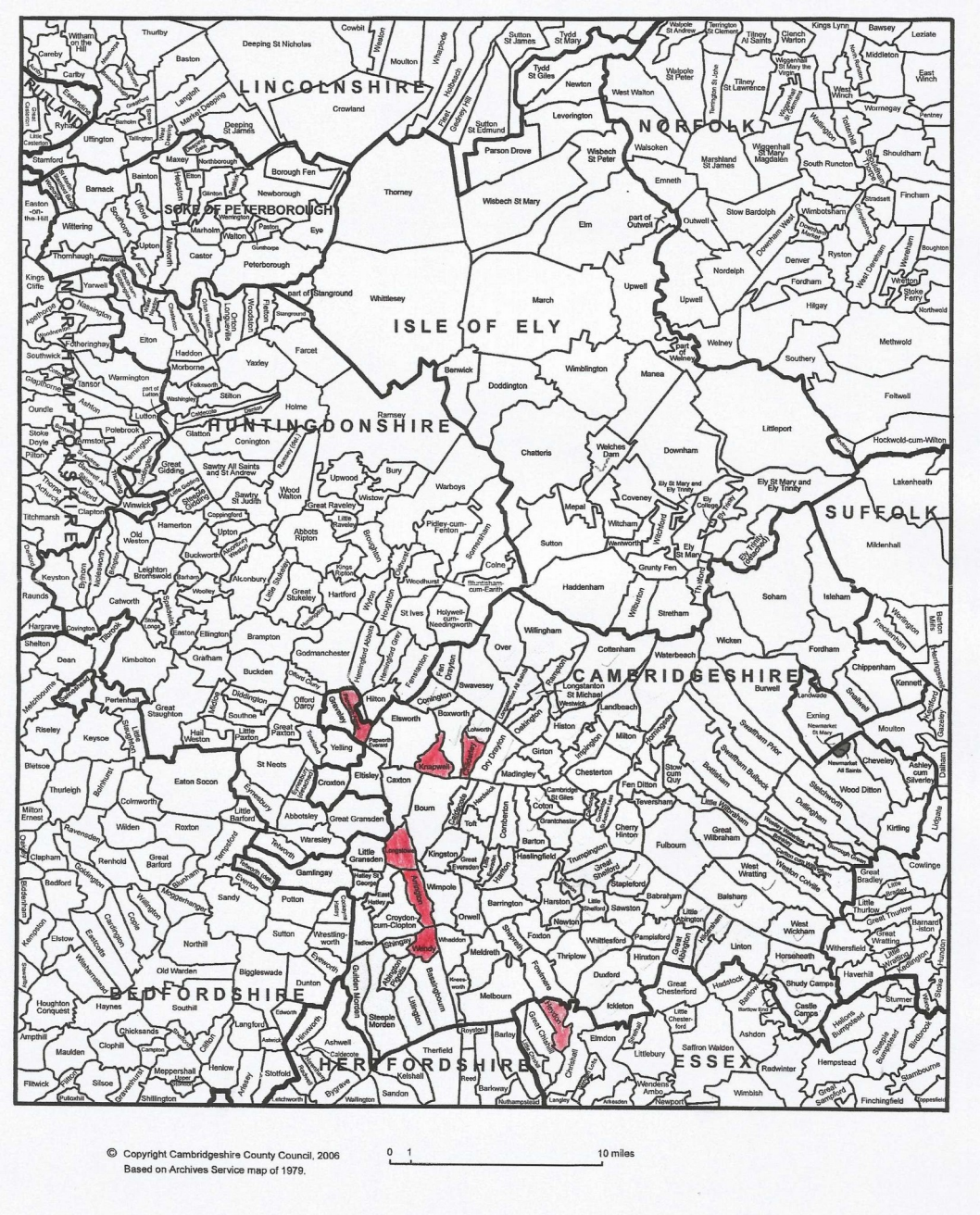


Illustration 5: Map showing the location of the six Cambridgeshire parishes with only one landowner, and a seventh border parish. Information from Kelly's Directory 1916.

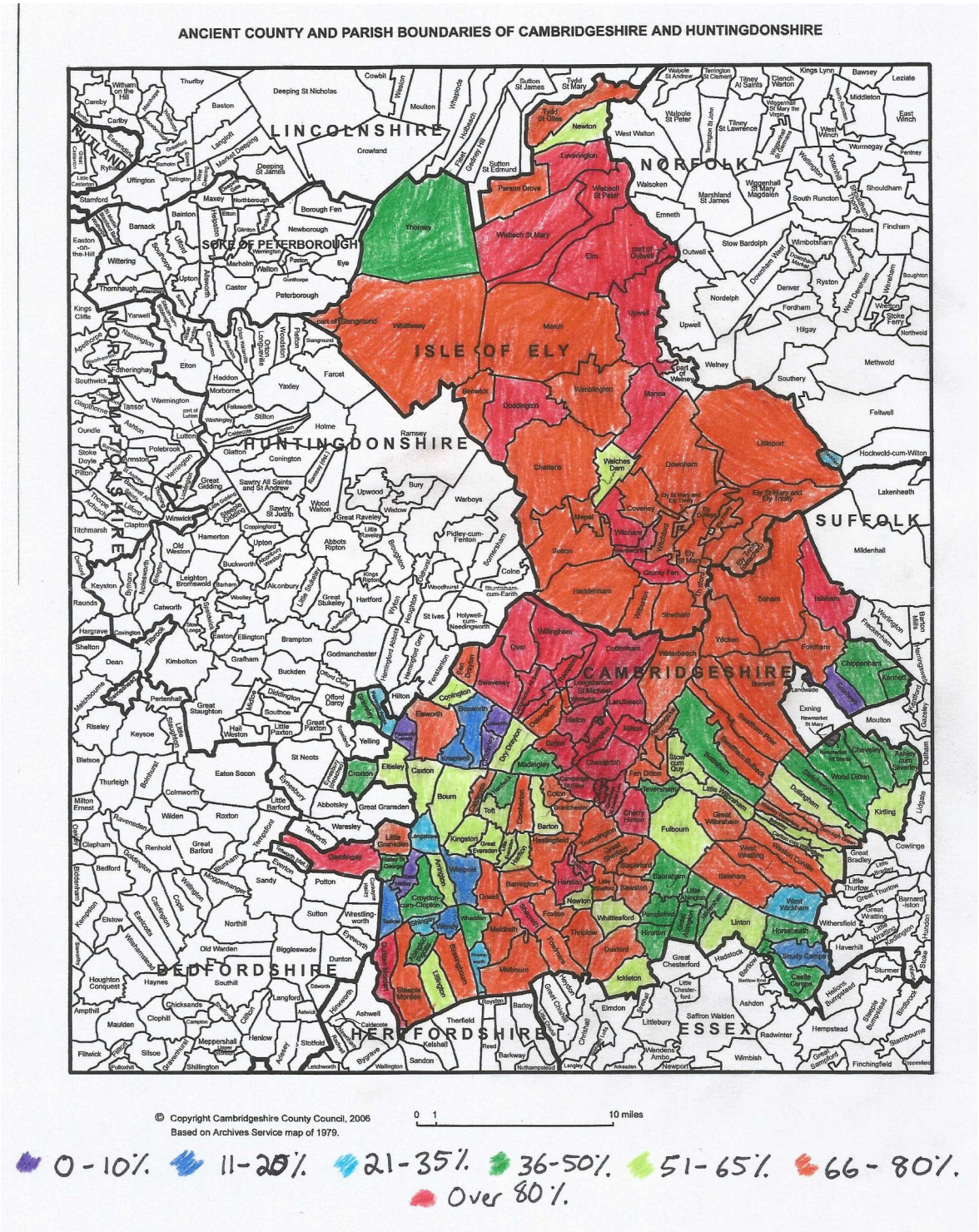


Illustration 6: Farms under 50 acres as a proportion of the total number of farms per parish. Information taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

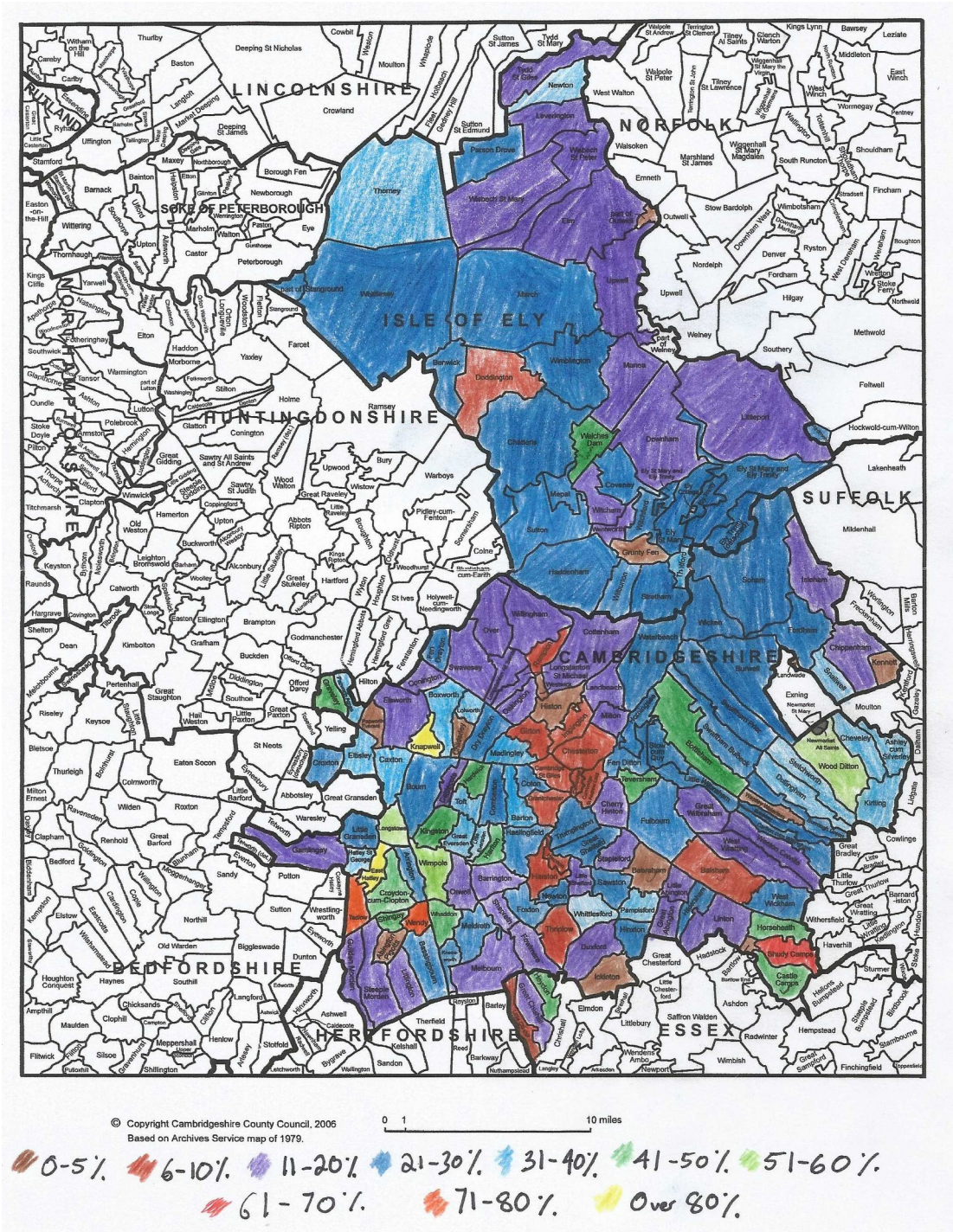


Illustration 7: Farms between 50 and 300 acres as a proportion of the total number of farms per parish. Information taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

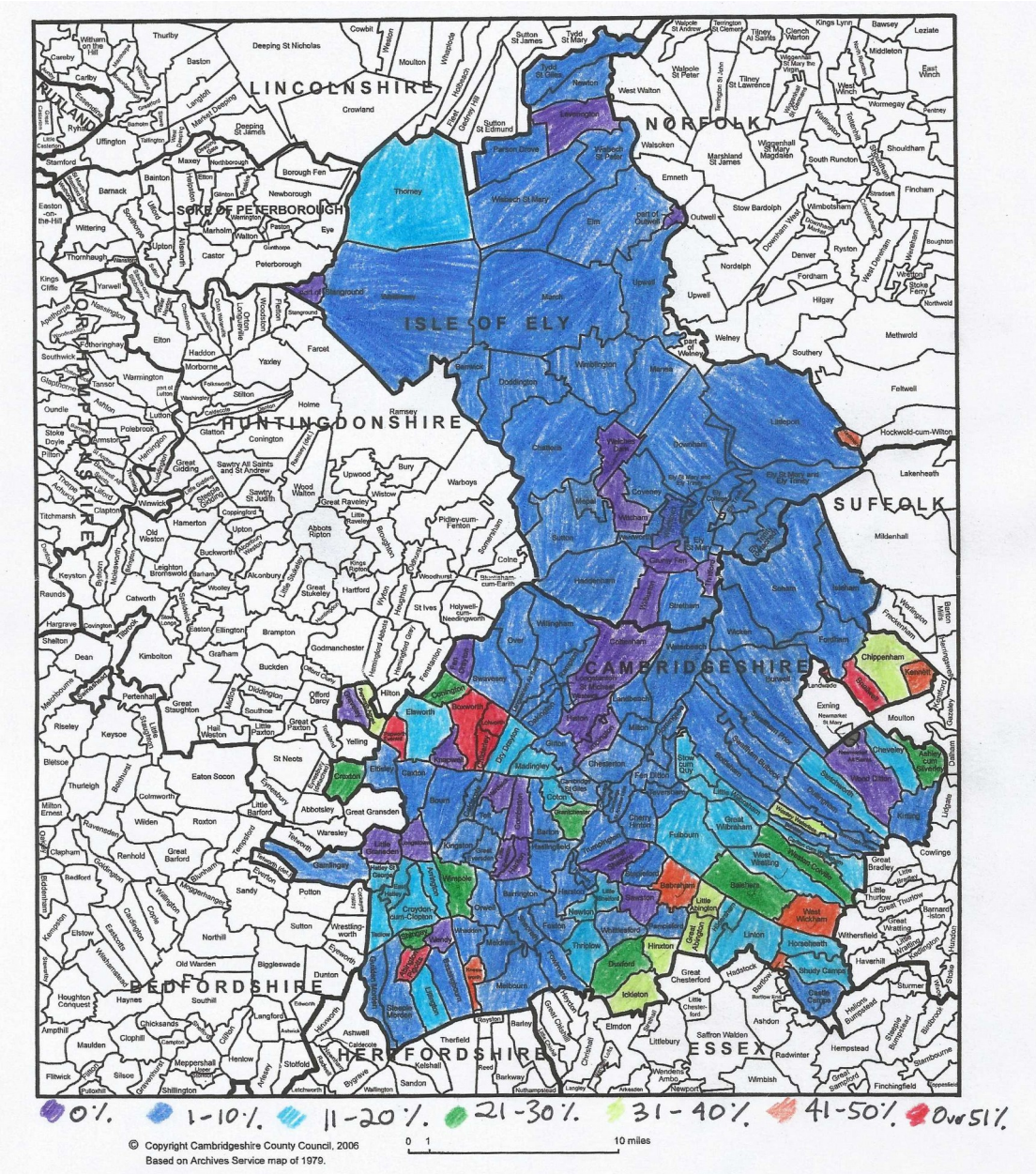


Illustration 8: Farms over 300 acres as a proportion of the total number of farms per parish. Information taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

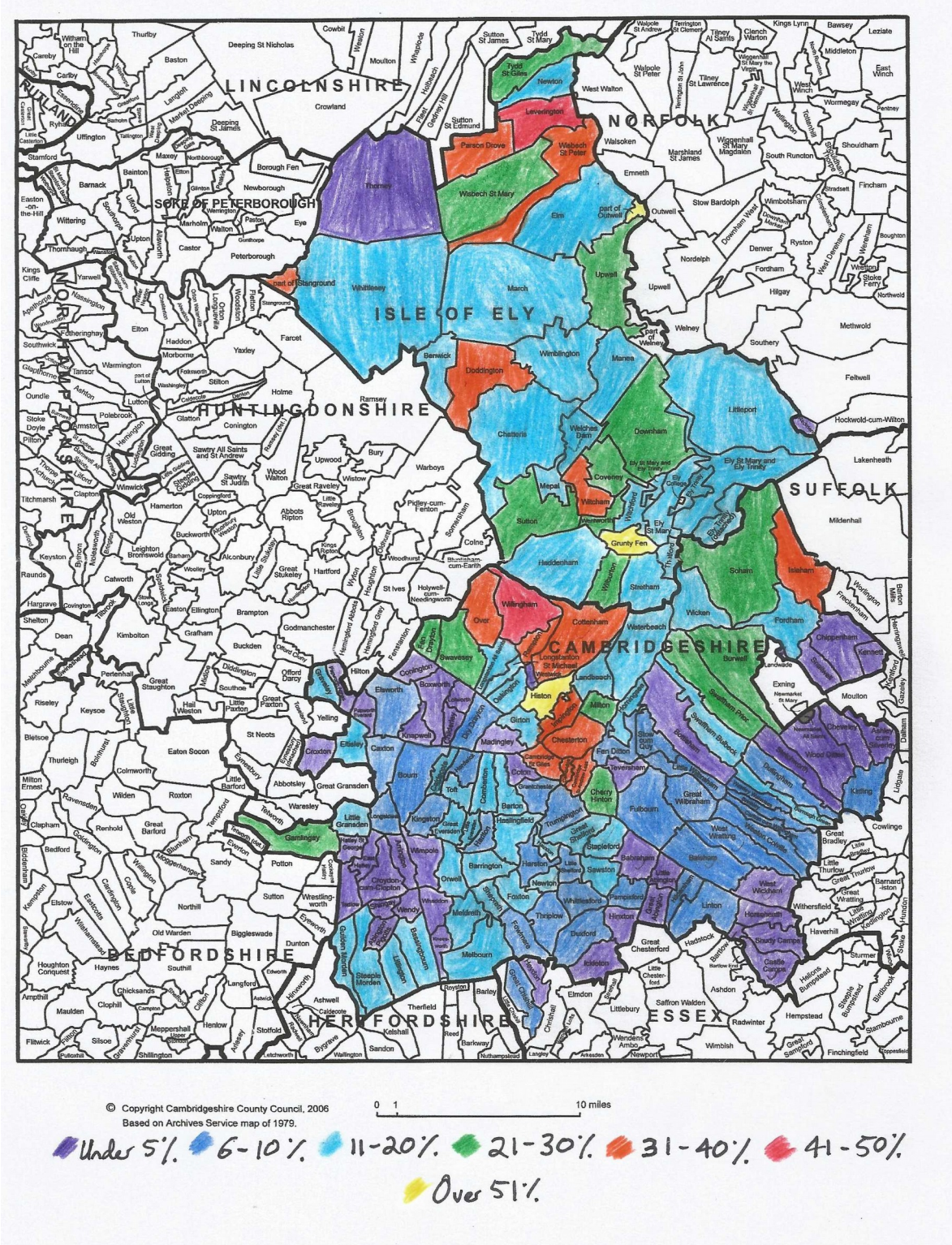


Illustration 9: Approximate percentage of the total acreage of a parish worked in farms of under 50 acres. Information taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

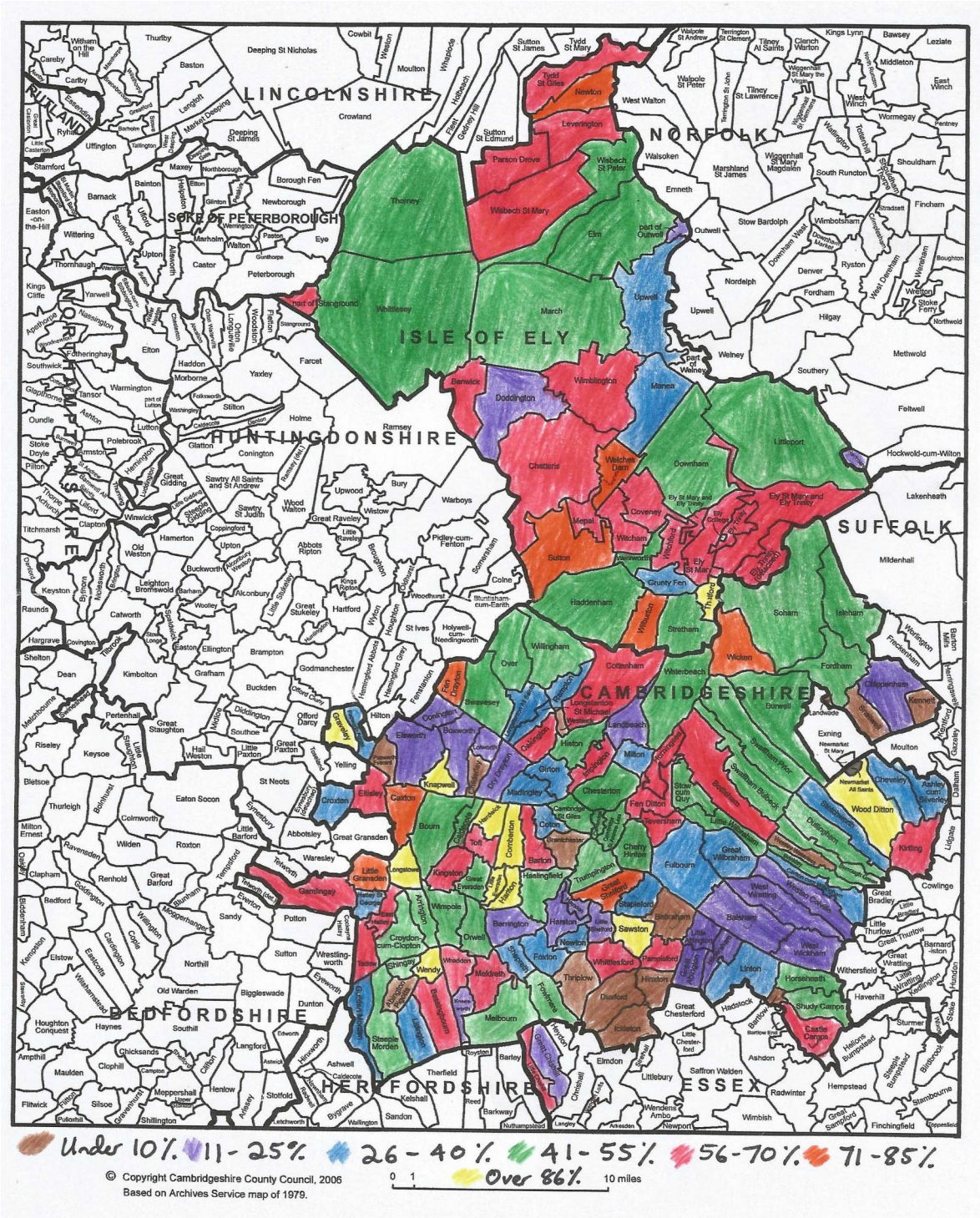


Illustration 10: Approximate percentage of the total acreage of a parish worked in farms of 50 to 300 acres. Information taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

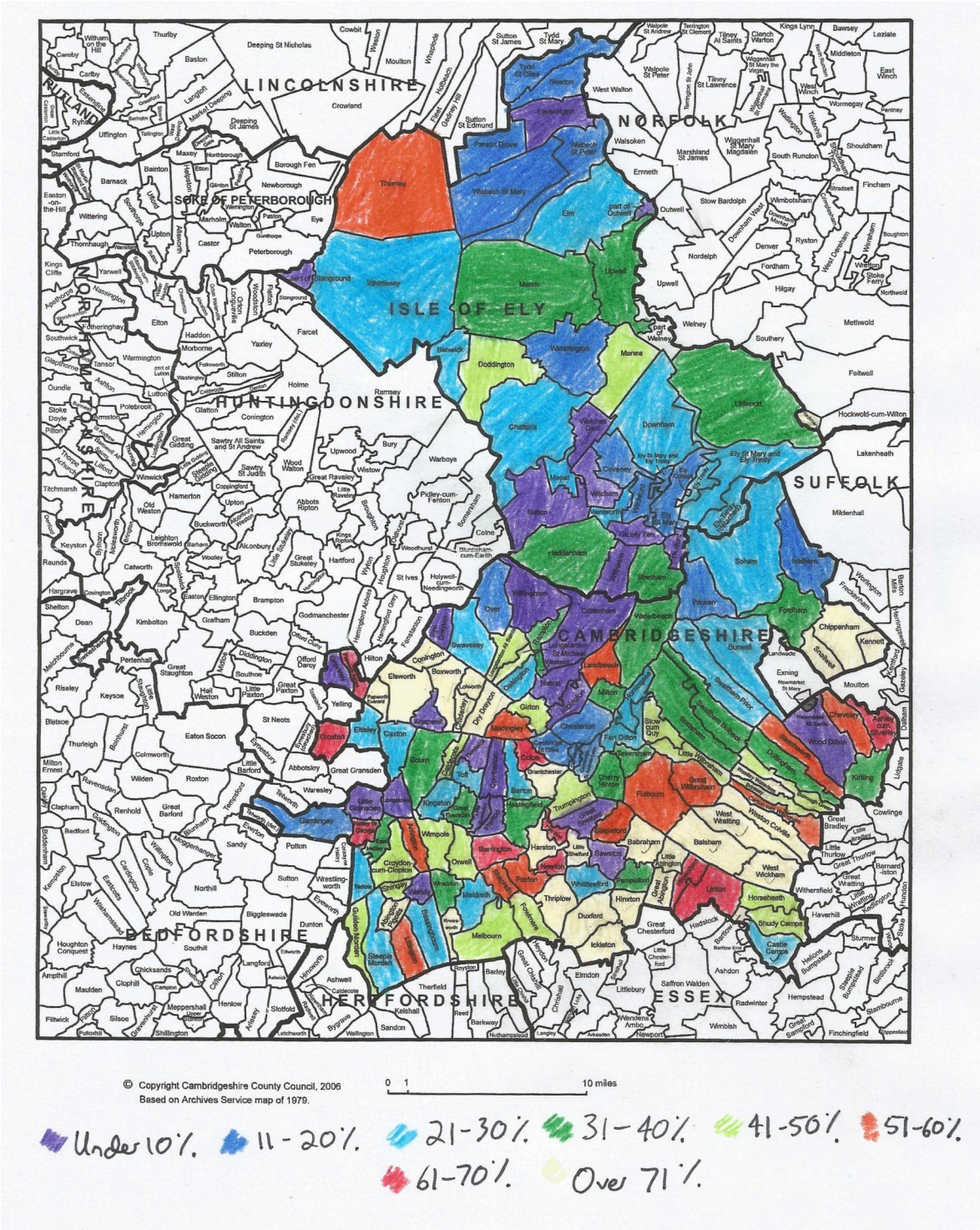


Illustration 11: Approximate percentage of the total acreage of a parish worked in farms of over 300 acres. Information taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

Most farmers were renters, though the proportion varied slightly across the different farm sizes, as can be seen in Illustration 12. Overall, just over forty percent of

farmers owned the land they worked. Illustration 13 shows the number of farms of each size across the county, again split between renters and owners.

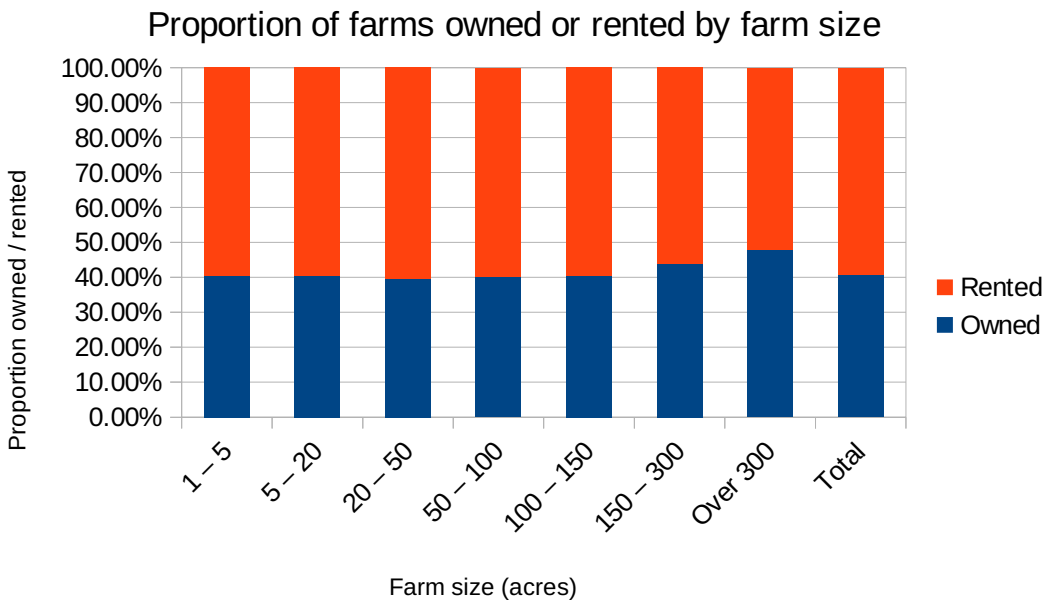


Illustration 12: Proportion of renters / owners amongst farmers by farm size, information from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569).

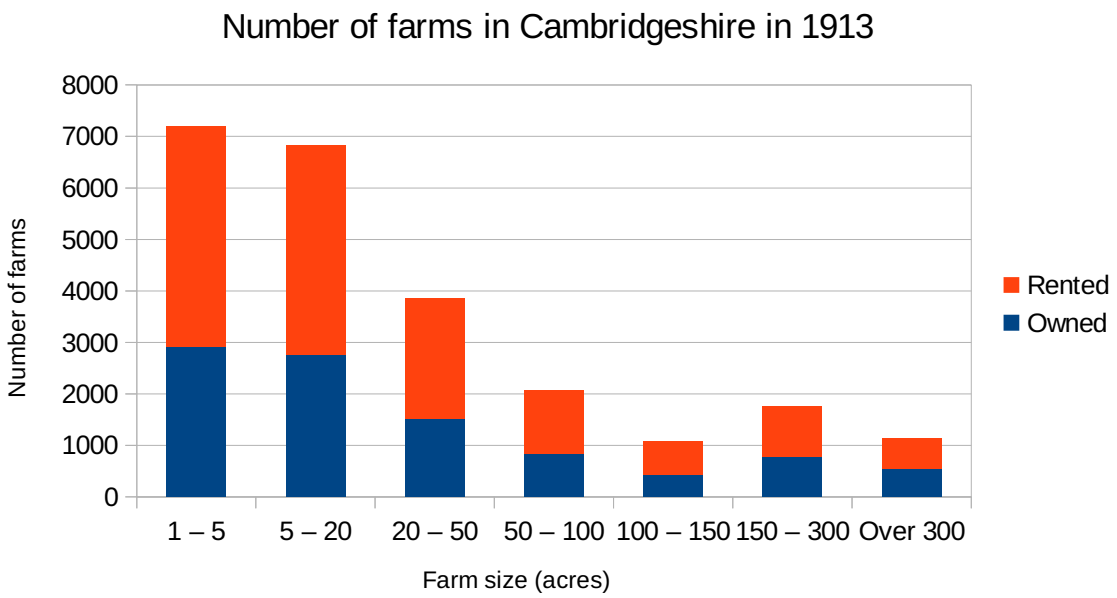


Illustration 13: Number of farms in Cambridgeshire, taken from the 1913 Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire (MAF 68/2569)

The majority of Cambridgeshire villages had a dissenting church as well as a parish church. As Illustration 14 shows, the few parishes without a dissenting church were invariably neighbours to a parish which had one.[50]

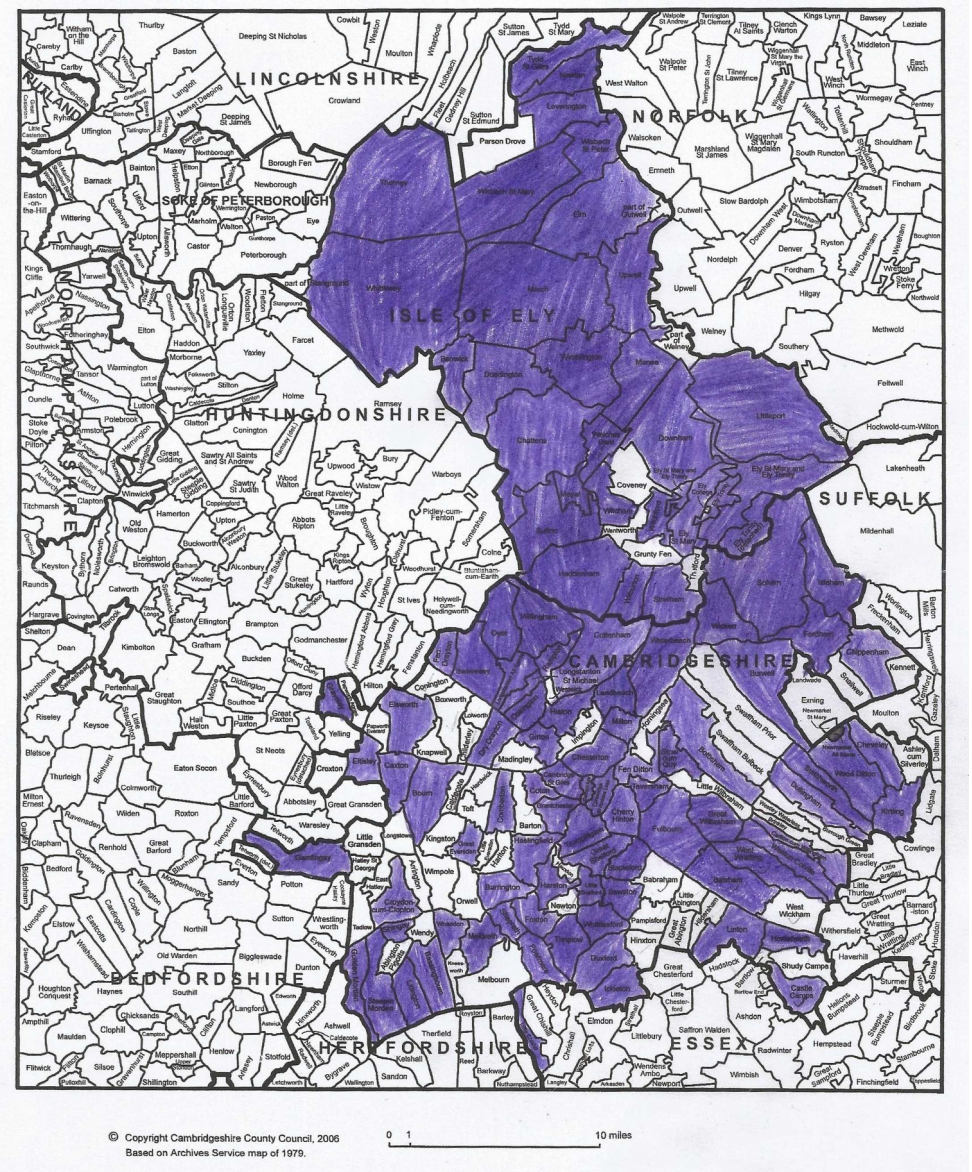


Illustration 14: Map showing Cambridgeshire parishes with dissenting churches. Information from Kelly's Directory 1916.

Cambridgeshire on the eve of war therefore was a predominantly agricultural county, divided into two separate county councils but with a range of overlapping official institutions and an established group of local newspapers which covered the whole area. The University was a major landowner in town and countryside, with significant influence

50 See Chapters 3 and 4 for more on the church during the war.

on trade. Farm sizes differed across farm sizes across the county, with a lower proportion of the land in the southern parts of the county being worked as smallholdings. However, very few parishes were wholly owned by a single landowner, and most had a dissenting church within the village.

The most important sources for this thesis have been the local newspapers. Cambridgeshire enjoyed a particular abundance of local papers. The *Cambridge Independent Press (CIP)* and *Cambridge Daily/Weekly News (CDN/CWN)* were the liberal papers, the *CWN* with the higher circulation. In 1917, the *CIP* and *CWN* amalgamated in response to paper shortages, and in the earlier years of the war their coverage is frequently similar. The *CIP* has been used more frequently within this thesis than the *CWN*, though the latter has been consulted.[51] The *CIP* in particular acted as a newspaper of record, printing verbatim minutes of the district, city, and county councils, as well as extensive reports on other local government bodies (including the Education Committee and wartime bodies like the Food Control Committee). Their conservative rival was the *Cambridge Chronicle (CC)*, with a much more partisan tone and a higher number of pictures. There are also a variety of smaller newspapers: the *Ely Standard*, and sister paper *Wisbech Standard*, the *Newmarket Journal*, *Herts and Cambs Reporter*, and *Chatteris News and County Press*, which have been sampled only, as their coverage largely follows that of the main Cambridgeshire papers. Two parish magazines survive, one for the Castle Camps Deanery (*CCDM)* and one for All Saints Parish in Cambridge (ASPM). Although ostensibly religious, much of their content is local news and of local interest. While in Sussex parish magazines became repositories of letters home, these two parish magazines contain only a handful of letters, though they do have Rolls of Honour and war news.[52] The final 'town' newspaper-style source consulted was the *Cambridge and County Boys School*

51 The *CIP* has been accessed both on microfilm in the Cambridgeshire Collection and digitally via the British Newspaper Archive. The *CWN* has not been digitised.
52 ed. Keith Grieves, *Sussex in the First World War* (Lewes, 2004), xi.

Magazine, which continued during the war. Its style and content bore many similarities to the University magazines and College sources discussed below.

The University had two main papers, plus the official *Reporter*. The *Cambridge Magazine (CM)* found itself mired in controversy in 1917, due to claims it supported pacifists and Germans. This was down to the *CM printing* both verbatim reports of hearings of conscientious objectors, and extensive extracts from foreign newspapers (including German ones). Local newspapers hastened to dissociate themselves with the *CM*. Illustration 15 shows the *CM's* properly irreverent response. Those few Tribunal hearings it was allowed to print give valuable verbatim accounts, and its collection of letters and articles a useful perspective on University life and thought. The *Reporter* gave lecture lists, accounts of Senate meetings, matriculation lists, and other official information, with little to no editorial content or comment. The other University paper was the much less controversial *Cambridge Review*, which throughout the war was dominated by details of casualties, along with a continuation of its pre-war life in printing book reviews, as much society news as remained feasible, and the University Sermon. These magazines in peacetime were supplemented by a large number of College

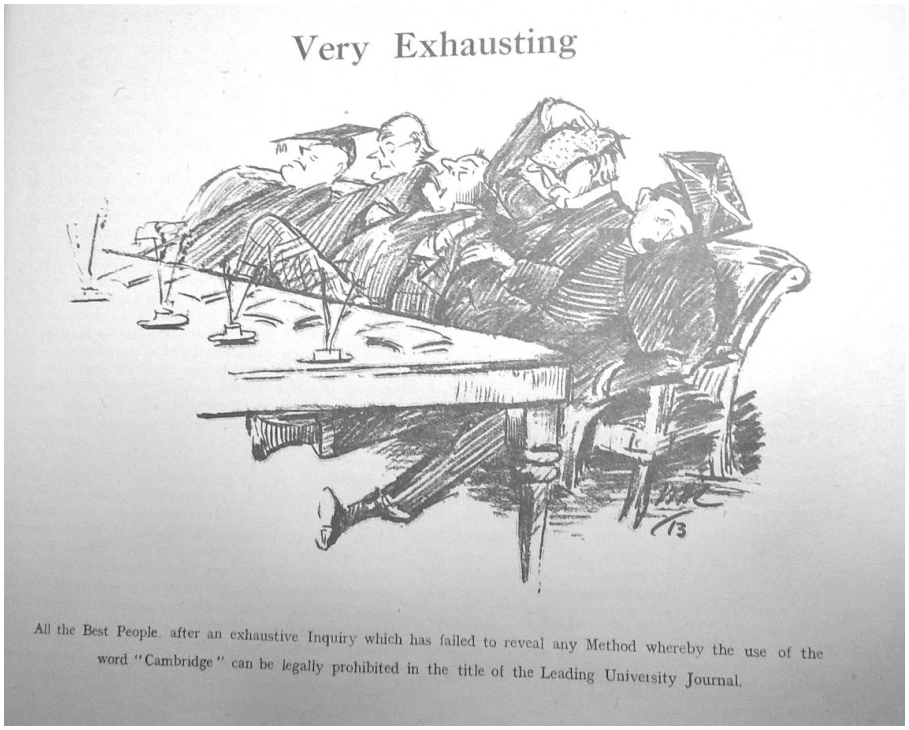


Illustration 15: The Cambridge Magazine 3 March 1917.

magazines, but during the war these ceased and were gradually replaced with officer cadet battalion journals.

Sources traditionally used by genealogists and local historians form the basis of the statistical analysis found in Chapter 1, and are discussed in more detail there. They include the 1911 census, the soldiers' service records known as the 'burnt documents', the comparative officers' records found in WO339 and WO374, and the Absent Voters Lists. Unfortunately the latter only survives for Cambridgeshire, and not Cambridge Borough, and so it was impossible to study a road in Cambridge Borough, as was the original intention. Instead, several villages close to Cambridge, and which have a similar occupational make up to the town itself, have been used. The websites *Lives* and *Roll of Honour* have both been invaluable, the former as a research tool and for work done on some of the soldiers by other users of the site, the latter for its detailed records on local war memorials.[53] Details about individuals have also been extracted from local newspapers and parish magazines, and from published and unpublished Rolls of Honour.

Official records consulted at the National Archives, including some of the NATS and MAF series, have been used to put the local into the national context. The MAF records have also given statistical details on the amount of land under the plough and landholding patterns.

Parish records, including school and parish minutes, were consulted at Cambridgeshire Archives. The archive also holds the incomplete records of the local War Agricultural Executive Committee, and some church records. The Cambridgeshire Collection, besides microfilm of all the local newspapers has a selection of local books, including published primary sources, some of which are out of print and/or otherwise impossible to get elsewhere.

53 https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/ , accessed 19 June 2018; https://www.roll-of-honour.com/ , accessed 19 June 2018.

This thesis begins with the creation of a set of statistics covering who enlisted, who appealed for exemption from military service, and who became a casualty in a sample of Cambridgeshire parishes and a sample College. These statistics work from the ‘bottom up’, and set the stage for the following chapters, quantifying how many were absent from their home communities.

Chapters 2 through 4 investigate the mobilisation of individuals and communities for war purposes. Chapter 2 explores how people, male and female, were persuaded or coerced to leave their peacetime professions or family life and join the armed forces or take on war work away from home, and is very closely linked with Chapter 1’s statistical investigation of the same topic. Chapters 3 and 4 then turn to the mobilisation of communities, both through voluntary means (Chapter 3) and through regulation (Chapter 4). These three aspects of the mobilisation story show how the increased regulation of wartime society was not merely imposed from the top down, and how voluntary efforts continued throughout the war.

Chapters 5 and 6 then turn to explore relationships within communities. Chapter 5 focusses on smaller relationships within communities. It argues that those who were on active service remained part of their local communities, with local war news emphasising that while a man might be physically absent, he was still considered a part of that community. The same can also be seen in the wartime commemoration of the dead. Chapter 5 also explores the effect of wartime conditions on romantic relationships and children. Chapter 6 covers those areas where relationships, or communities, broke down. The University of Cambridge saw its undergraduates almost disappear, those remaining being either conscientious objectors or ineligible for another reason, and an influx of cadets in their places, following some of the University’s pre-war traditions and activities. While academic life continued, it was far from the pre-war scale. Conscientious objectors, many of whom were students, were presented as rejecting community values, failing to do their

bit for the country. Fears were raised about subversive societies in the Colleges, who were actively working to undermine the British war effort. Finally, the chapter concludes with a series of case studies on wartime suicides.

1 – Statistics of the Cambridgeshire War Effort

At the heart of this study lies a unique set of interlinked databases, collectively comprising information on over 37,000 individuals. By working from the bottom up, it has been possible to produce statistics about casualty rates, volunteering, conscription and appearance before a tribunal, and about the operation of Military Service Tribunals. Besides their collective value in creating statistics, the experiences of individuals thus revealed underpin subsequent chapters. Here, however, the focus is on what they reveal in aggregate.

Previous statistical studies of the First World War generally work backwards from official, top-level sources. Winter's pioneering work used Ministry of Reconstruction figures and other official sources; Dewey worked largely from the Board of Trade reports.[54] While undoubtedly useful, working down from the official statistics has many problems, including the inability to regionally differentiate, and the fact that the Board of Trade estimates were only estimates, biased towards the large employer, and covered loss of manpower from an industry, rather than loss specifically to volunteering or conscription. Working upwards has the advantage of revealing with greater specificity the impact of volunteering, conscription, and the tribunals. It also enables a closer differentiation of occupation types than official reports allow, particularly as regards agriculture.

Studies working upwards from the lives of individuals have only recently become feasible, thanks in large measure to the growth of interest in genealogy and the release of the 1911 census in 2011. Lamm carried out a preliminary analysis of the Burnt Documents in 1988, concluding that they were representative of the wartime army, but this work seems to have gone no further, perhaps limited by the state of technology.[55] The digitisation of the Burnt Documents, which have been one of the key sources in the creation of the statistics

54 Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, 34; P E Dewey, 'Agricultural Labour Supply in England and Wales during the First World War' *Economic History Review* 28.1 (1975); P E Dewey, 'Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force during the First World War', *Historical Journal* (1984).

55 Lamm, 'British Soldiers of the First World War', 85.

for Cambridgeshire, has played an enormous part in this research. Likewise, *Lives*, which holds these and many other records, has proved invaluable.[56] It is conceivable that this latter could be used for statistical research across the whole of the British Empire, but although millions of facts have been uploaded and attached to individual records, there is no standardisation of information in, for instance, the 'jobs' area, though in analysing age structure, enlistment dates, and places, the database may prove invaluable. *Lives* has brought together a huge amount of information, much of it from otherwise inaccessible personal sources, and the statistical research carried out through it revealed qualitative sources used later in the thesis.

Some studies have been carried out, though none yet in as much detail over as large an area. The majority focus on soldiers from an area, or within a battalion. Thus, Jackson's online database of all soldiers who served in the Accrington Pals (11th East Lancashire Regiment) gives a huge amount of detail on individuals, but has not been analysed for a collective picture.[57] Grayson has analysed service records from West Belfast, looking at those who served, partially from the WO 363 and 364 collections, partially from newspapers and other sources. Although he compared these with statistics from the 1911 census, his focus was on the composition of the military, rather than on the population who subsequently composed the civilian army.[58] Hallifax used voter lists to illustrate the difference between the number of men absent on service from rural areas and those absent in towns or Metropolitan districts.[59] However, one potential issue with using the Absent Voter Lists is that it does not take into account differences in casualty rates—as will be seen below these could vary significantly between occupations. The closest, however, to the research done in this study, is that carried out by local history groups, such as those in Trumpington and Whittlesford.[60] Both have researched their parishes in great depth, and a

56 https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/ , accessed 19 June 2018.
57 http://pals.org.uk/palslist.htm , accessed 19 June 2018.
58 Grayson, 'Military History from the Street', 465-495.
59 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 280.
60 Trumpington Local History Group's research can be found as a community on Lives of the First World War at https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/1396 , accessed 19 June 2018, and other

future project connecting the work of local history groups across the UK could produce invaluable results and comparisons.

information on their website http://www.trumpingtonlocalhistorygroup.org/subjects_WWI.html , accessed 19 June 2018; The Whittlesfield Society have also created a community on Lives of the First World War at https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/7007 , accessed 19 June 2018.

1.1 – Statistical Methodology and Sources

Before discussing the results of the statistical study, it is necessary to understand how these statistics were created and their limitations. The most obvious limitation is the geographical nature of the database—it shows only the statistics for selected parishes in Cambridgeshire.[61] This is also its strength, giving a detailed picture of specific localities. To create such a database for selected parishes across the whole of the United Kingdom would be a mammoth undertaking, not least because many sources remain accessible only in local archives. Using neighbouring parishes also helps to reduce the chance that a quirk in how sources were compiled will unduly affect results, and enables a better comparison between parishes.

61 The conclusion of the chapter will discuss how representative this is of the county as a whole.

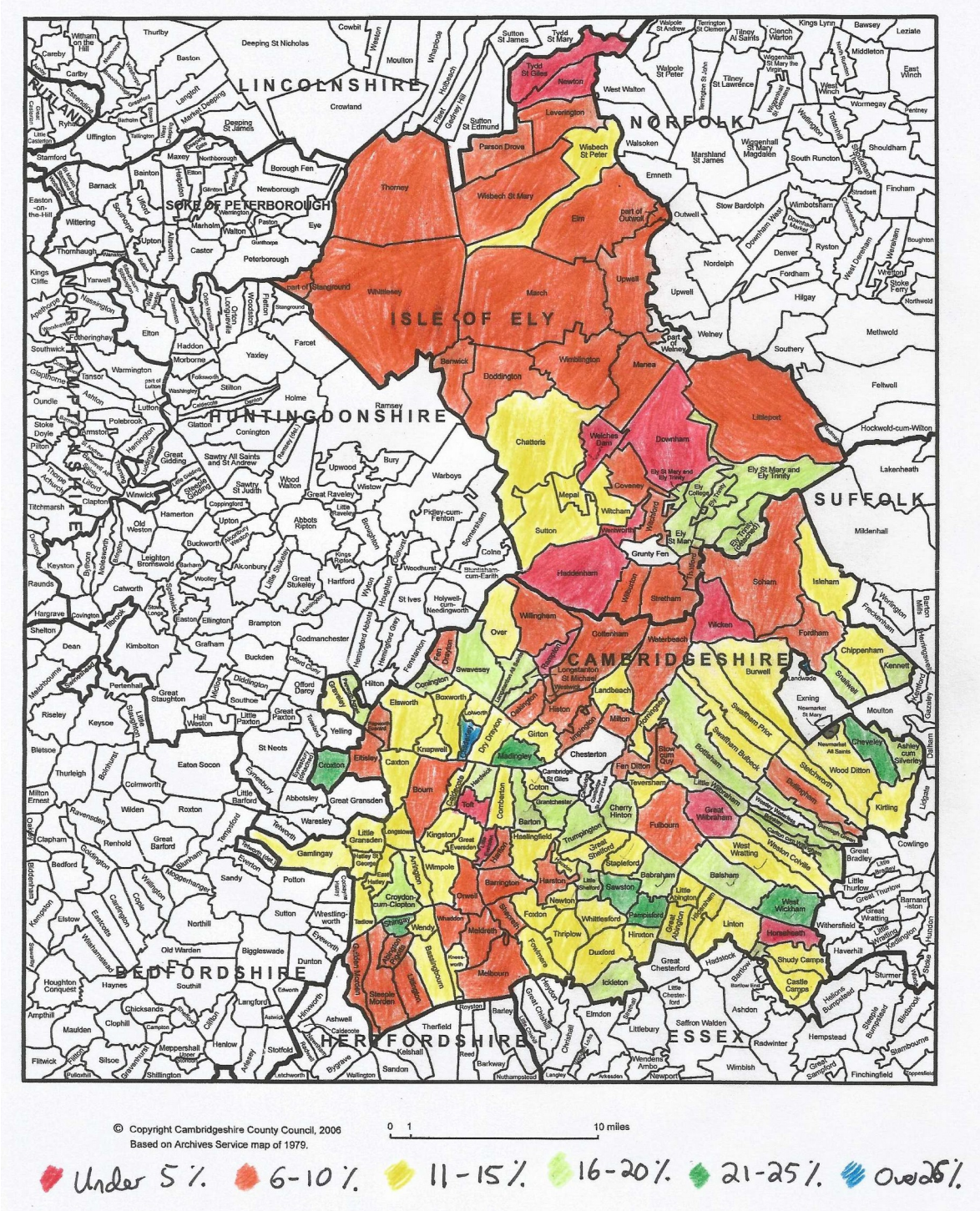


Illustration 16: Map of Cambridgeshire, showing the varying enlistment rates across the county, based on the recruiting census published in the CIP 16 July 1915.

In order to create the parish databases, it was first necessary to select a sample of parishes. Preliminary research was greatly aided by the publication, in 1915, of a 'Recruiting Census', giving results for the whole of Cambridgeshire (excluding the Borough) as to how many men had enlisted, how many men there had been in the village

in 1911, and therefore what percentage of the village's men had enlisted.[62] Illustration 16 shows the results.[63] It is clear from this that there were substantial variations in enlistment rates across the county (although the highest enlistment rate was in Landwade, a parish with only ten male inhabitants).

Using the enlistment rates from the *CIP* has enabled a check that the selected parishes were broadly representative. Using the full list, the total number of enlistments in Cambridgeshire was 4,297 out of 35,955 males, or 12%.[64] In the Cambridge and Linton districts, the two selected for analysis, the overall rate was 13%. It was initially intended to select parishes based on a representative sample from the list. However, several factors told against this. Most importantly, two excellent sources were discovered. The Linton district is covered by the *Castle Camps Deanery Magazine* (*CCDM*), containing much local detail. The Cambridge district is covered by the *Petty Sessional Roll of Honour*, published in 1915. It gives a list of volunteers for each parish in the Cambridge district, along with information on the geographical size of the parish, its male population, and an estimate of the population eligible for military service. The second reason for choosing neighbouring parishes, rather than a sample selected across the county, was the interconnectedness of parishes. The Roll of Honour kept by Balsham's postmistress, for instance, includes a number of men from neighbouring West Wratting. Men from Great or Little Shelford are sometimes described simply as from 'Shelford'. Overall, a large number of men who were in one parish under the 1911 census appear in others when looking at different sources.

There were issues with this approach. The selection of the Cambridge and Linton districts omits the larger parishes in the north of Cambridgeshire and in the Isle of Ely. No parish in the town itself was studied in the same way as the villages, as the Absent Voter

62 *CIP 16 July 1915.*

63 The outline map used for this, and all maps showing the whole of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely, is from Cambridgeshire County Council, and based on the Archives Services Map of 1979, with the detail added by hand. The maps in this chapter covering the Chesterton and Linton Districts only have been taken from http://www.flackgenealogy.com/parishmap.php and the detail again added by hand, as it was not necessary to show those parishes in the Isle of Ely when discussing the two selected districts.

64 This included, as mentioned in the Introduction, the Isle of Ely, as local newspapers did not generally distinguish when giving information on enlistment.

List for the Borough no longer survives. As a large number of the soldiers identified were identified through the Absent Voter List, it would not be possible to create a truly comparative database of a street or parish in the town. However, Cherry Hinton, Trumpington, and Girton, all offered a number of 'town' occupations.[65] Two further problems affected the data for the Cambridge district. In the Linton district, the Linton Tribunal, the Castle Camps Deanery, and the civil Linton District all cover exactly the same parishes. In the Cambridge District, Boxworth, Fen Drayton, Lolworth, Over, and Swavesey were all covered by the Swavesey Tribunal, not the Chesterton Rural Tribunal. Meanwhile the Chesterton Rural Tribunal covered, besides the parishes of the Cambridge District, Fulbourn, Teversham, Fen Ditton, and Great and Little Wilbraham. Moreover, Grantchester is listed in the newspaper and *Petty Sessional Roll of Honour* as containing 510 inhabitants. When the parish was transcribed from the 1911 census, there were 1,662 inhabitants, with no indication as to whom contemporaries would have considered part of Grantchester. The percentage of men identified as serving during the war was substantially lower than other parishes, particularly noticeable when from the Recruiting Census Grantchester came in over average. Thus, Grantchester has been omitted from the statistics that follow, but the data sheet included for reference in Appendix 1. Illustration 17 shows the difference made by removing Grantchester and the parts of the Cambridge District not covered by the Chesterton Rural Tribunal. It can be seen that the latter affected only the percentage who appeared before a Tribunal, and so in all discussions not dealing with the Tribunals through the chapter, every village researched except Grantchester has been included. Where the Tribunals are covered, those villages not covered by the Tribunal have been excluded.

65 Cherry Hinton in the early twentieth century incorporated parts of Mill Road and Hills Road, both of which would now be considered more part of Cambridge 'town'.

Village	Population	Age Eligible % Volunteered	Age Eligible % Served	Age Eligible % Tribunal
All (Including Grantchester)	35319	14	35	15
Cambridge District (Including Grantchester)	24886	14	32	16
All (Excluding Grantchester)	33657	15	36	16
All (Accounting for Tribunal Variation)	30836	15	36	17
Cambridge district (Excluding Grantchester)	23224	14	33	16
Cambridge District (Accounting for Tribunal Variation)	20403	14	33	18
Grantchester	1662	7	12	6

Illustration 17: Table showing the difference made by removing Grantchester and removing those villages not covered by the Chesterton Rural Tribunal

The 1911 census forms the basis of each of the village databases. As well as being the latest census currently available, it is also the most complete and detailed, and the digitisation includes the returns in the handwriting of the occupants. This allows differentiation to be made amongst different categories of farm workers. Thus, farmers and their sons can be classed as ‘farmers’, horsemen, ploughmen, and others who name a particular farm trade as ‘skilled farm labourers’, and those who simply list themselves as a ‘farm labourer’ as an ‘ordinary farm labourer’. This distinction had significant contemporary importance—concerns were raised during the Derby Scheme about how men were classified, and those who worked with animals (skilled farm labourers) commanded a better wage. The final agricultural category is market gardener/smallholder, described as ‘gardener’ throughout. Where a man is described elsewhere as a farmer, but is known (for instance from Tribunal records), to have less than 50 acres, he has been designated a gardener, as this quantity of land did not usually require the employment non-familial labour. Where the amount of land is less than 50 acres, but a substantial amount of livestock was kept, or the man known to have one or more non-familial employees, he has been redesignated ‘farmer’. The aim was to distinguish so far as possible between farmers who were employers and leading local men, and farmers who relied primarily upon their

own and familial labour. There are some difficulties with distinctions between different farm trades, however, as men working on smaller holdings were likely to be described as general farm labourers, though their work may have included roles that on a larger farm would lead to their description as a horseman or cowman. Moreover, the Tribunal records reveal that some men otherwise described as ordinary farm labourers also held a few acres of land. A comparison of the number of farms under 50 acres known from the 1913 agricultural returns and those men who have been described as gardeners suggests that in most parishes the fit was close. Willingham, according to the agricultural returns, had 148 smallholdings. Through the census, 143 gardeners have been identified. Other parishes, however, were more difficult, with 218 farms under 50 acres in Cottenham, but only 146 identified through the census.[66]

For other categories, 'trade' incorporates those who could be expected to have served an apprenticeship, and 'food trade' the same but for those trades associated with food. 'Food trade' has also incorporated those who worked in flour mills. 'Shop' consists of those who are unlikely to have served an apprenticeship, such as 'butcher's assistants', or 'grocer's errand boys' alongside other retail trades, 'in service' chauffeurs, domestic gardeners, etc. 'Factory' is arguably one of the more problematic categories. Outside Cambridgeshire, it would be worth differentiating by industry, and, most likely, on a similar ground to that which has been done for agricultural workers. However, as the numbers involved are comparatively small, 'factory' incorporates men working in steam laundries, paper factories, tinning factories, and cement works. By categorising men based upon their own descriptions, somewhat different categories to those used by the Board of Trade were settled upon.

Having created a database of individuals, including information on age, gender, and occupation, it could then be used to investigate the wartime lives of individuals. The first

66 There is further information on the distinction between the different landholding patters in the section on location below.

step was to add casualties. Local war memorials for Cambridgeshire have all been photographed and the names transcribed, with the information uploaded to *Roll of Honour*.[67] A search for the parish name was then made in the military records on *Lives*—this brought up results including Soldiers Died in the Great War (invaluable for adding those who were not, for whatever reason, on the village memorial), service records, Commonwealth War Graves Committee (CWGC) records, and, occasionally, names from the Pearce Register of Conscientious Objectors.[68] The advantage of researching adjoining parishes became particularly clear with these searches, as men were often recorded in the neighbouring parish to that which they were resident in 1911.

After adding casualties and information from military records, local records were consulted. The key sources for the districts selected were, for the Linton District, the *CCDM*, and for the Chesterton Rural, the Petty Sessional Roll of Honour. The first gave extensive lists of local enlistments, Rolls of Honour, casualty details, and in a few parishes, the names of those rejected for military service owing to health or age. The latter was compiled in 1915, and records every man from the parish whose name was on the Roll of Honour in the parish church or other prominent location, details about their military service, and, for most, whether or not they were married.[69] These names could then be added to the database, and crucially this gave invaluable information about whether a man was a volunteer. Local newspapers, particularly the *CIP* and *CC*, also printed the names of men who enlisted, reports of casualties, and the decisions of Tribunals, which information was also included. The Absent Voter List for 1918, extant for the county only, was the final main source of information. This listed every man (and, very occasionally, woman) who was absent from their normal place of residence, but eligible to vote. This includes, therefore, every man still serving with the military at the end of 1918, and allows the incorporation of a significant number of men who either served at home only, or who were

67 http://www.roll-of-honour.com/Cambridgeshire/ , accessed 19 June 2018.
68 See Cyril Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War, Revised Edition* (London, 2014), 241-2 gives some details of how this was compiled.
69 See Chapter 2 for more on the Rolls of Honour

conscripted but did not object and therefore appear in the newspaper that way. For many men it has also been possible to identify whether they were a volunteer or a conscript, though this was not always possible. Derby Scheme men are included as volunteers where known as such, unless they are known to have appeared before a Tribunal, in which case they are instead recorded as conscripts. This was the most useful way of recording those who fell between volunteers and conscripts, as it seems that many volunteered without expecting to be called up.[70] Taken altogether, the village databases comprise 35,319 individuals (including those in Grantchester), and provide a significantly different method of creating a statistical analysis from that enabled by the Board of Trade reports. It is also worth noting that, if anything, they may slightly underestimate the number who served, as men who were conscripted without appearing before a Tribunal and discharged before 1918 will not necessarily appear in any of the records mentioned above. As well as being recorded against the individual in the 1911 census, every soldier known to have been connected with a parish, whether resident in 1911 or not (for instance men on the war memorial whose parents remained in the village while they moved elsewhere) has been included in a database of soldiers.

Turning to 'gown', Clare College was selected as a sample college. The second oldest College, Clare was roughly comparable with other Colleges. Illustration 18 shows matriculation figures by College for 1913 to 1916, together with the matriculation figures of 1913 – 1916 expressed as a percentage of the 1913 matriculations. Clare was slightly larger than the mean average (67 matriculations in 1913 compared with 59), and matriculations dropped slightly more than in the University as a whole (53.7% in 1914 rather than 59.8%). Nevertheless it represents a much more typical College than King's or Peterhouse, both of which are at the extremes of size. The 'population' of the College was built up from the Register of Admissions. The University War List was then used to investigate war service. Conscientious objection was much more difficult to ascertain, as

70 See Chapter 2.

the majority of alumni's cases would not have been heard in Cambridge, and reports of the Borough Tribunal do not always give names (though often giving some details of a case), making it impossible to investigate tribunal appearances in the same way as it was for the villages. The impressive completeness of the War List means that the names of those who served are likely to be near complete, but the difficulty of finding information on conscientious objectors in turn means these are likely to be substantially underestimated and have therefore not been included. Moreover, the War List does not distinguish between volunteers and conscripts, so the statistics for Clare College cover overall war service and casualty rates only.

	1916		1915		1914		1913
	Number	% of 1913	Number	% of 1913	Number	% of 1913	
King's	5	10.6	8	17.0	28	59.6	47
Trinity	20	10.9	31	16.8	111	60.3	184
St John's	13	18.8	30	43.5	59	85.5	69
Peterhouse	6	22.2	9	33.3	16	59.3	27
Clare	6	9.0	14	20.9	36	53.7	67
Pembroke	9	10.1	19	21.3	32	36.0	89
Gonville and Caius	11	11.2	16	16.3	51	52.0	98
Trinity Hall	8	18.6	6	14.0	19	44.2	43
Corpus Christi	1	3.6	3	10.7	13	46.4	28
Queens'	6	11.5	18	34.6	35	67.3	52
St Catharine's	8	21.1	17	44.7	22	57.9	38
Jesus	5	8.6	14	24.1	26	44.8	58
Christ's	14	27.5	21	41.2	31	60.8	51
Magdalene	7	22.6	10	32.3	21	67.7	31
Emmanuel	5	6.9	20	27.8	53	73.6	72
Sidney Sussex	9	23.1	11	28.2	28	71.8	39
Downing	6	20.0	12	40.0	19	63.3	30
Selwyn	2	6.5	10	32.3	29	93.5	31
Fitzwilliam Hall	15	25.9	27	46.6	36	62.1	58
College Average	8	15.2	16	28.7	35	61.0	59
University Total	156	14.0	296	26.6	665	59.8	1112

Illustration 18: Table showing numbers matriculating from each College (taken from CM, 8 November 1916), also showing the percentage compared to 1913.

Connected with the above, but also used separately, were the Tribunal databases. Full or near full records were published in the *CIP* for the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Tribunals, and where there are gaps, there is generally an indication of what those gaps are, so they have been added as near-empty lines to the database, to preserve the overall representativeness. Some gaps, for example in age and occupation, could also be filled in by comparison with other hearings of the same case, men often appearing

repeatedly before the Tribunal, the village databases, or the census. Most of the gaps occurred in the Borough Tribunal, and most fell early in the war and were related to conscience cases. The number of these was recorded, as well as the fact that they were all from the University, and so this information has been included. The other difficulty has been that decisions are sometimes recorded as ‘exemption’, without details as to the type. These have been recorded as just that, an ‘exemption’, and counted as such, though context suggests it means either conditional or absolute.

The null hypothesis in each section to follow, when examining the influence of age, occupation, and location is that there would be no or minimal difference between the different categories. However, it must be noted that for age, there were legislatively limiting factors, and that it could be excluded as a variable. The statistics cover the entire population of two districts and Clare College, but are also intended to be representative of the county as a whole. As explained above, this is more difficult for the Borough than the countryside, though ‘town’ occupations have been covered through the inclusion of Cherry Hinton, Girton, and Trumpington in particular. The surviving sources and the collection of the material from neighbouring parishes does raise some issues of representativeness. However, the parishes do have a good cross-section both of landholding patterns and of volunteering rates, both pieces of data which were available for the whole county. The majority of the statistics are descriptive, based on counting individual cases meeting a particular criteria, and then comparing it to the sample. For instance, the statistics on volunteering levels amongst ordinary farm labourers in a particular age group offer a count of the number of farm labourers in that age group who enlisted as a proportion of the total farm labourers. Correlation coefficients have been used to show the relationship between variables, along with scatter graphs. Other charts have been used where appropriate. The majority of the statistics use either the village or tribunal databases, but information from the full list of soldiers has also been used for the investigation of casualty rates.

1.2 – Time

During the First World War, the age of military service changed several times. A large number of men were excluded on the basis of age, along with all women. Dewey argued that the age structure of a particular occupation is the key factor in understanding differential patterns of enlistment.[71] Winter, too, argued that 'the age factor probably accounted in part for the relatively low enlistment rates among employers'.[72] Winter also highlighted the difficulty of analysing the age structure of British casualties, employing a complicated methodology using insurance data.[73]

However, year of birth was not the only time element that can be traced through the war. Numbers of casualties varied month on month, and the rates of appeal to tribunals, and the decisions made by them, also varied depending on the time in which the appeal was made. This section therefore examines the different ways in which age and time measurably affected the lives of individuals during the war.

There can be no doubt that age, expressed throughout the following charts as year of birth, played a significant roll in enlistment, tribunal, and casualty patterns. The matter is complicated by the changing age eligibility for the army, with the military age rising to 50 during the crisis of early 1918. In order to distinguish somewhat, age and gender structure has been broken down into four categories: 'N' women, or men not eligible at any time (men born in or before 1867, or in or after 1901), 'V' eligible to volunteer, (men born between 1879 and 1897 inclusive), 'CO' (men born between 1868 and 1878 inclusive), and 'CY' (men born in 1898, 1899 or 1900). Illustration 19 shows the proportions for the whole of the Cambridge and Linton districts, although, as noted, Grantchester has been excluded from all calculations. The percentages are roughly the same across all villages.[74]

71 Dewey, 'Military Recruiting and the British Labour Force', 218.
72 Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, 37.
73 *Ibid*., 76-83.
74 See Appendix 1.

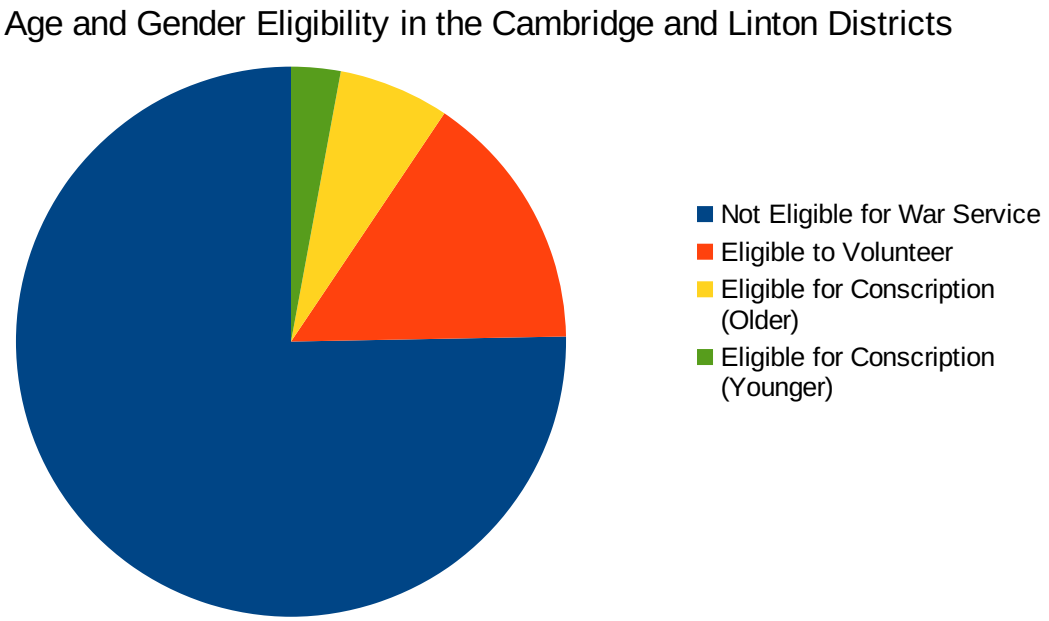


Illustration 19: Age and Gender Eligibility in the Cambridge and Linton Districts

There is a significant difference in the percentages who joined the armed forces by age between those from Clare College and those from the villages of Cambridgeshire. Illustration 20 shows the percentage of men from both Clare and the village spreadsheets known to have served during the war. It is worth noting that that the percentage for Clare drops away much earlier than that for the villages, showing a steep decline in the percentage of men who served during the war who were born between 1895 and 1898, briefly rising again in 1899 and dropping again at 1900. The date across the villages, by contrast, shows a steady rate of just over 60% for the years 1894 to 1898, falling thereafter.

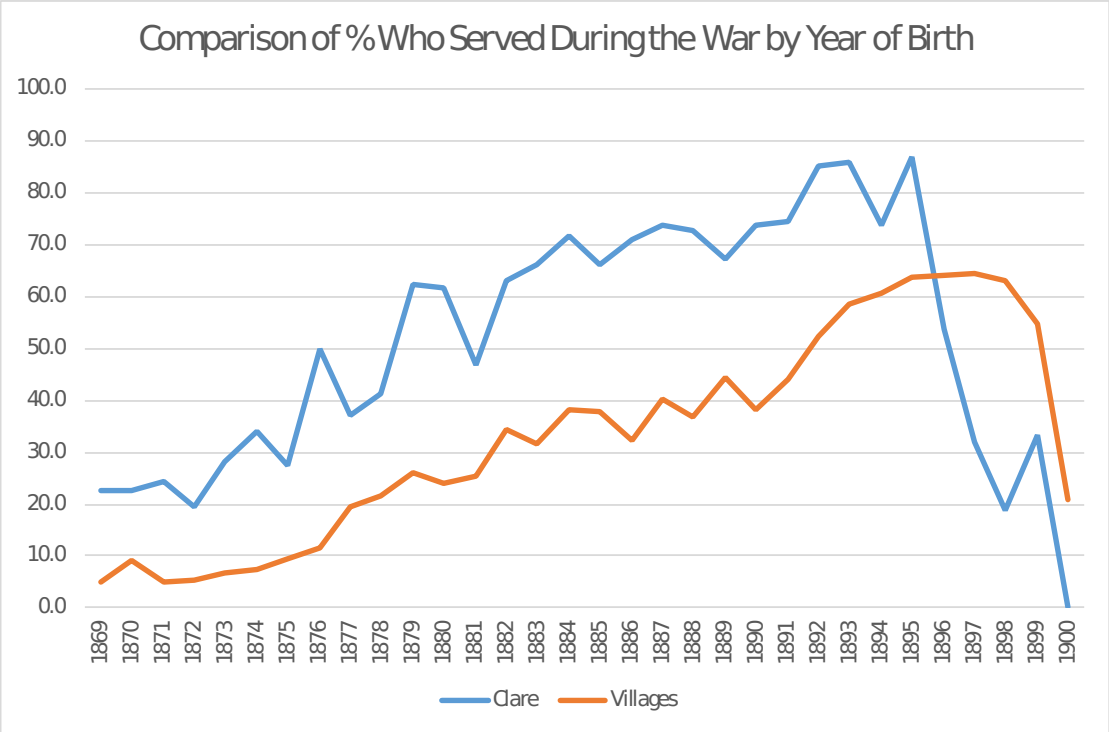


Illustration 20: Percentage of males who served during the war by year of birth

The difference between the lines for Clare and the villages may be accounted for by the nature of the men who were in the university. Although a small number of those who studied at Clare were registered without matriculating during the war period, the majority seem to have delayed their time at university. The number of matriculations dropped sharply during the war period across the whole university, and the number who were registered as admitted to Clare College likewise declined dramatically.[75] This means that those who came up to Clare during the war years—those born after 1895, and certainly in 1896 / 1897—were much less likely to come up, and may already have been conscientious objectors or borderline in fitness.

An analysis of casualty trends shows a similar picture, with the Clare College line falling away much sooner than the line for the Cambridge District and the Linton District. Illustration 21 shows the number of casualties suffered by Clare College, the Cambridge District and the Linton District, split by year of birth. Interestingly both the Cambridge and Linton District data show a drop in 1895. There is a less noticeable dip for the same year in

75 See Chapter 6 for more on the University during the war.

the Clare College figures. There is no obvious reason for this, though it is surprising that if it is entirely an anomaly it is reflected in both rates.

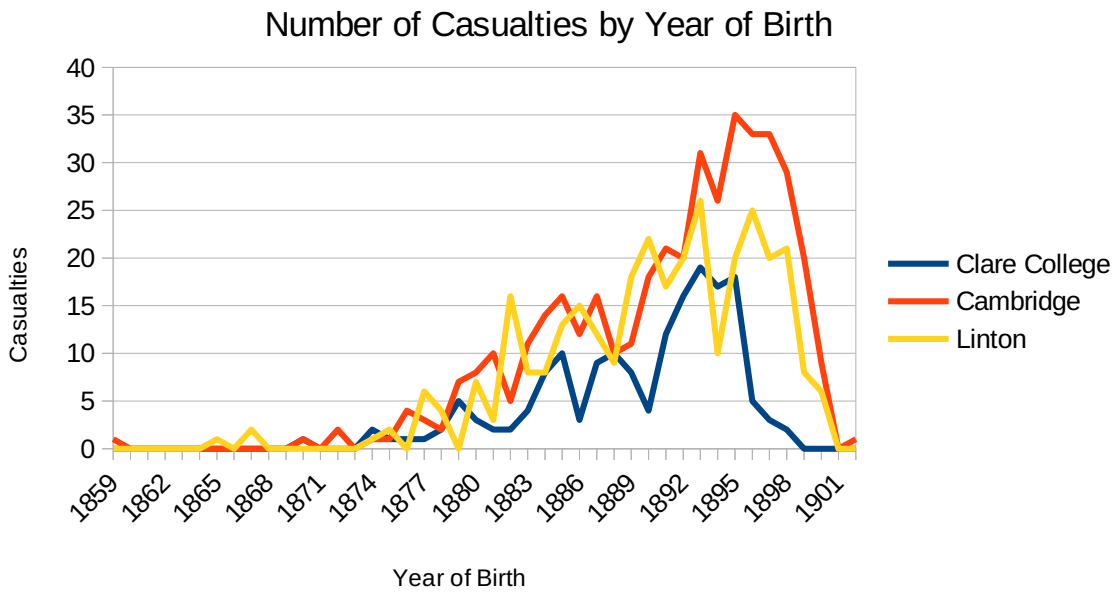


Illustration 21: Number of casualties by year of birth, split between the two districts researched in depth and Clare College.

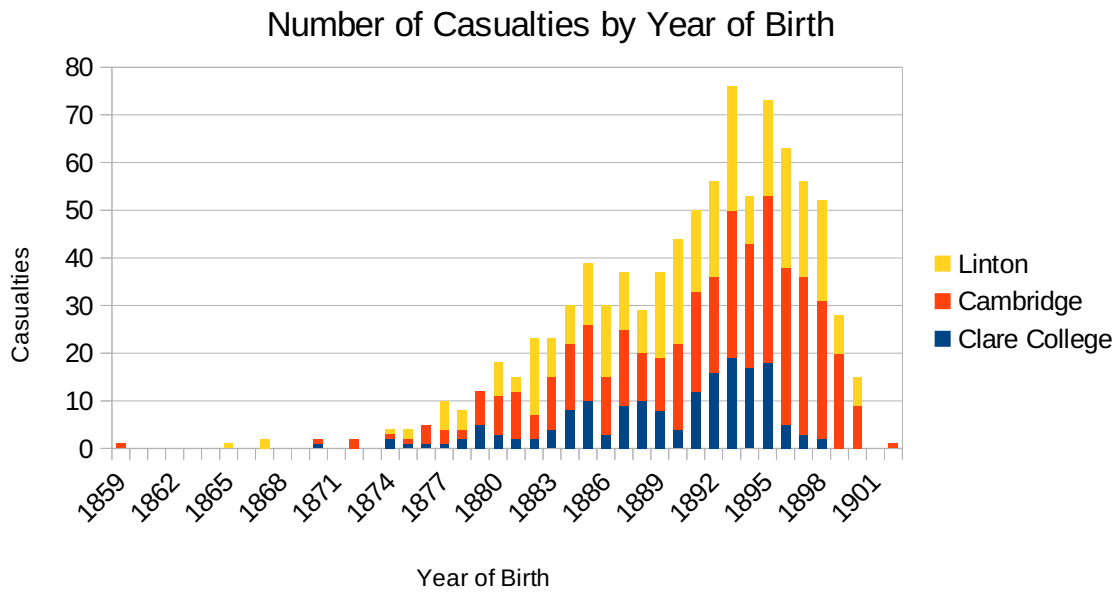


Illustration 22: Number of casualties by year of birth

The 1895 anomaly can be seen even more clearly in Illustrations 22 and 23, which give an overall picture of the total casualties suffered in the selected research areas. This is odd, although it is based on numbers rather than percentages, so it is possible that there was a low number of men born in 1895. This explanation is given some credence by the fact that when percentages are looked at in Illustration 24, 1895 no longer appears anomalous. The rest, however, conforms to expectations. The age of key military participation, between 1883 and 1898 is reflected in the numbers of casualties, with a particular peak for those who were between sixteen and twenty-three in 1914, or between twenty and twenty-seven in 1918.

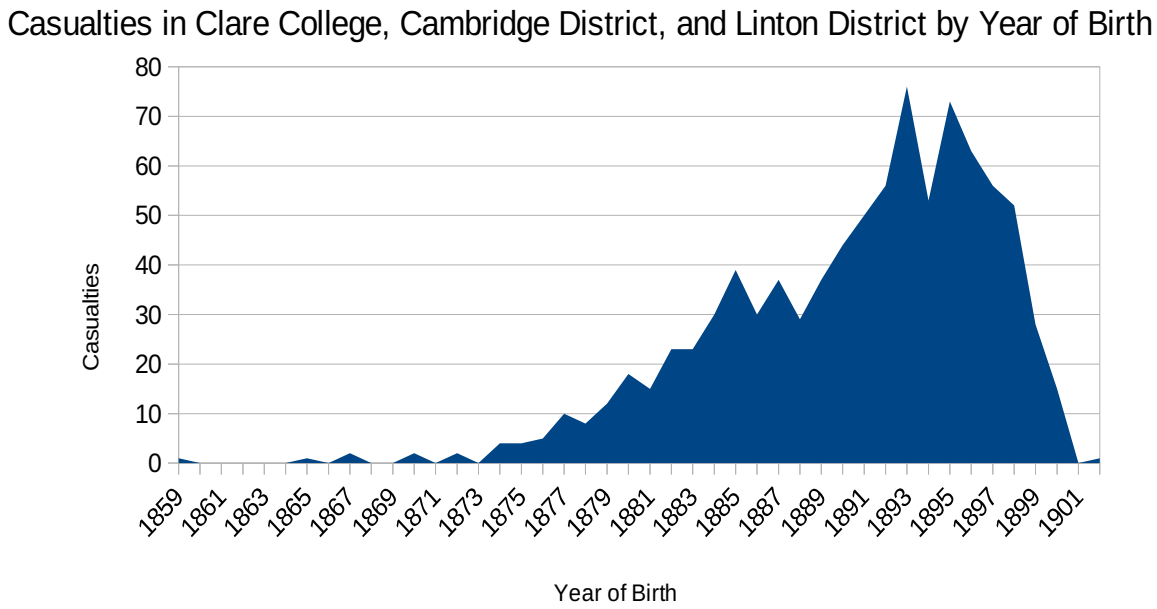


Illustration 23: Casualties in Clare College, Cambridge District, and Linton District by Year of Birth

Volunteering rates, in the villages as opposed to the university, also show the influence of age on the percentages who volunteered. Illustration 24 shows the percentage of men who volunteered and the overall percentage of men who served by year of birth. This shows that although the peak for overall war service was amongst those born between

1893 and 1898, the peak for voluntary war service was 1895. This contrasts with the casualty rates, where 1895 showed an unusual drop in the number of casualties. The expectation would be that men who volunteered, and therefore served longer in the war, would be more likely to become casualties.

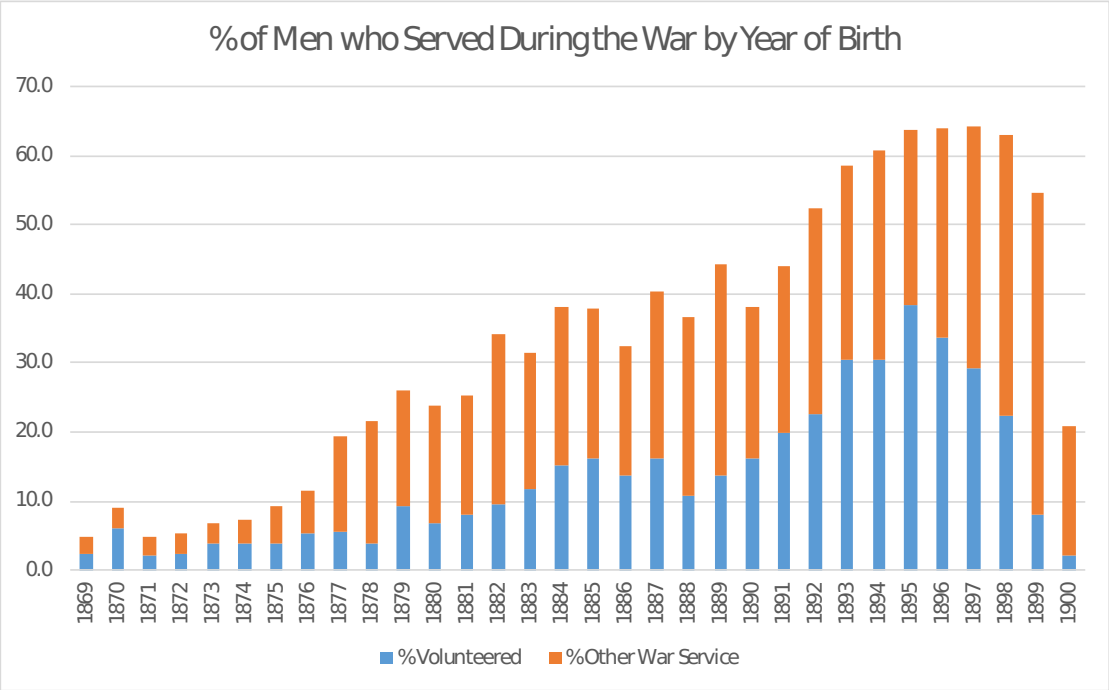


Illustration 24: Percentage of men in Cambridge and Linton Districts who volunteered and served in the war by year of birth

Appearances before a tribunal can be analysed from both the perspective of the tribunal (how many appeared before a tribunal) and from the village perspective. Both show a clear influence of age. Interestingly the percentage who appeared before a tribunal by year of birth is low for men born before 1875, suggesting that men who were closer to the maximum military age were either less likely to appeal, or less likely to be called up and need to appeal. The same shape can be seen in Illustrations 25 to 27, which analyse year of birth and tribunal appearance in slightly different ways. The close correlation between the three graphs underlines the importance of age. In all three there are significant spikes at the edges of the main military age (discounting the additional ten years of eligibility added in 1918). Those born from 1897 / 1898 were never eligible to volunteer. Arguably a decision not to appeal either by the man in question, or, more often, by his

employer constituted volunteering.[76] Lacking the option to volunteer (though a large number of under-age men undoubtedly served in the war), it is unsurprising that there is a slight climb towards the lower edge of age eligibility for military service. It should be noted, however, that this is a 'spike' only in terms of comparison with the years immediately before and after. In comparison with older men, the rise is much less noticeable.

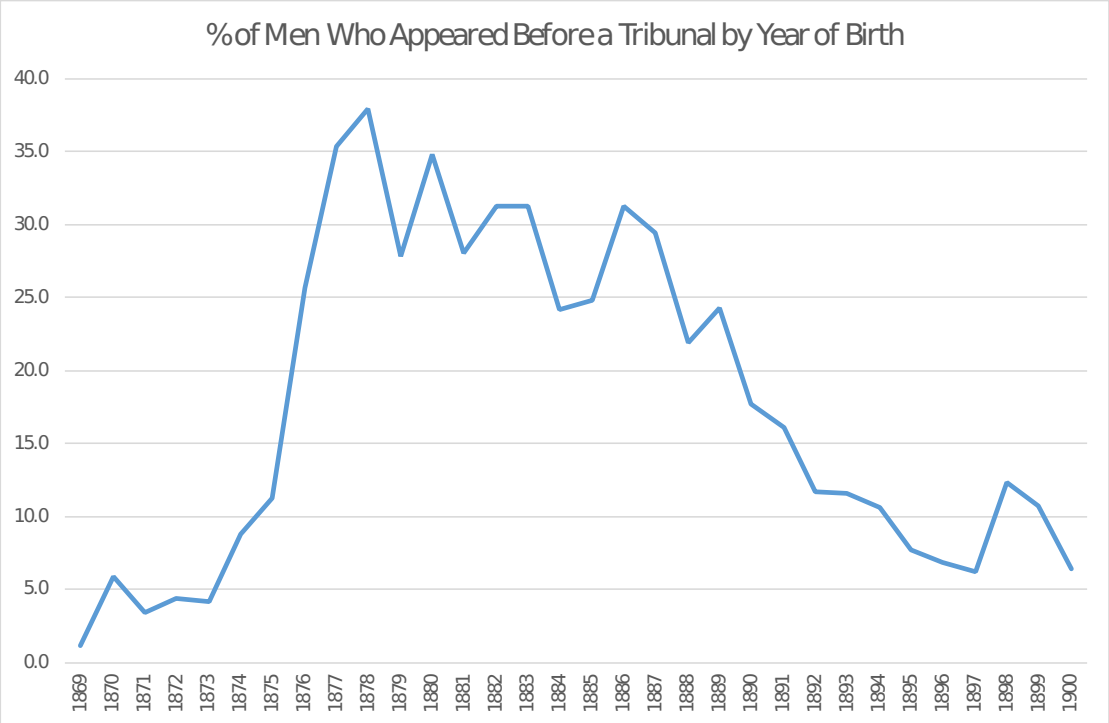


Illustration 25: Percentage of men in the Cambridge and Linton Districts who Appeared Before a Tribunal by year of birth

76 See Chapter 2 for more on how the Tribunals operated and on the importance of the employer in making appeals.

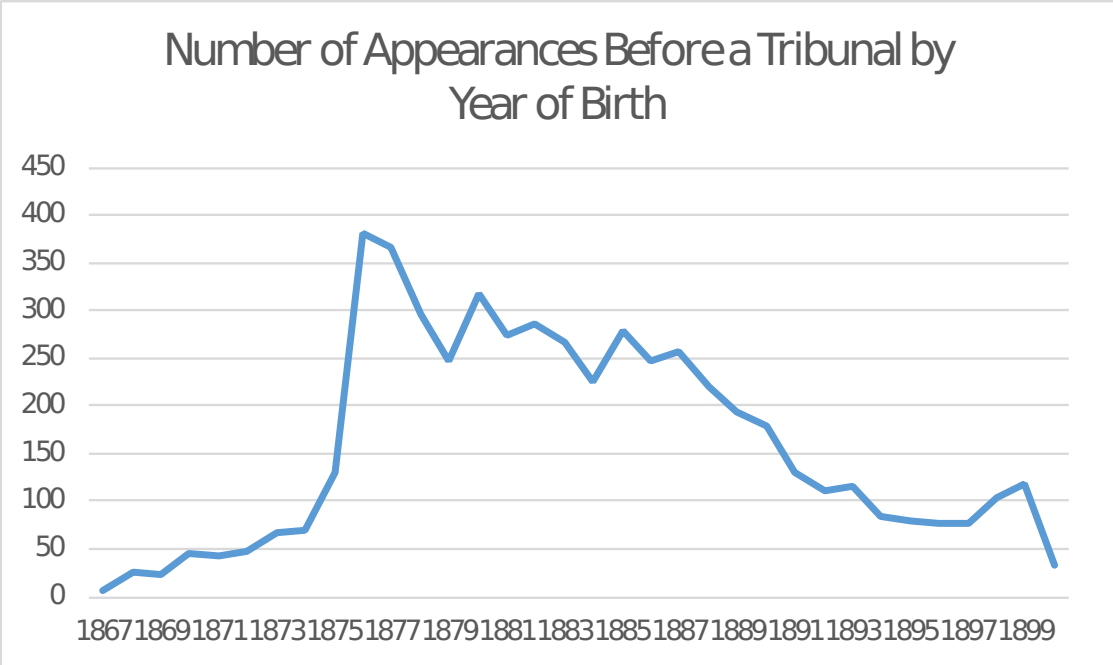


Illustration 26: Total number of appearances at the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals by year of birth

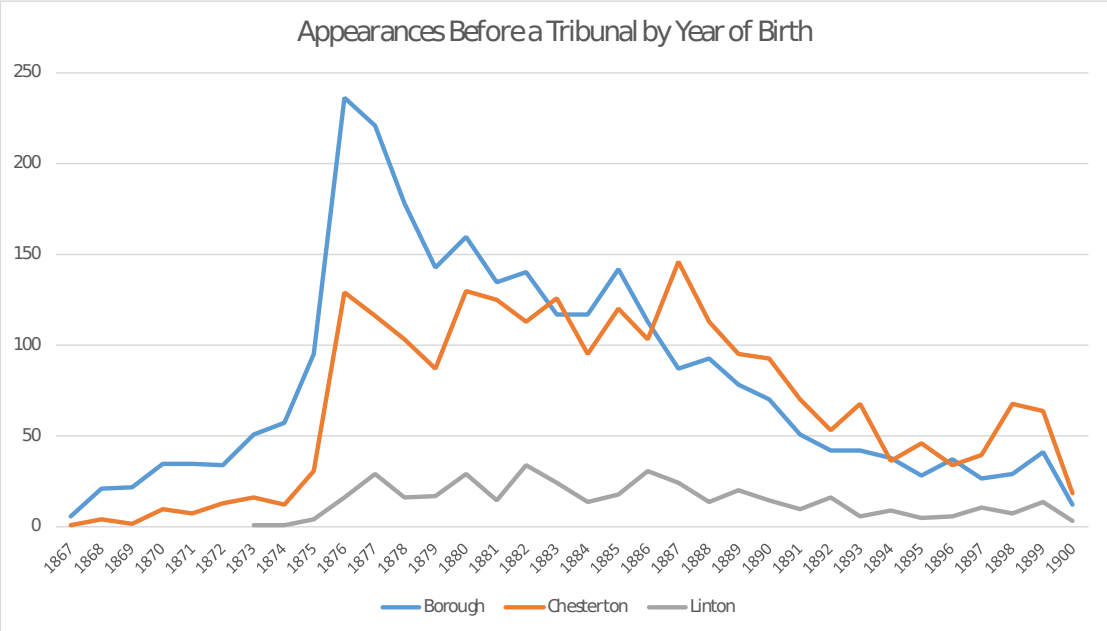


Illustration 27: Number of appearances at the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals by year of birth

The other temporal issue is that of changes during the course of the war. The effect of time on both Tribunal cases and on casualties will be discussed below.[77]

Turning first to casualties, the most obvious feature of the casualty graphs is the significant spike in July 1916. A day by day graph would doubtless show that the majority

77 Time in relation to volunteering is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

of those deaths occurred on 1 July 1916, the first day of the Battle of the Somme. It should be noted that in Sussex, the spike would be on 30 June 1916, ('the day Sussex died'), as several Sussex battalions were involved in a diversionary attack on that date.[78] The 11 Suffolks[79] suffered 527 casualties (186 killed), on 1 July 1916, though the Cambridgeshire Regiment was not engaged in the battle. Many local men served in other battalions, however, and there was no particular pattern to the units that Clare alumni served in.[80] Besides July 1916, the other main peaks, can be seen in April 1917 (Arras), the latter part of 1917 (Passchendaele), and in Spring 1918 (the German Spring Offensives). The casualty rates on the whole show a seasonal fluctuation, falling over the winter when it was not possible to actively mount offensives, and were lower in the first half of the war than the second, almost certainly reflecting the lower number of British men engaged. These casualty rates are taken from the database of all soldiers connected with the Chesterton and Linton Districts, and the University War List for Clare, rather than just those soldiers known to be resident in a particular village in 1911. This has given a larger sample size than would otherwise be the case.

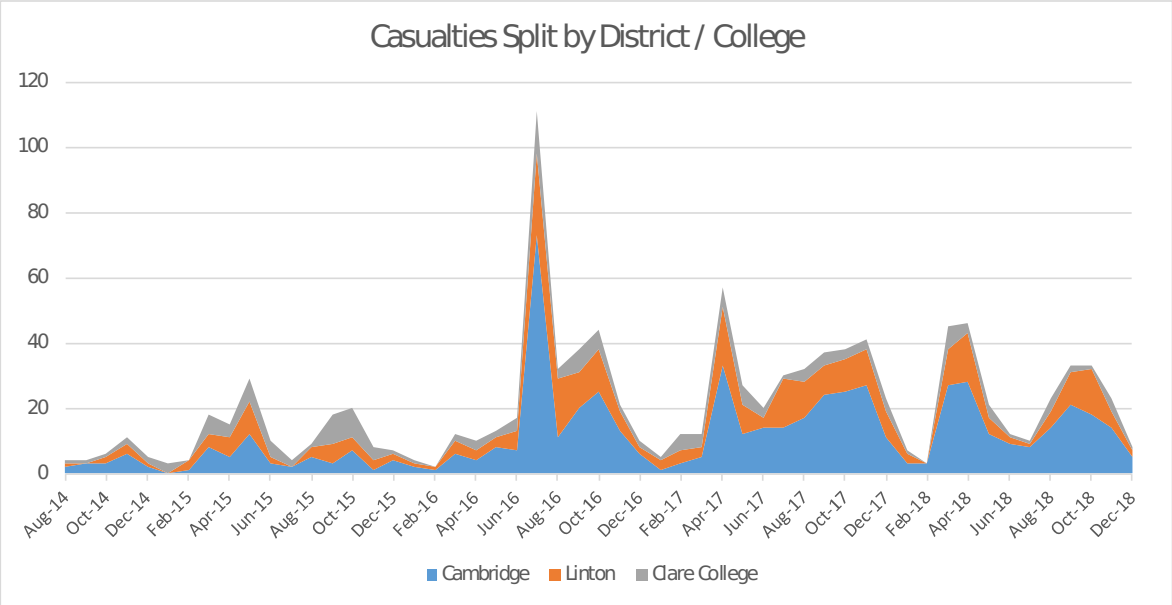


Illustration 28: Number of casualties suffered by month

78 See https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/1998 .
79 See Chapter 2 and Appendix 3 – this was a locally raised Pals unit, often referred to as the Cambridgeshire Kitcheners, containing primarily Cambridgeshire men.
80 See Chapter 2 and Appendix 3 for a discussion of the various local units.

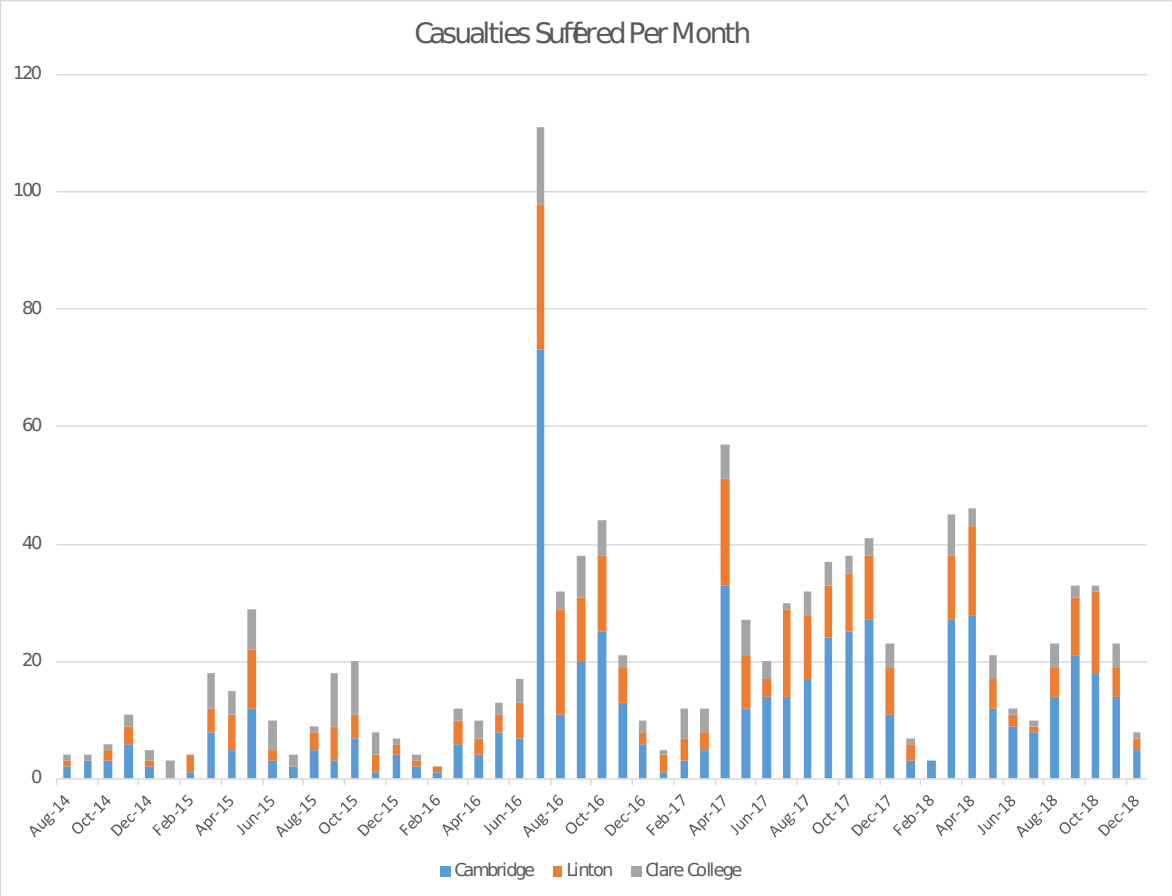


Illustration 29: Number of casualties suffered by month

The comparison between the village casualty rates and those of Clare College is shown more clearly in illustrations 30 and 31. The rate in Clare College was less subject to fluctuations (though July 1916 is noticeable), and if anything is lower in the second half of the war than the first. The units in which men from Clare served were often ones which went to the front quicker, such as the Royal Engineers as motorcycle despatch riders, or the RNVR. Many were also reserve officers. In contrast, the main Cambridgeshire units—the Cambridgeshire Territorials and the 11 Suffolks, did not go to the front until 1915 and 1916 respectively. While far from all men who lived in Cambridgeshire served in these units, the majority of wartime volunteers did not get to the front until 1915 and into 1916. This may explain the difference in the early part of the war. For the lower rate in the latter, a more speculative reason is that by this stage men from Clare may have been promoted out of immediate danger, and would therefore be less likely to be killed in action. Research into

comparative death rates amongst officers and men through the course of the war could shed further light on the matter.

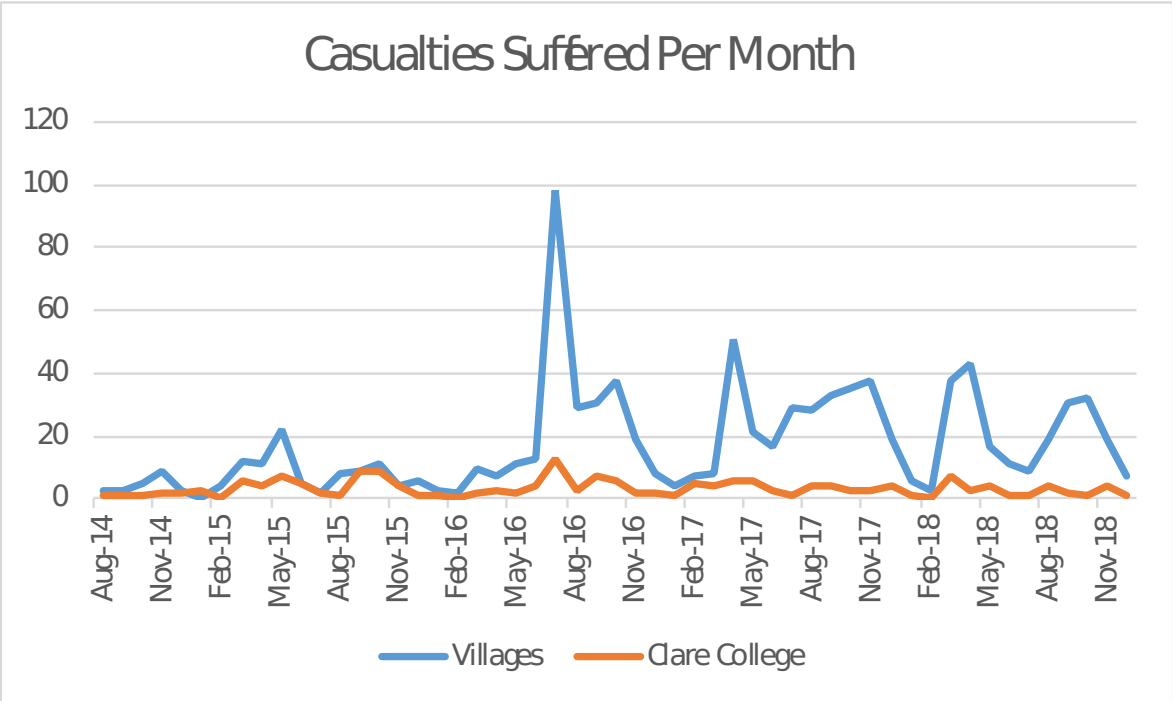


Illustration 30: Number of casualties per month, split between Clare College, and the Cambridge and Linton Districts.

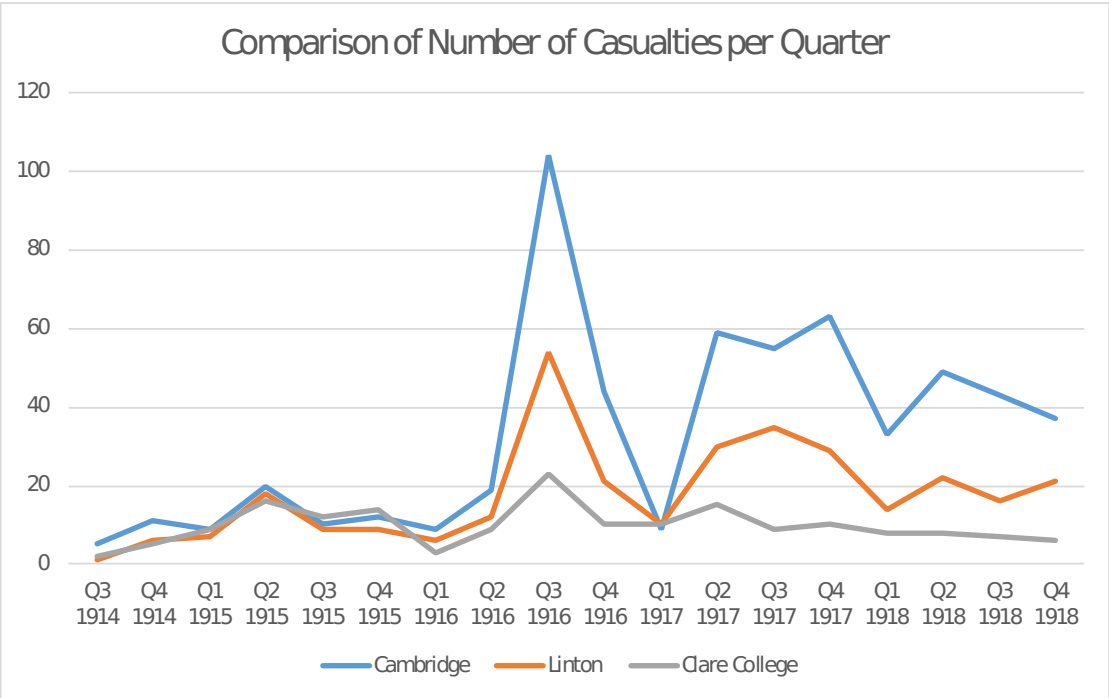


Illustration 31: Number of casualties per quarter, split between Clare College, Cambridge District, and Linton District

The influence of time on the Tribunals can also be clearly seen throughout the war period.[81] The number of cases was highest when they were first introduced, falling away thereafter for two interlinked reasons. The first was that those who appeared before them did not necessarily reappear—once a case had been decided as no exemption, for instance, it was rare for a man to appear again (the only reason would be if he was then granted a temporary exemption by the appeal tribunal, and then reappeared before the local tribunal). The second was the encroachment of other means of exemption upon the Tribunal's territory—a matter of some frustration to members of the Tribunals.[82] Illustrations 32 and 33 show the pattern. The high number of cases at the outset reflects a high number of initial appeals, and the calling up of multiple groups at once. Thereafter, call ups were generally more evenly spaced, and the rural tribunals took breaks over the harvest period, reflecting the needs of agriculture.

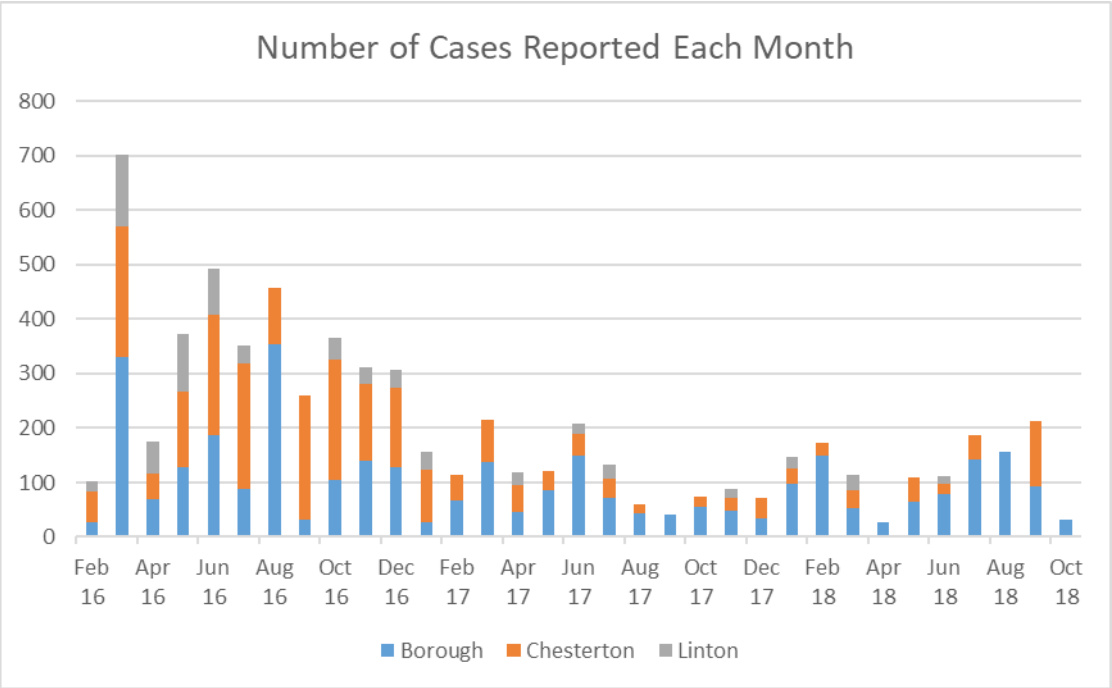


Illustration 32: Number of cases reported at each Tribunal by month

81 The Tribunal System is discussed more fully in Chapter 2.
82 See Chapter 2.

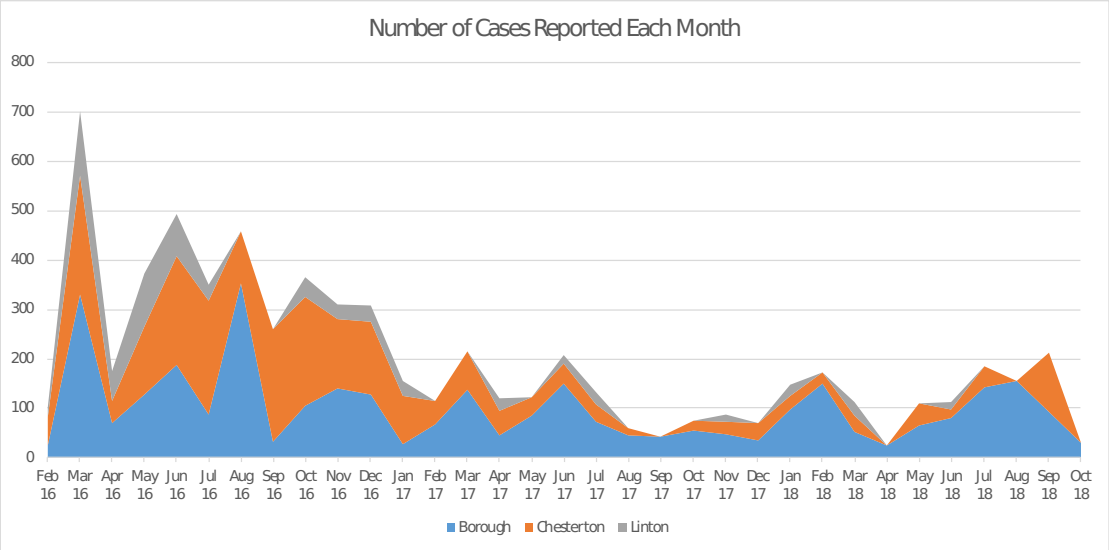


Illustration 33: Number of cases reported each month

The type of exemption granted was also deeply affected by the time the case was heard. The dark grey segment of the lines in illustration 34 show the proportion of temporary exemptions granted. The initial granting of absolute exemptions disappeared almost entirely, and the number of conditional exemptions was highest in mid 1916, almost entirely vanishing by early 1918. This reflected the military situation at the time, and the continuing need of the armed forces for more men, particularly in anticipation of, and reaction to, the German Spring Offensive of 1918.

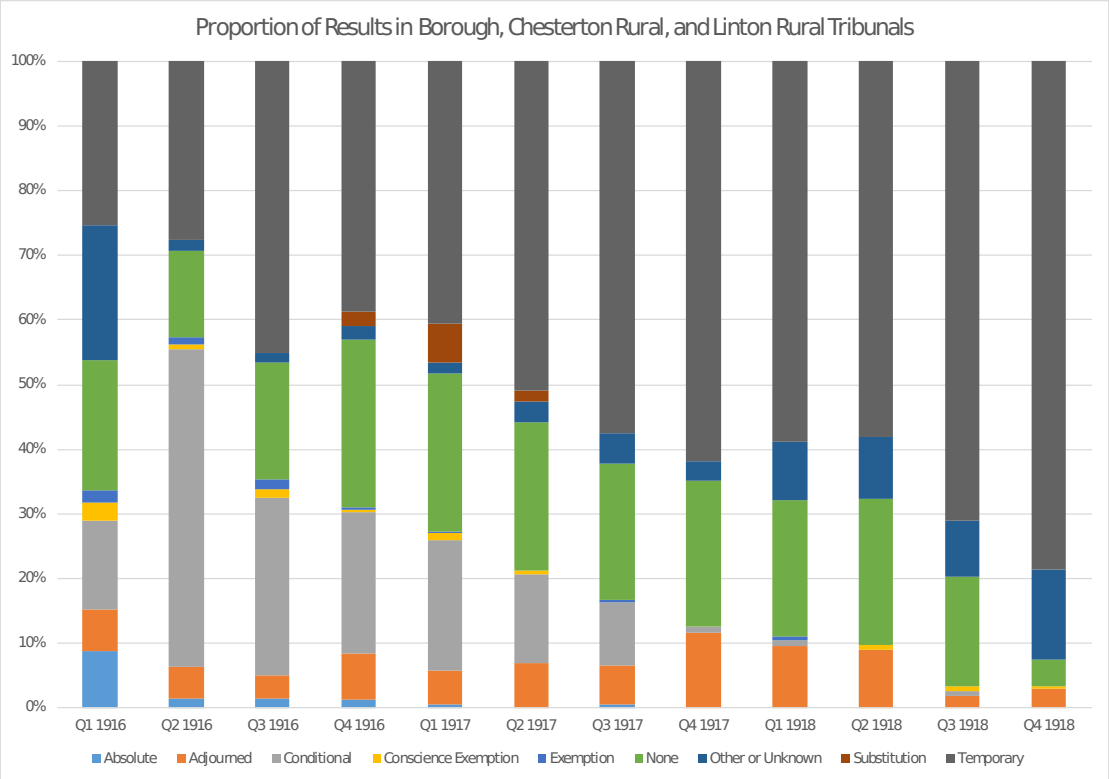


Illustration 34: Type of decision given in the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals each month, shown as percentages of the total number of decisions

Time should be borne in mind over the course of the thesis. What held good at the start of the war did not necessarily hold true at its end. The importance of age in all aspects relating to volunteering, casualties, and tribunals, has been clearly established. However, it can also be factored out in the following parts of the chapter, to allow for a fuller appreciation of the importance of location and occupation. By using the categories of ‘eligible for war service’ and ‘eligible to volunteer’, rather than simply using all men following an occupation, or all men living in a particular village, it is possible to establish whether the different patterns of enlistment were, as Dewey suggested, largely due to differing age structures, or whether there was something else at work.

1.3 – Location

One of the most immediately striking features of enlistment patterns in Cambridgeshire is the differential enlistment patterns across the county. Looking again at the map of Cambridgeshire (reproduced as Illustration 35), it can be seen that volunteering rates varied across the county. This was remarked upon by contemporaries, and was part of the motivation in publishing the recruiting census and the *Petty Sessional Roll of Service*.[83]

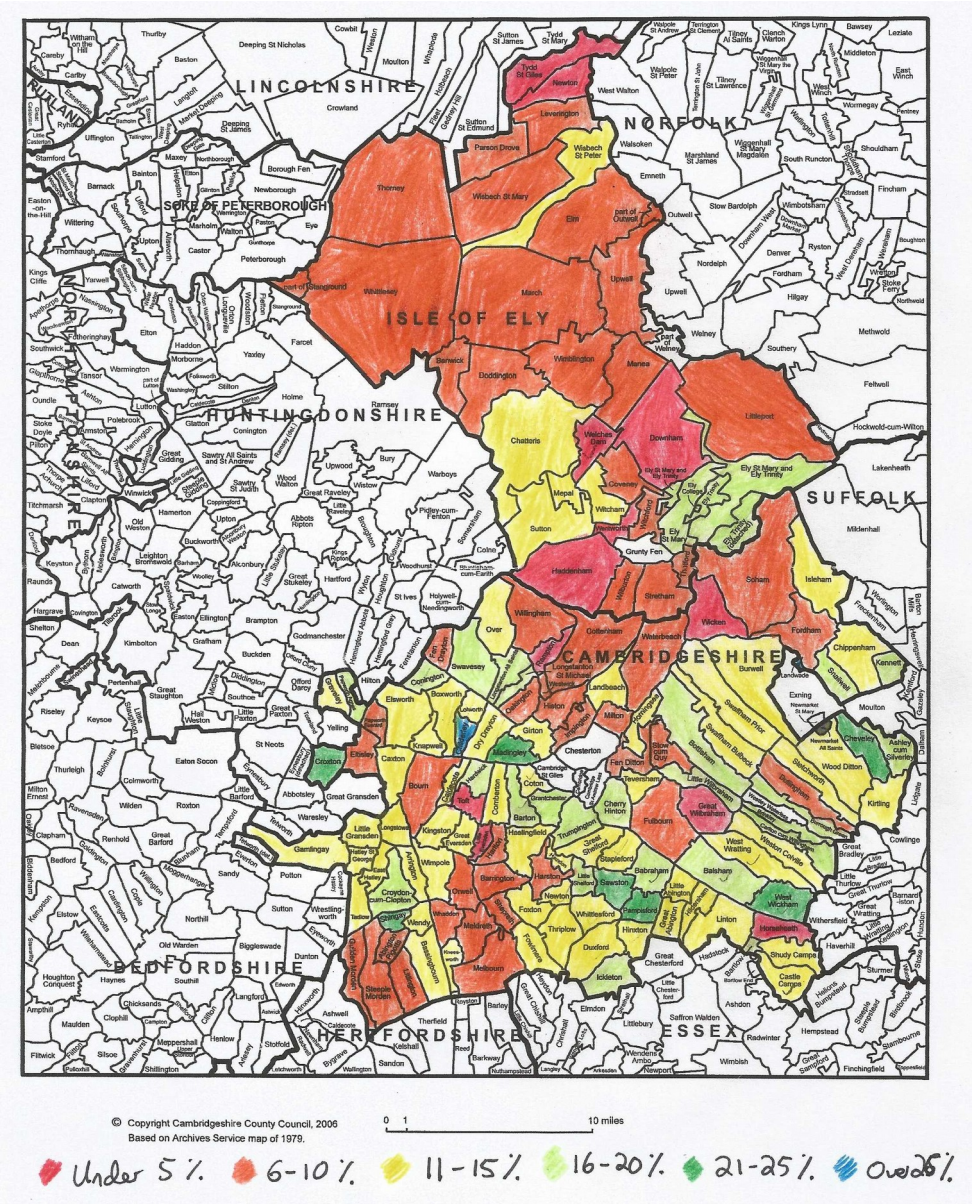


Illustration 35: Percentage of male population who enlisted, according to CIP 16 July 1915.

83 See Chapter 2 for more on local Rolls of Honour.

A similar pattern can be seen in Illustration 36, based on the information from the village databases. This illustration shows the percentage of those who were eligible to volunteer who are known to have volunteered. One possible suggestion, made by contemporaries, was different age structures and levels of fitness for military service. However, the editor of the *CIP*, criticising Horseheath for its comparatively low level of enlistment, continued 'The variation, however, must be comparatively small. It must not be quite lost sight of, but it cannot afford a wholly satisfactory explanation why so few men are forthcoming from some of the villages. Possibly the results if compulsion was resorted to would be somewhat astonishing.'[84] His implication was that after conscription, the results would become much more uniform across the county. By taking out the possible variation of age, comparing only the population eligible to volunteer in each village, Illustration 36 shows that age alone cannot entirely account for the differences between villages.

84 *CIP* 21 May 1915.

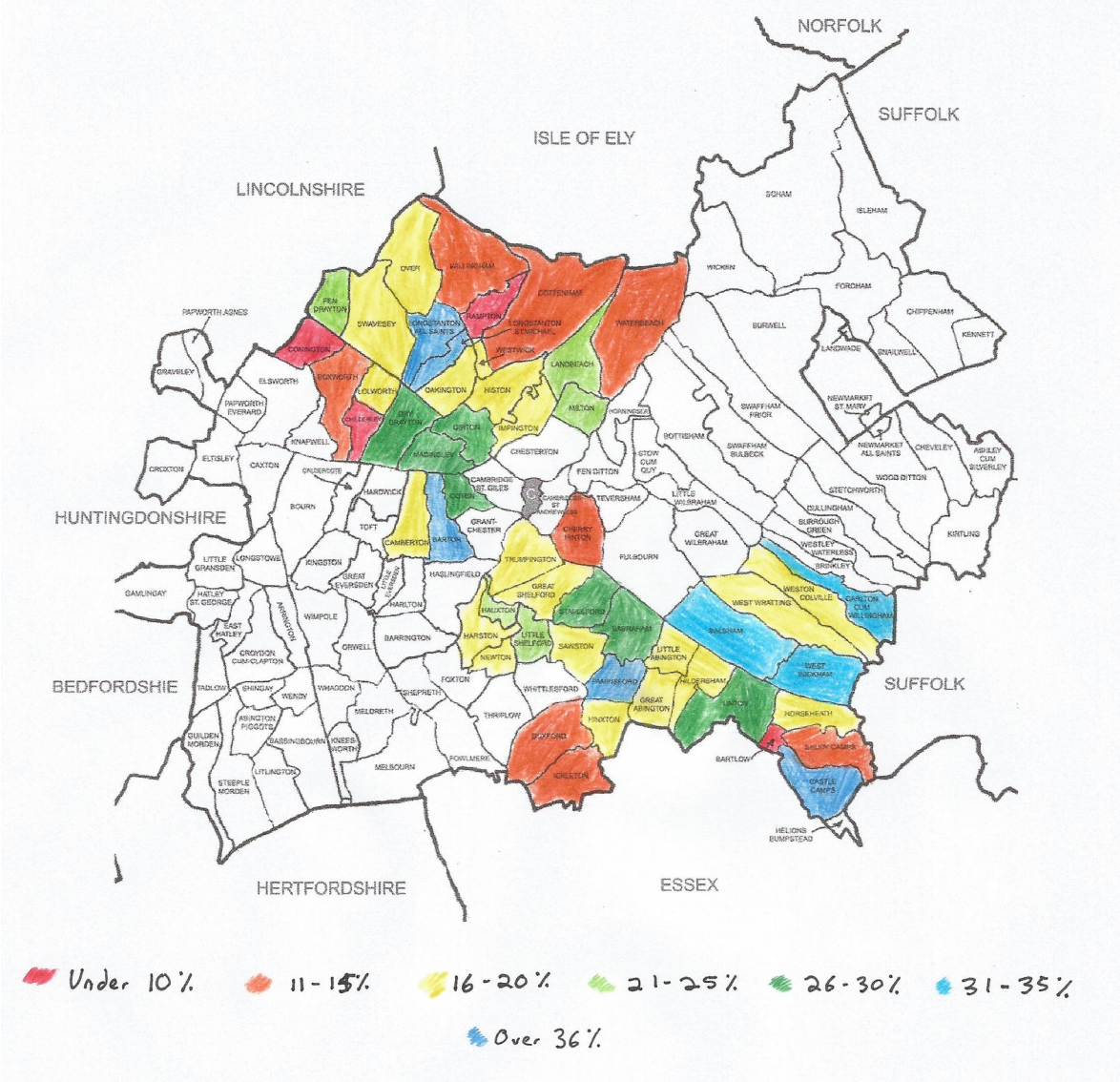


Illustration 36: Percentage of village population eligible to volunteer known to have volunteered, based on village spreadsheets

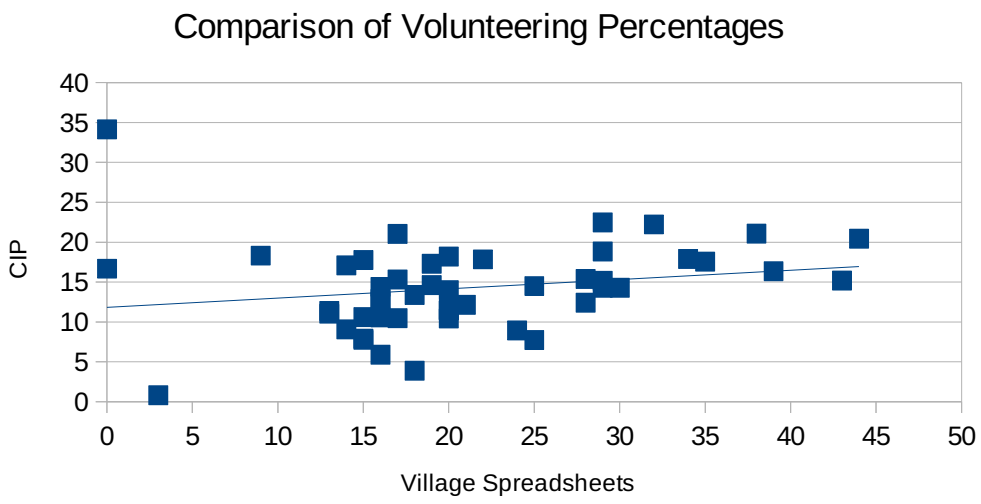


Illustration 37: Comparison of the percent eligible to volunteer who volunteered (from village spreadsheets) with the percent of the male population who volunteered (CIP)

Illustration 37 plots the village spreadsheet information against that taken from the *CIP* and shows, on the whole, a good correlation. It should be noted that the particular outlier of 34% in the *CIP* and 0% from the village spreadsheet is Bartlow, a village with a population of only 90 individuals and thus one highly prone to variations caused by small numbers. This comparison suggests that as both the information from the *CIP* showing the percentage of men who volunteered and that from the village spreadsheets showing the percentage of men who were age-eligible to volunteer show the variation, the variation is one related to something other than age structure. It is also good evidence of the reliability of both methods, as they were generated from different sources.

The box and whisker plots (Illustrations 38 and 39) further demonstrate the wide spread of results across different villages. Box and whisker plots show range, median, and quartiles, and are used to show variation in a data set. The spread is more pronounced across the village spreadsheets than from the information in the *CIP*, the gap between the quartiles in the former being around 10%, and around 15% in the latter. What this suggests is that taking age into account actually increases the diversity of the results, rather than narrowing it down.

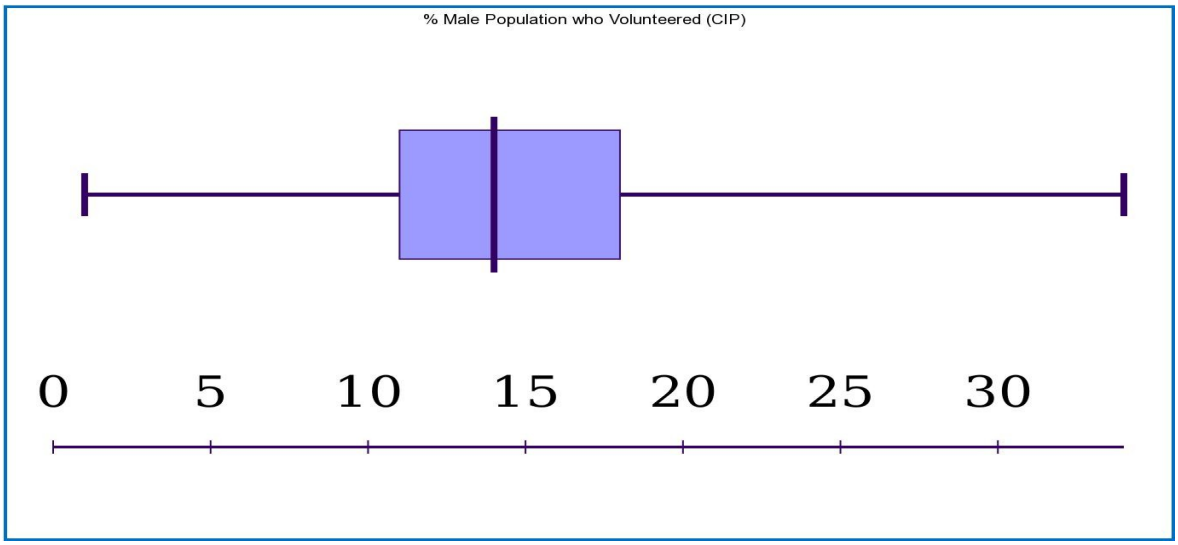


Illustration 38: Percentage of male population who volunteered, according to the CIP 16 July 1915.

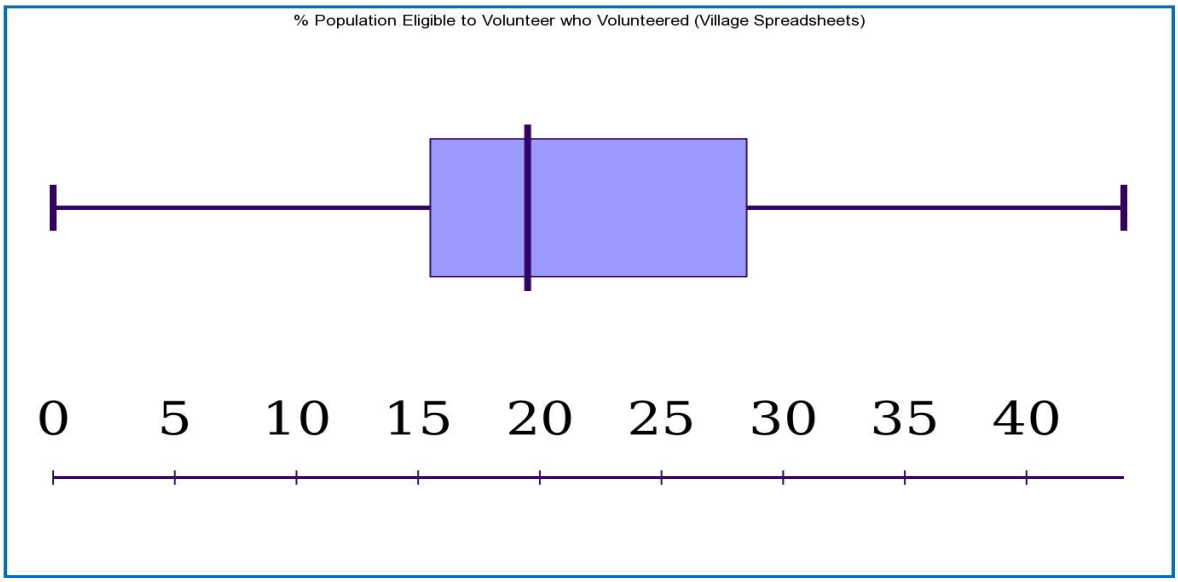


Illustration 39: Percent of the population eligible to volunteer who volunteered, according to the village spreadsheets.

The question remains as to whether conscription evened out results across the county. The answer to this is simple: it did not. Moreover, a substantial difference in rates of appeal to tribunals can be seen too.

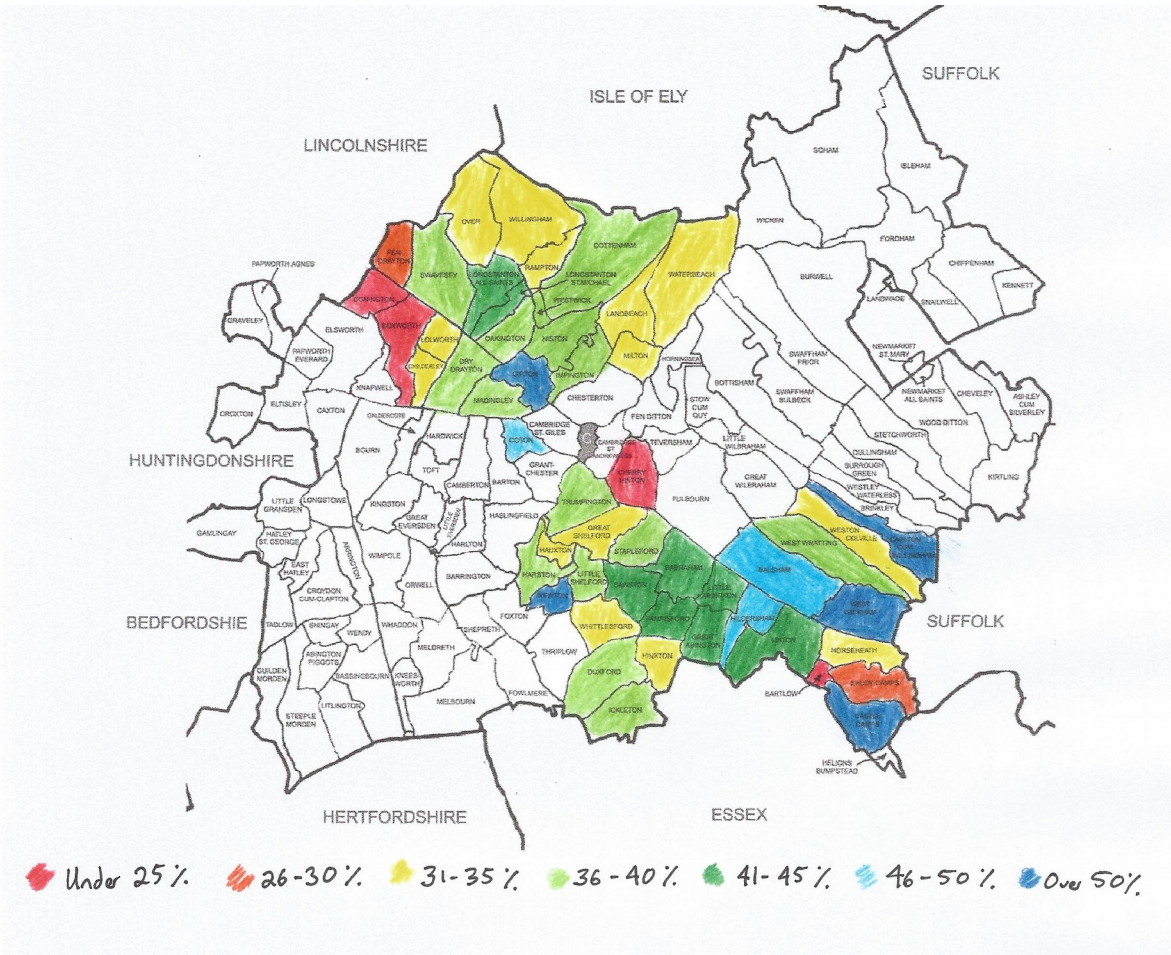


Illustration 40: Percent of age eligible who served in the war (based on village spreadsheets)

When all war service is taken into account, and age is removed from consideration by comparing all age-eligible to serve, it is clear that differences between villages remained. What becomes apparent in Illustration 40 is that those differences appear to have a geographical bias. The parishes in the north, on the whole, show lower rates of volunteering than the parishes in the south. This is not a hard and fast rule – Rampton has one of the lowest rates of war service. However, the general picture is that, of the five parishes with a rate of war service over 50%, four are south of Cambridge and only one north. Likewise, the light blue representing those parishes with 46-50% rates of war service show as two in the south, one in the north.

The rates of appeal to tribunal show a similar pattern, though in this case the higher rates of appeal are in the north, and the lower rates in the south. Illustration 41 shows the

three highest rates of appeal are in the north, and of the parishes in the range 21-25%, four are in the north, and only one in the south. Conversely the lower rates, those with under 10% who appealed, are clustered primarily in the south of the county.

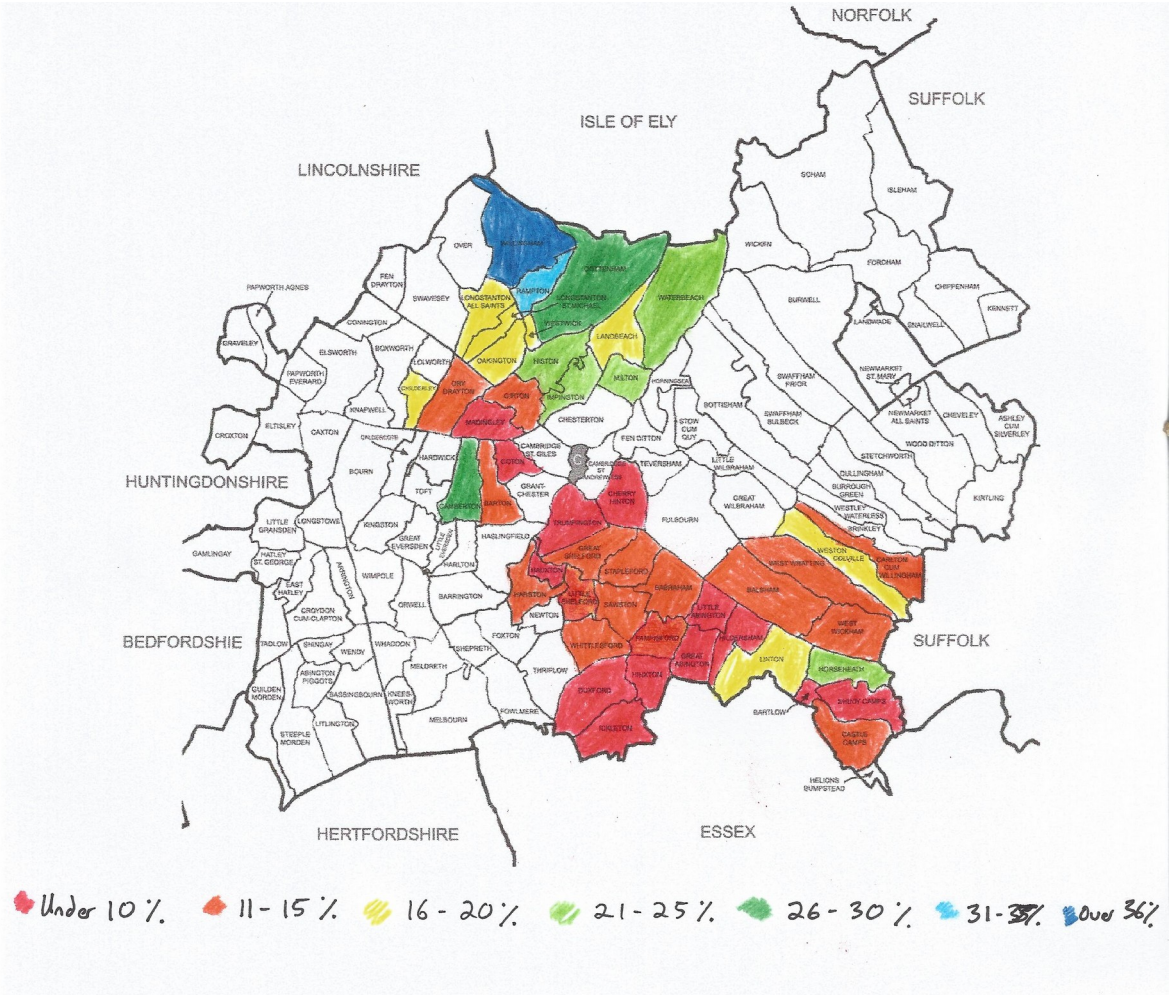


Illustration 41: Percentage of age eligible who appeared before a Tribunal (from village spreadsheets)

There are a number of possible explanations for the differences. One which cannot be explored statistically is the influence of leading local figures on enlistment rates. Charles Adeane, the Chair of the Territorial Force Association, lived in the south (in Babraham). He and his wife were very active in recruiting.[85] The cluster of higher rates of enlistment and volunteering and lower rates of tribunal appearance could relate to gentry influence.

85 See Chapter 2.

It is the case that slightly different sources were used for the Cambridge District and the Linton District. For the latter, the Deanery Magazine proved valuable in identifying recruits. However, the *Petty Sessional Roll of Service* was if anything more detailed, and certainly more intentional. Moreover, going from the problems experienced with accounts of tribunals in the newspaper, where the Linton District was more fully reported, with very few instances of men being impossible to identify, or where names were not given at all, and where the tribunal ran over the same boundaries as the district, the expectation would be for the Linton District to show a higher rate of appeal to the tribunal. The opposite is the case.

Population size could have played a role in rate of enlistment. In Essex, Hallifax argued that the larger population centres had higher rates of war service.[86] Due to the source limitations it has not been possible to compare this with Cambridge itself. However, the following illustrations demonstrate that there is limited, if any, correlation between the size of the village or town and the percentage who volunteered or served in the war.

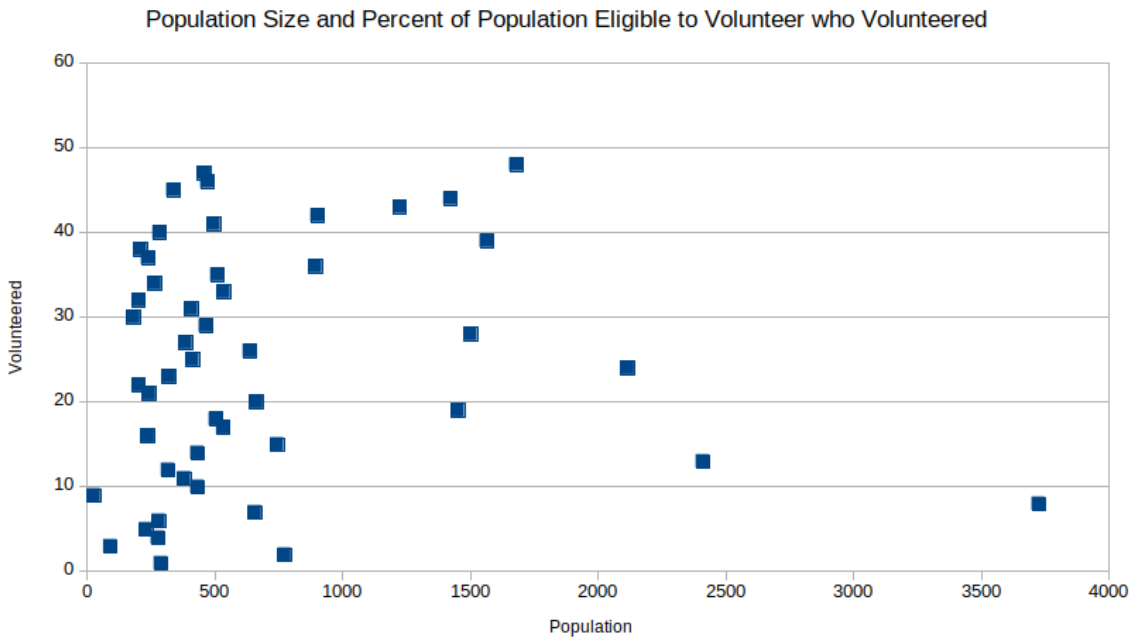


Illustration 42: Population size and percentage of the eligible population who volunteered, based on village spreadsheets

86 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 280.

Illustration 42 shows no obvious correlation between village size and the percent of the population eligible to volunteer who did so. Cherry Hinton is the outlying one at a population of 3,723 and a volunteer rate of 19%. Using instead the data from the *CIP's* recruiting census (with the awareness that the population is here the *male* population, and the actual village population therefore roughly twice that), a similar lack of correlation can be seen. (See illustration 43) If there is a pattern, it is far from obvious, though arguably the smaller parishes may show significant levels of distortion through the small numbers involved.

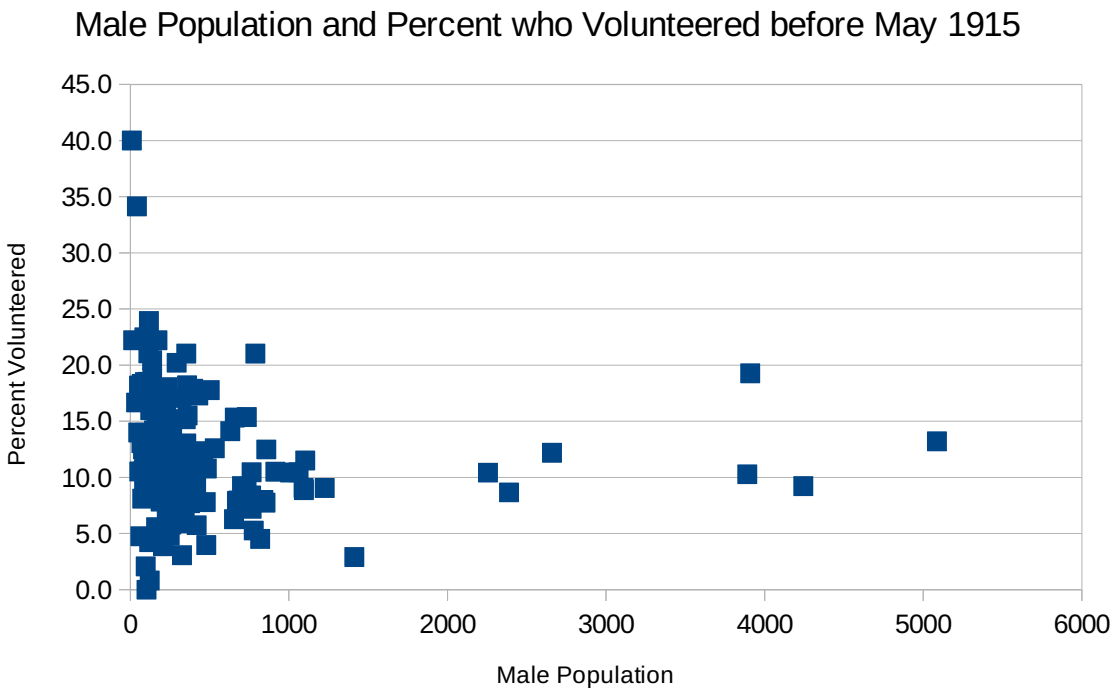


Illustration 43: Male population and percentage who volunteered.

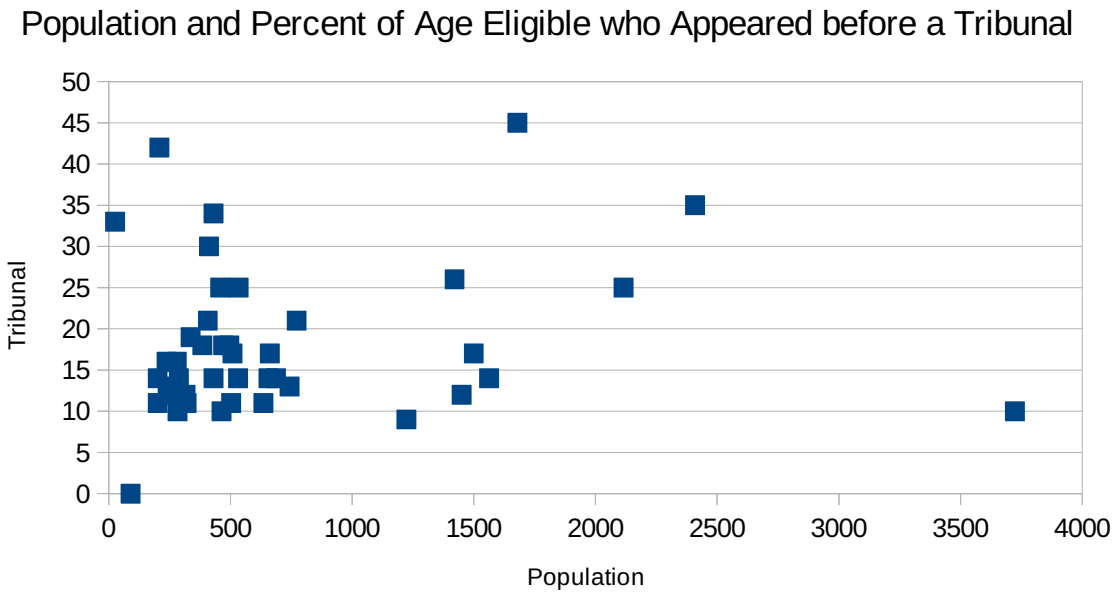


Illustration 44: Population and percentage of age eligible who appeared before a Tribunal

To take another example, Illustration 44 shows the percent of age eligible who appeared before a tribunal plotted against village population. Again, no clear correlation is visible. This could continue indefinitely; the conclusion would seem to be that in Cambridgeshire, the village size had no effect on the number of people who either enlisted or appeared before a tribunal. The question remains: what did have an impact?

	Population	Volunteer Eligible % Served	Age Eligible % Served	Volunteer Eligible % Tribunal	Age Eligible % Tribunal	% Gardener	% Ordinary Farm Labourer	% Skilled Farm Labourer	% Farmer	% Employed Women	% Acreage Under 50 Acres	% Acreage Over 300 Acres
Population	1.00	-0.30	-0.27	0.14	0.23	0.26	-0.42	-0.45	-0.26	0.09	0.54	-0.51
Volunteer Eligible % Served		**1.00**	**0.88**	-0.07	-0.04	-0.07	0.37	0.03	0.03	-0.12	-0.15	-0.02
Age Eligible % Served			**1.00**	-0.05	-0.04	-0.15	0.26	0.22	0.06	-0.13	-0.20	0.03
Volunteer Eligible % Tribunal				**1.00**	**0.94**	**0.67**	0.20	0.11	0.44	-0.44	**0.57**	-0.37
Age Eligible % Tribunal					**1.00**	**0.76**	0.23	-0.04	0.31	-0.41	**0.67**	-0.47
% Gardener						**1.00**	0.10	-0.40	0.00	-0.06	**0.80**	-0.48
% Ordinary Farm Labourer							**1.00**	0.17	0.22	**-0.62**	-0.11	0.28
% Skilled Farm Labourer								**1.00**	0.44	-0.21	-0.50	**0.52**
% Farmer									**1.00**	-0.45	-0.07	-0.05
% Employed Women										**1.00**	-0.10	0.03
% Acreage Under 50 Acres											**1.00**	**-0.65**
% Acreage Over 300 Acres												**1.00**

Illustration 45: Correlation matrix based on village data for the Cambridge and Linton districts, excluding Grantchester and the villages without Tribunal data.

Illustration 45 shows a correlation matrix for a number of factors, including farm size and percentages following certain categories of agricultural occupations. Those areas with a correlation above 0.5 have been highlighted to show those areas where the correlation is moderate to strong. It is particularly worth noting that the correlation between the percentage of men described as being ‘gardeners’ and the percentage of the total acreage farmed in farms of under 50 acres is strong (0.8), suggesting that the census descriptions largely captured the differences in different village’s agricultural patterns. The correlation between those parishes dominated by larger farms and enlistment rates is almost non-existent, suggesting that farmers were not able (or did not wish) to encourage large numbers of their men to enlist when compared with parishes that had a smaller proportion of land held as large farms. However, there is strong correlation between the percentage of men who were gardeners and the percentage who appeared before a Tribunal

(0.76). Presenting this data separately as a scatter-graph is equally suggestive, and it is to occupations that we now turn.

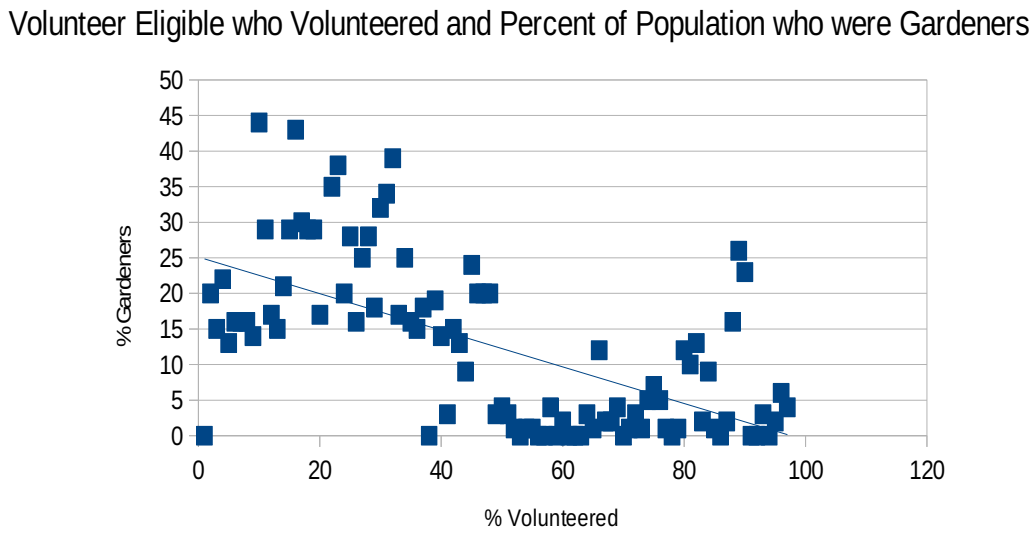


Illustration 46: Comparison of the percentage of a village who were gardeners, and the percentage of those eligible to volunteer who did so

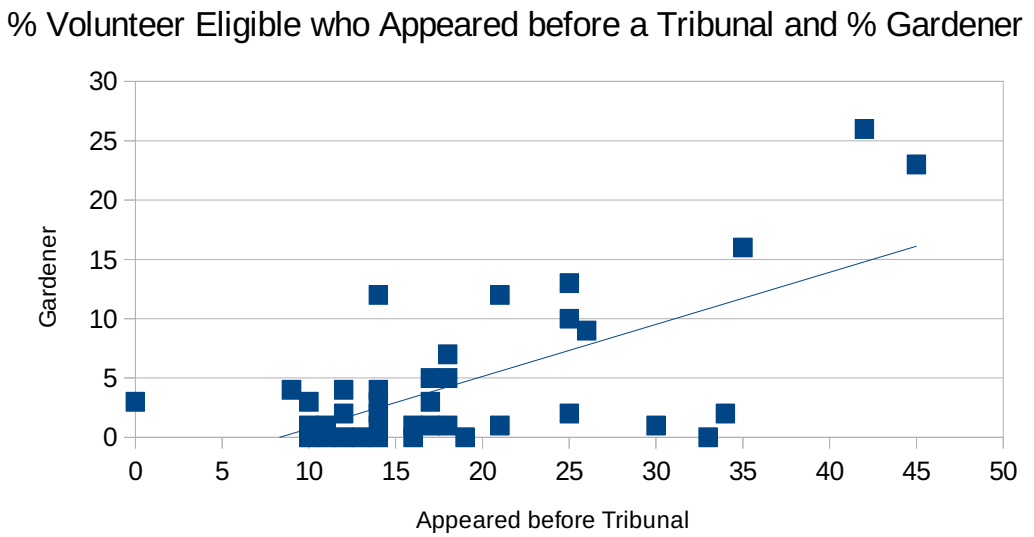


Illustration 47: Comparison of the percentage of a village who were gardeners, and the percentage of those eligible to volunteer who appeared before a Tribunal

1.4 – Occupation

The key finding of this statistical research is the substantial variation in enlistment, casualty, and tribunal appearance patterns across different occupational groups. In some senses this was not unexpected. Winter's pioneering demographical work suggested that men in commercial or distributive trades volunteered earlier, served longer, and died in greater proportions, than those in agriculture or factories.[87] These different enlistment rates in different occupations have been consistently commented on, and consistently found. Young, looking at the voluntary period in Scotland, suggested that the industries most immediately affected by wartime dislocation produced a higher proportion of recruits.[88] Many more have focussed on the difference between agriculture and industry. Dewey in particular argued that the percentage who enlisted from agriculture was notably low, and much lower than previously estimated.[89]

Looking first at the percentages who served in the war by occupation, it is immediately apparent that there was a substantial variation across different occupations. Illustration 48 shows this clearly, looking at the statistics for all occupied males. It is noteworthy first that the highest rate of war service was amongst carters (Winter's 'distributive trade', though my figures separate out those who worked on railways). The highest rate for volunteering, however, was amongst ordinary farm labourers. Meanwhile the lowest rate was from professionals. It should be noted that these first graphs look at the village picture only.

87 Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, 37.
88 Young, 'Voluntary Recruitment in Scotland', 102.
89 P E Dewey, 'Agricultural Labour Supply'.

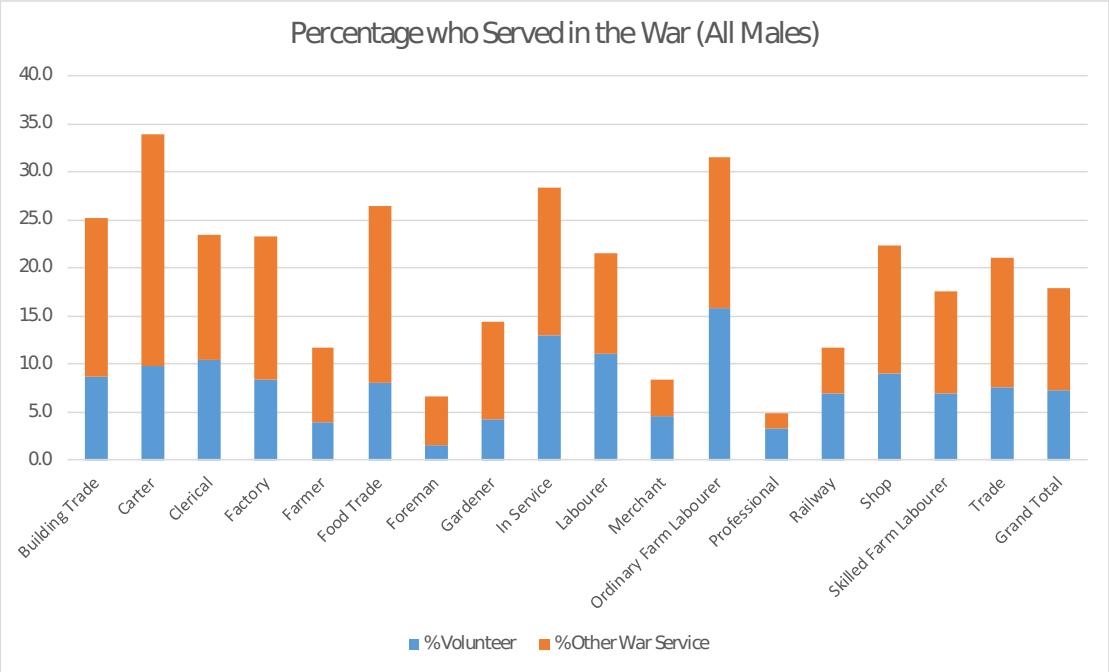


Illustration 48: Percentage of occupied males who volunteered or served during the war by occupation

However, age played a large role in determining enlistment.[90] Thus, Illustration 48 cannot give a true picture of the influence of occupation, as it also includes a number of men not eligible for military service. Therefore, Illustrations 49 and 50 show the percentage who served in the war first amongst those age eligible for any war service, and then amongst those age eligible to volunteer. Both show the continued importance of occupation on enlistment rates, even when account is taken of potential differences in age structure. It is notable that, in general, those occupations which show higher enlistment rates are lower status, and that although the proportion of professionals who volunteered was greater as part of their overall percentage of war service, the percentage who served in the war was lower.

90 See earlier in this chapter.

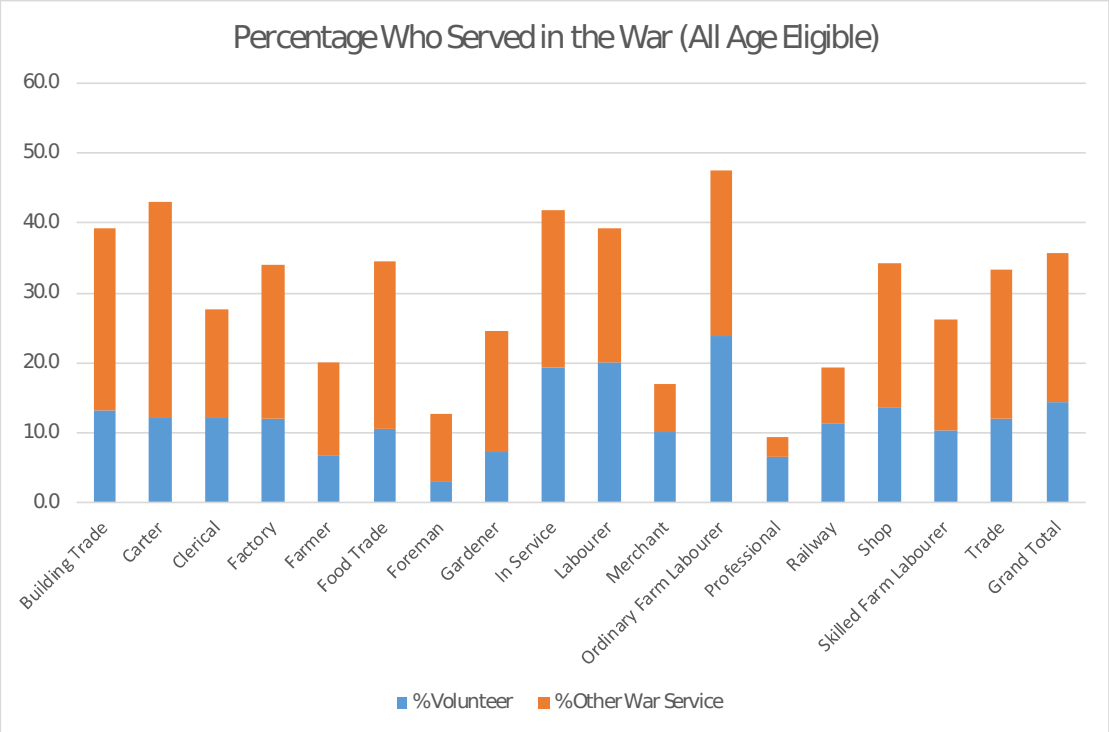


Illustration 49: Percentage of age eligible males who volunteered or served during the war by occupation

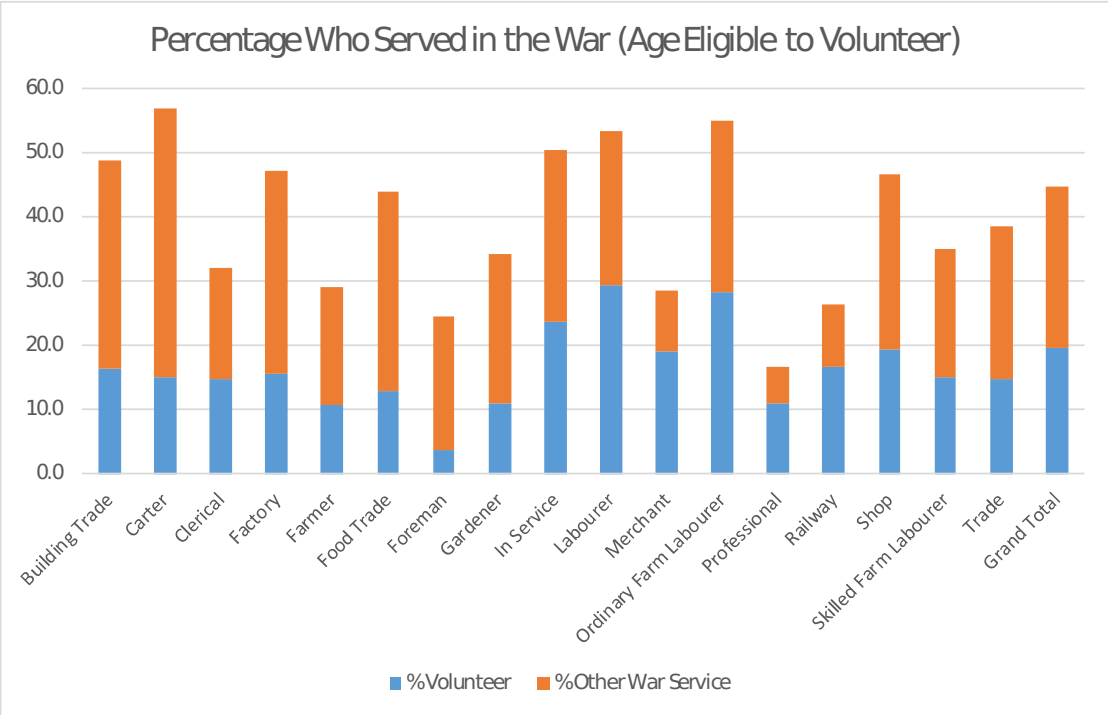


Illustration 50: Percentage of males eligible to volunteer who volunteered or served during the war by occupation

Illustrations 49 and 50 show the data from the villages only. When the information from Clare is added, the picture grows even more interesting, as can be seen in Illustration

51. Of Clare students whose occupations after graduation could be identified, 51% of professionals served in the war. One possible explanation is small number variation, and that issue is part of the reason why this thesis incorporates a College. From Clare, 407 professionals were identified, all of these age eligible for war service. From the villages, 333 were identified across all age groups, and 168 age eligible to serve in the war.

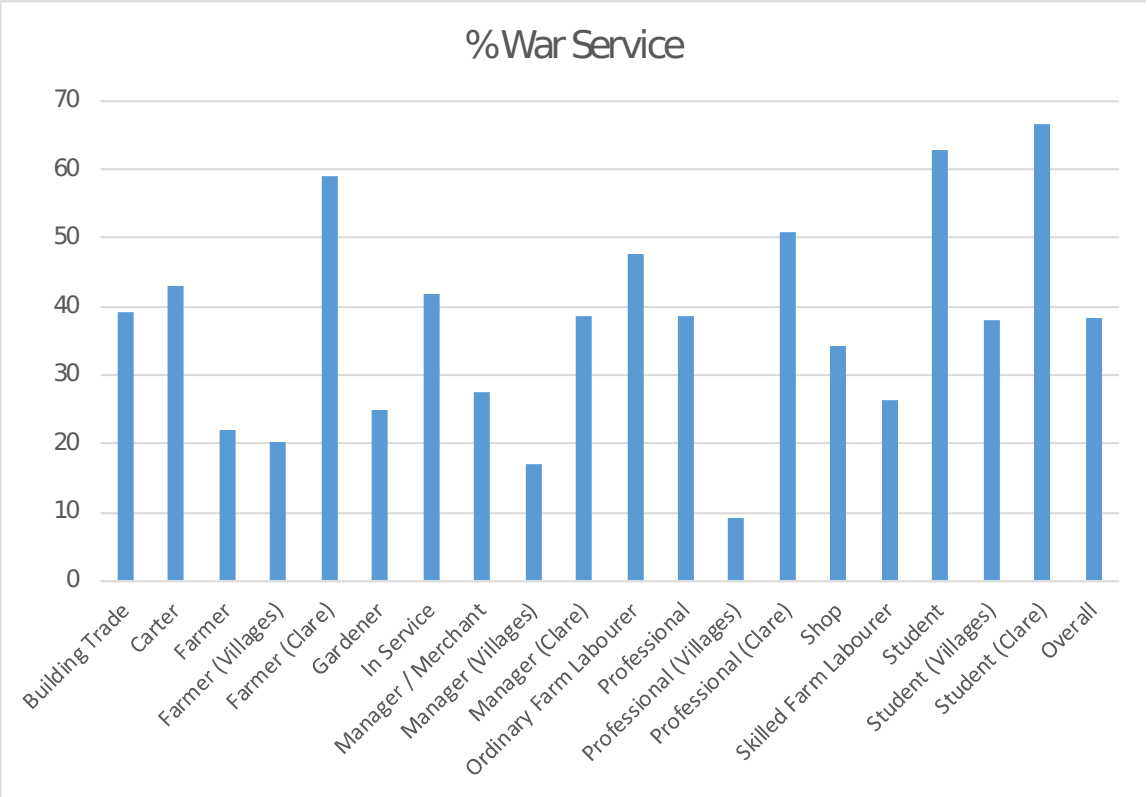


Illustration 51: Percentage of war service amongst those age eligible to volunteer, showing selected occupations from both Clare College alumni and from the village spreadsheets.

Small number variation does not seem to be the only factor, however. Illustration 52 shows a comparison between four occupation groups, with the overall war service for that occupation group (combining the figures for Clare College and the villages), and then the break down between Clare and the villages. In every case the figures are higher from Clare College. This may be because many of those living in Cambridgeshire villages were doctors, vets, teachers, or clergy. The latter were excluded from conscription. The former may have been more likely to enlist if they were in a larger city, rather than being the only doctor or dentist for many miles. The figures for Clare give a more national picture. It is

also worth noting that East Anglia was identified as an area of low enlistment, and so the data for Clare College may more accurately reflect the national picture.[91]

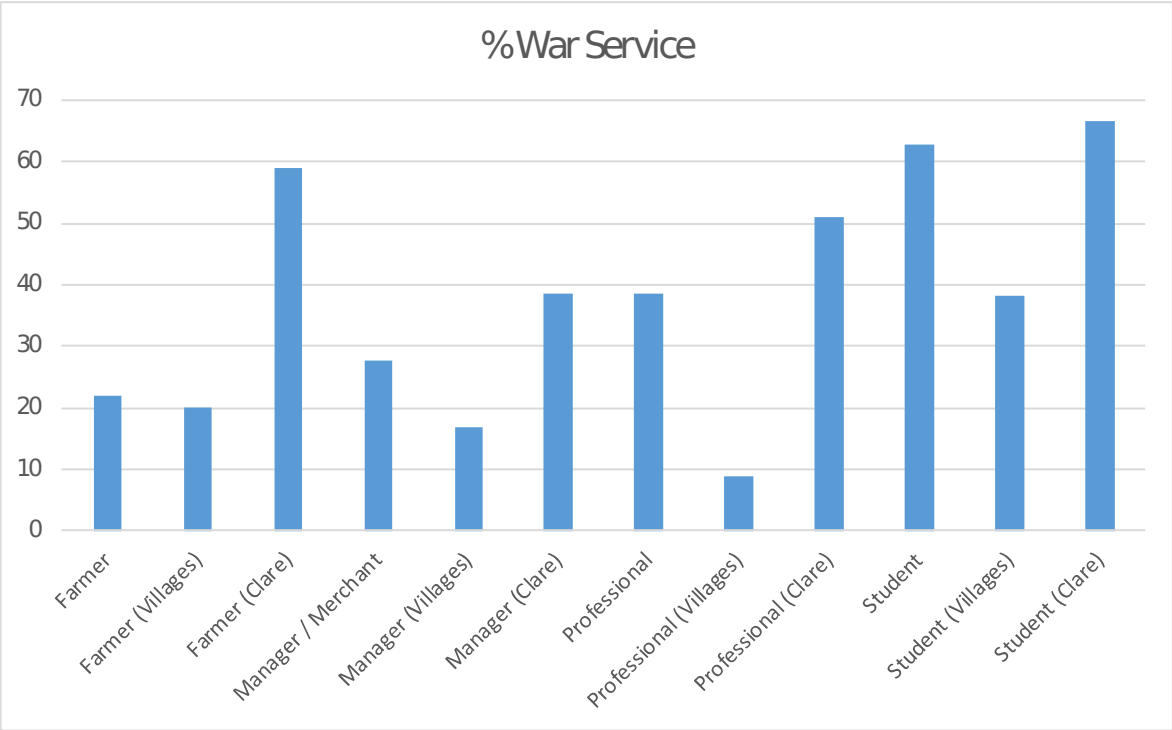


Illustration 52: Comparison of percentage who served in the war between Clare College and the villages

Although not possible in the villages, owing to the comparatively small numbers, the 'professionals' from Clare College were subdivided into different categories. Those categories with more than fifty fitting the description are shown in Illustration 53, along with the overall service rate at Clare College. These figures show a very low rate of enlistment amongst clergy (27%), with the highest rates amongst doctors (73%) and students (67%). The overall war service amongst Clare College students and alumni, at 50%, was higher than the overall rate in the villages.

91 Gale, 'The West Country and the First World War', 70

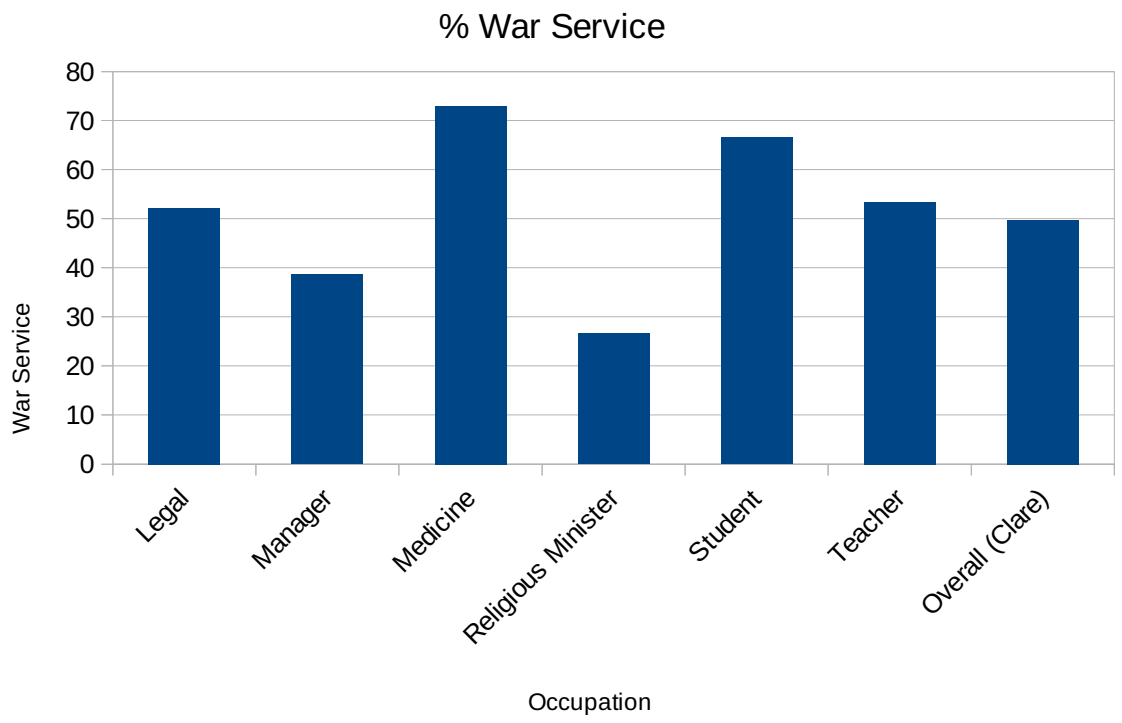


Illustration 53: Percentage war service amongst Clare College alumni in selected occupations

Returning to the countryside, one of the key contentions has been that agricultural workers enlisted in low numbers. Dewey's research suggested that they enlisted in even lower numbers than was previously estimated, and estimated a loss of conventional labour of around 10% by 1918, contending that farmers and the male members of their family would have enlisted in even smaller numbers than employees.[92] The Board of Trade estimated that half as many farmers had enlisted as farm workers; the comparison is not far off when ordinary farm labourers are considered. Dewey was certainly right to suggest that there were substantial differences in enlistment rates between farmers and others. However, Illustration 55 shows that by the end of the war the agricultural enlistment rate was, overall, nearly 25%, higher than the average across all occupations in the villages which stood at roughly 17%. The percentage who are known volunteered, and therefore would have been in the armed forces by 1916, was around 11%.[93]

92 Dewey, *Agricultural Labour Supply*, 102-106.
93 See Appendix 4 for the full figures for volunteering, enlistment, and appeal to tribunal by occupation.

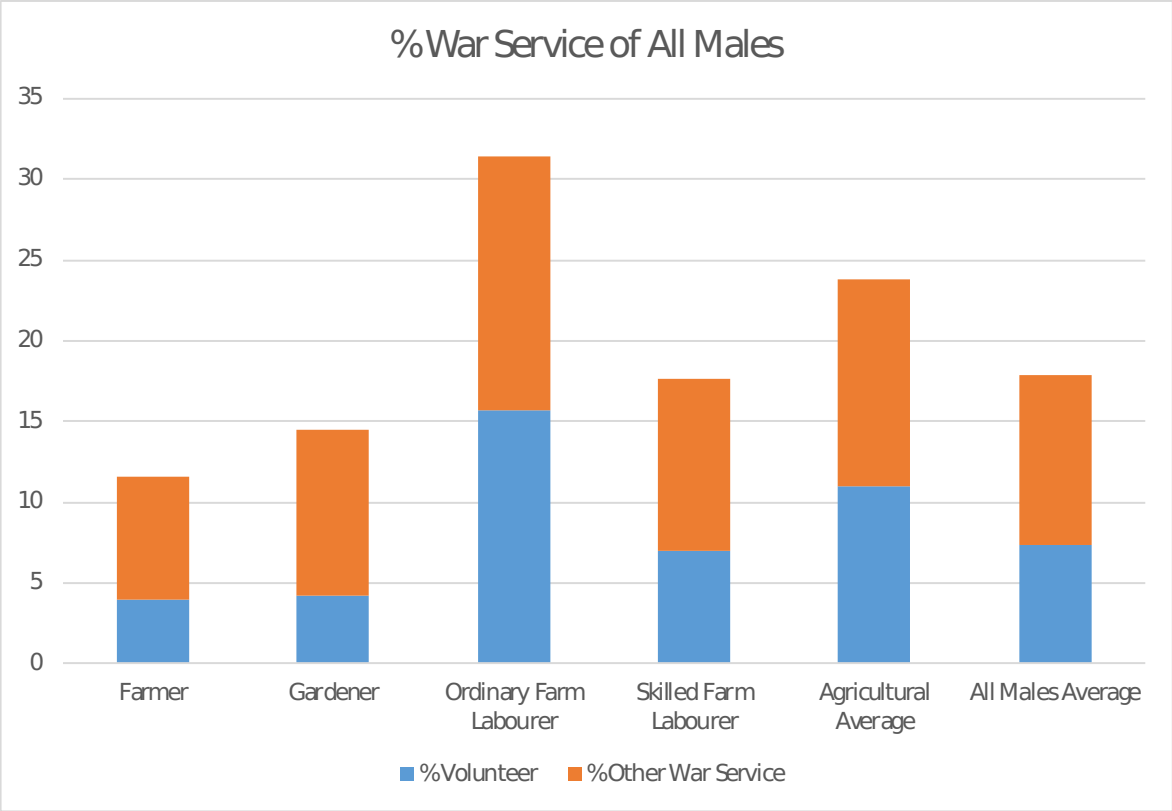


Illustration 54: War service of all males in agricultural occupations

When only those age eligible for war service are taken into consideration, the pattern remains the same, though the percentages are higher, and the agricultural average compared to the average of all age eligible to volunteer, though still higher, is not as significantly higher. (See Illustration 55).[94] The different rates of enlistment amply justify splitting the occupations up into separate categories.[95]

94 See Appendix 4 for the full figures for volunteering, enlistment, and appeal to tribunal by occupation.
95 See Chapter 2 for details on the substitution of labour via the Tribunal system, and on women's work in agriculture. Replacement labour was made available in agriculture, but is not quantifiable in the local context in the same way as the absence of men from their home communities.

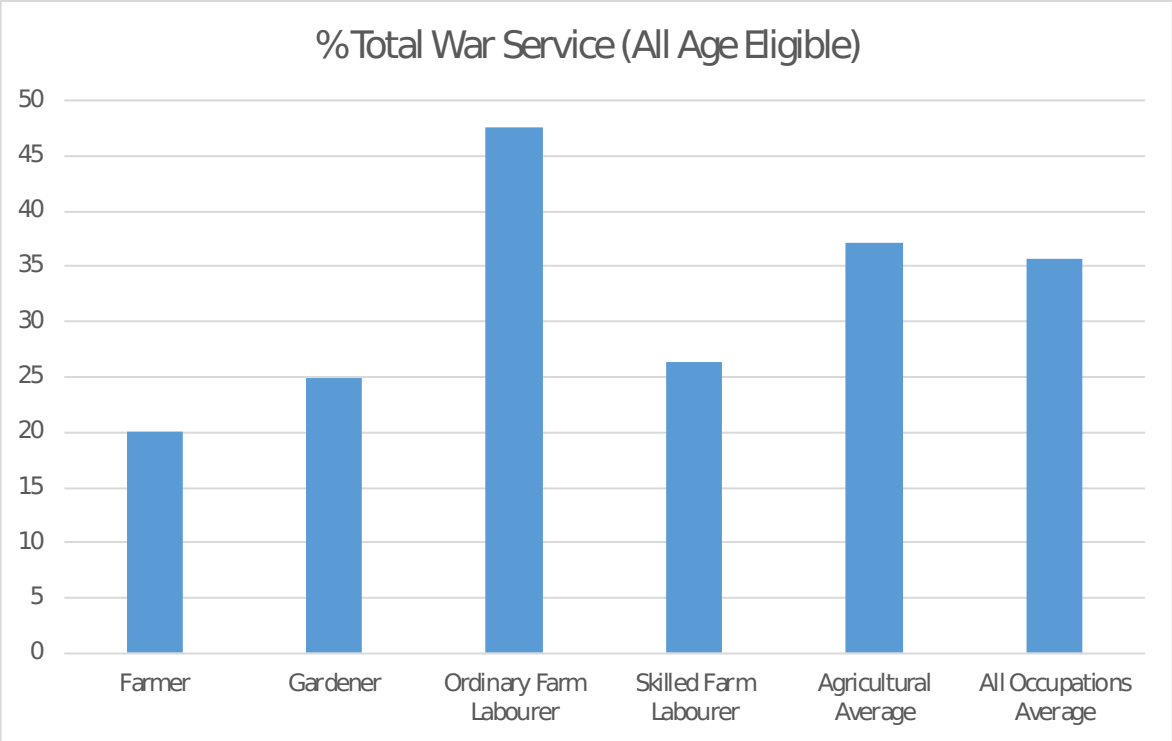


Illustration 55: Percentage of those age eligible volunteer who served in the war, showing agricultural occupations and the average

The differences in enlistment rates amongst different occupations continue into rates of appeal before military tribunals. Illustrations 56, 57, and 58 show the percentages who appeared before a Tribunal for all males, those eligible for war service, and those eligible to volunteer respectively.[96] Amongst those eligible for war service and eligible to volunteer, the top three occupations are farmer, foreman, and gardener. Taking into account all males, the proportions change slightly and carters come close after gardeners. Both carters and gardeners were occupations likely to be run either single-handed or by a family. Illustration 59, however, shows that these two occupations were the most unlikely to receive any exemption in the rural tribunals, with around a quarter of all cases of gardeners and carters receiving no exemption, compared to around a tenth of all cases of farmers, and less than a tenth of cases relating to foremen (usually though not exclusively agricultural foremen). This suggests that while the smaller businesses of carting and market gardening were more likely to appeal, they were less likely to succeed.

96 See Appendix 4 for the full figures for volunteering, enlistment, and appeal to tribunal by occupation.

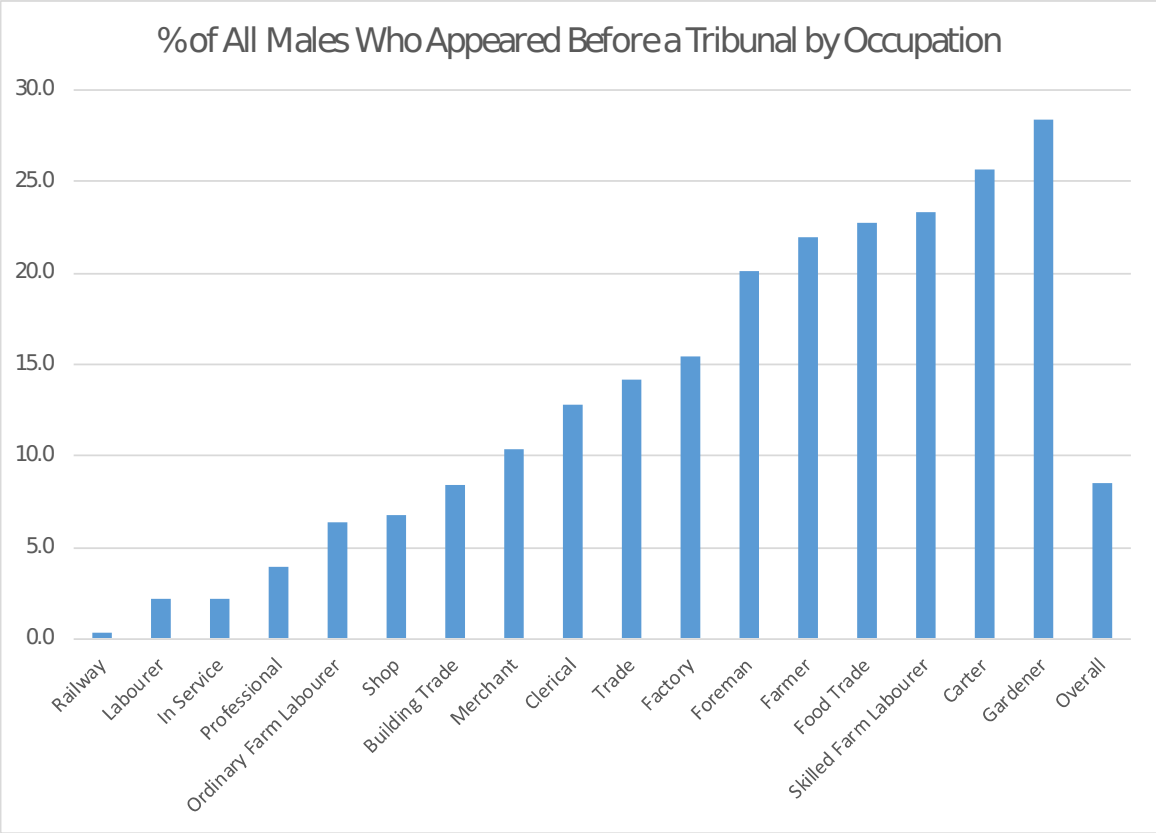


Illustration 56: Percentage of all males who appeared before a Tribunal by occupation.

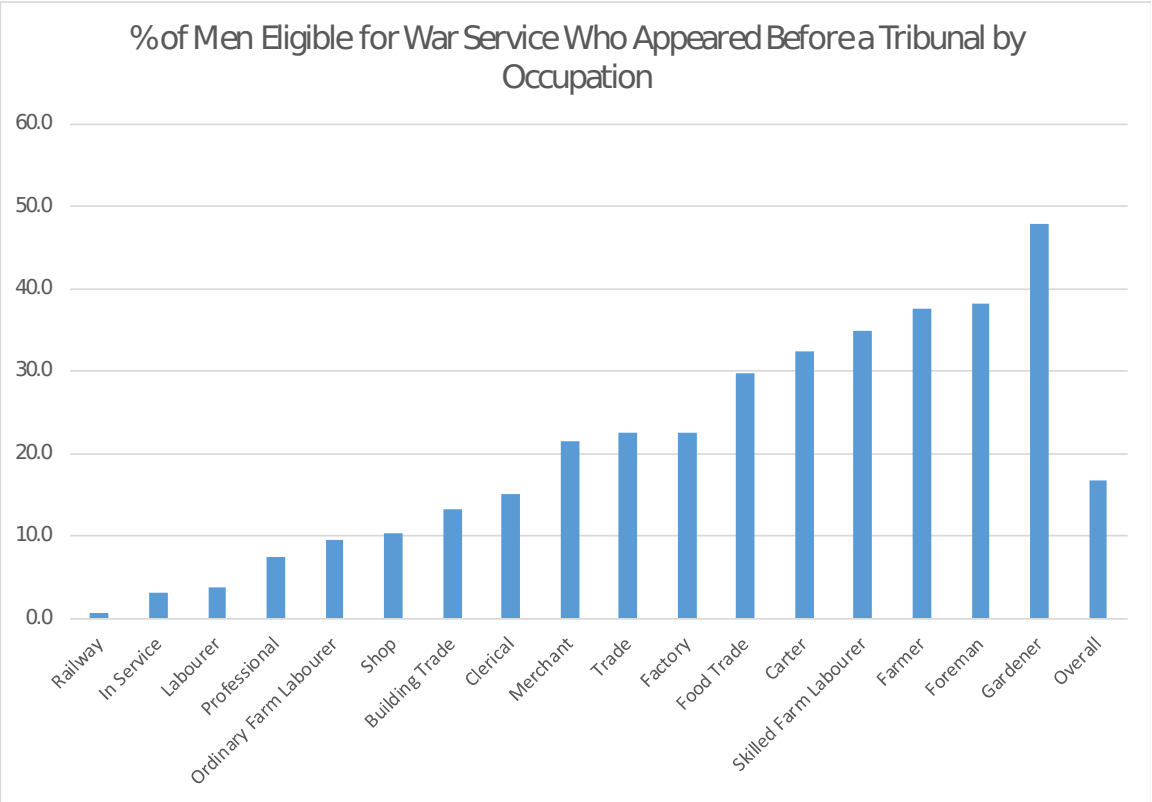


Illustration 57: Percentage of all eligible for war service who appeared before a Tribunal by occupation.

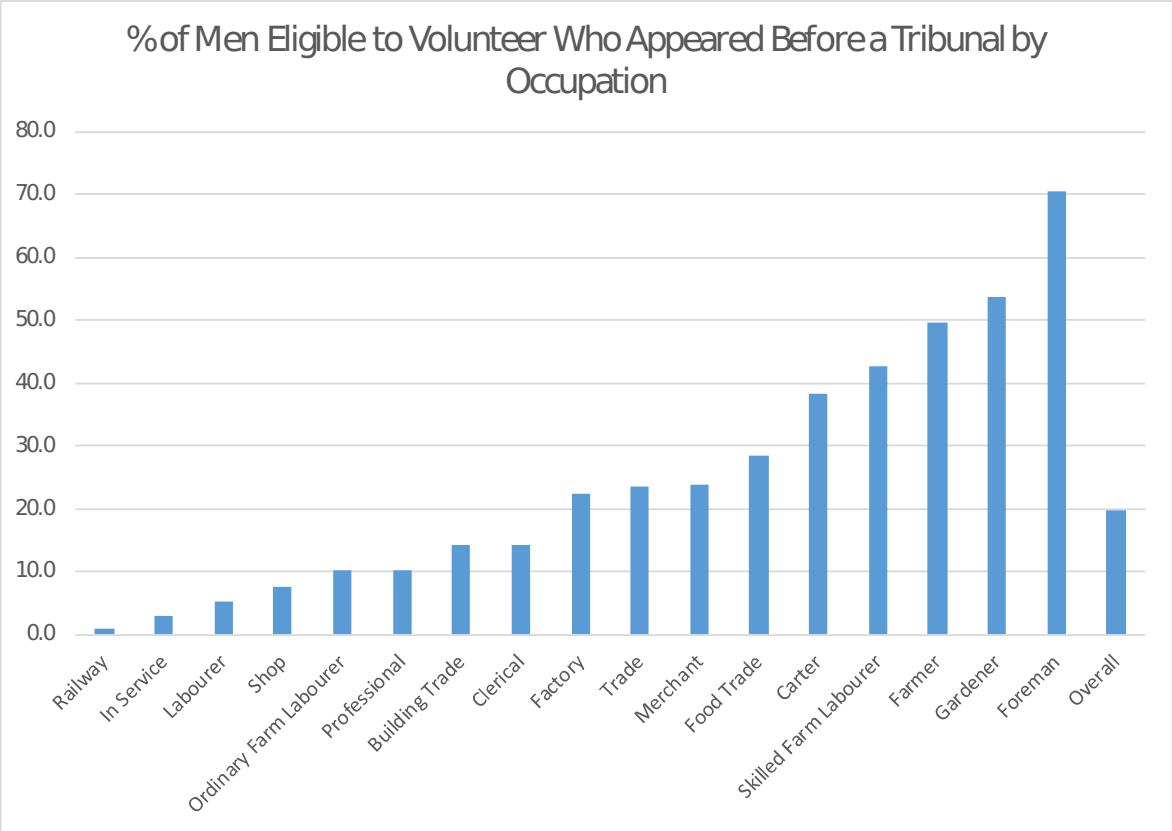


Illustration 58: Percentage of those eligible to volunteer who appeared before a Tribunal by occupation.

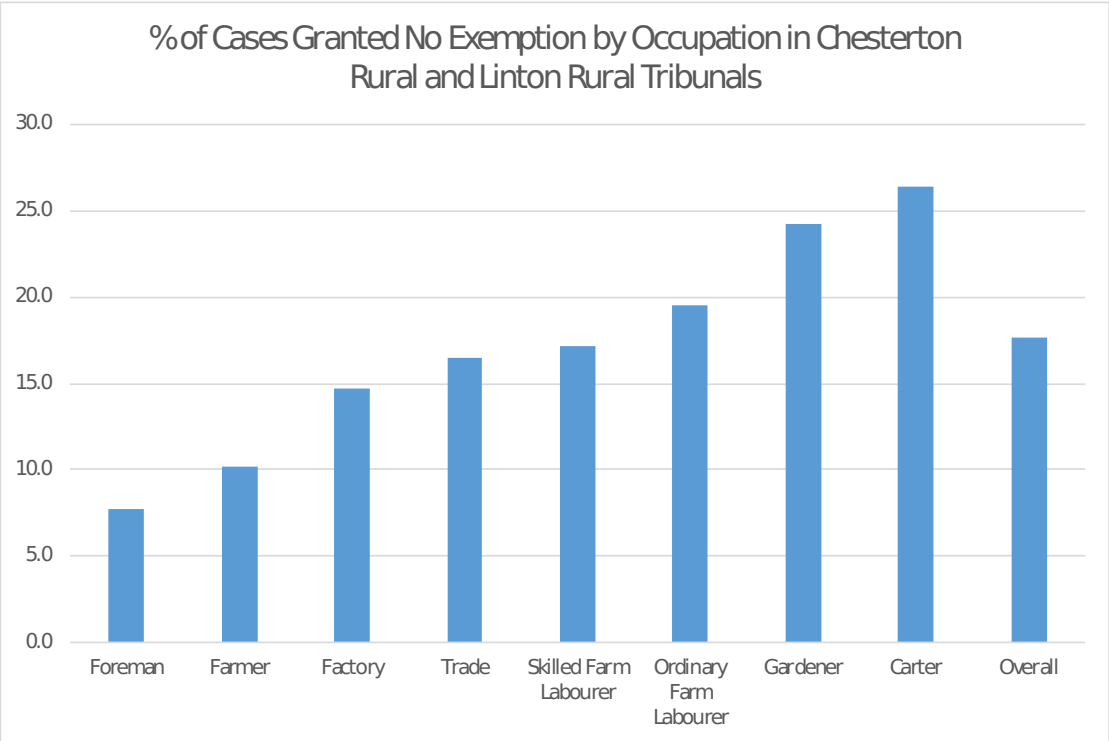


Illustration 59: Percentage of cases heard that received no exemption by occupation

These figures show only cases that reached a Tribunal. In some cases, where the occupation was on the list of protected occupations, the case would never go before a

Tribunal, the man receiving an 'automatic' exemption on the grounds of occupation. These could be contested by the military, but it is impossible to be sure how many exemptions were granted in Cambridgeshire by not being contested, and no record of who those exemptions went to. It would be surprising, however, if the pattern was substantially different from those cases awarded exemptions within the Tribunals. Illustration 60 shows the type of exemptions granted in the rural tribunals. It is at once apparent that certain occupations (notably foremen, farmers, and skilled farm labourers) were much more likely to be granted an absolute or conditional exemption (the latter generally differing from the former only in the caveat that the exemption was provided on the same or similar occupation or conditions).

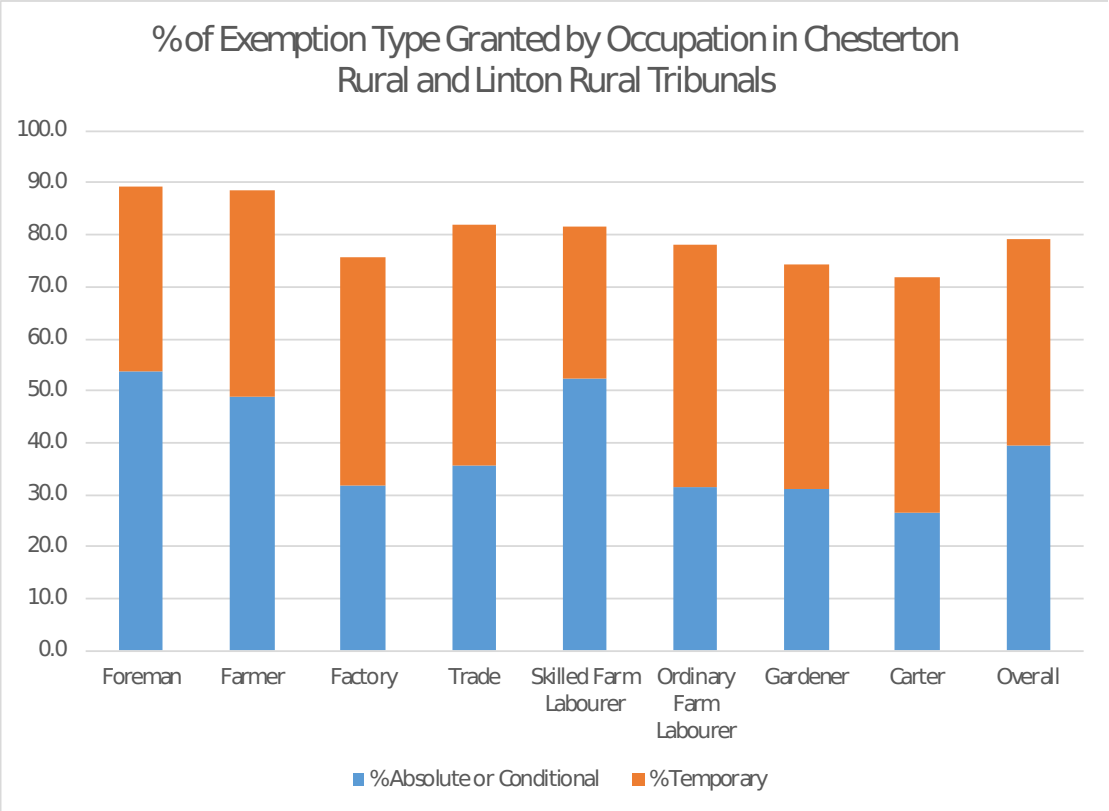


Illustration 60: Exemption types granted at the rural Tribunals by occupation

Turning finally to the influence of occupation on casualty rates, it is not surprising that students were casualties in far greater numbers than other occupations. (See Illustration 61.) This may be partially down to age—even with the allowance that excludes those not age eligible for war service, students were almost all within the age range of

eligible to volunteer, and in the most eligible years within that. The second highest rate of casualties can be found amongst ordinary farm labourers. Both of these groups had high levels of enlistment, which doubtless played a part in the higher levels of casualties.

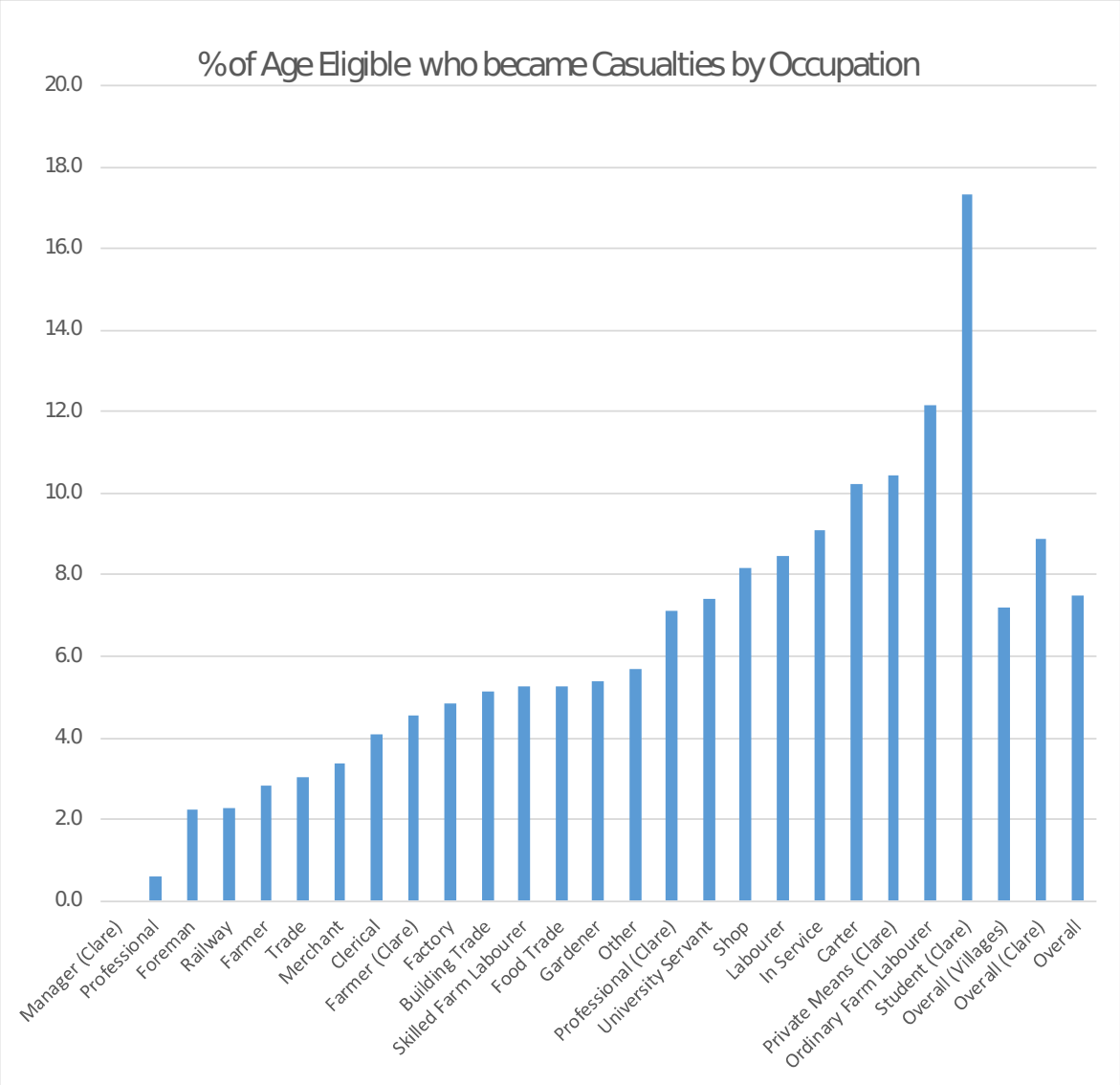


Illustration 61: Percentage of those age eligible for war service who became casualties by occupation

Taking out the potential distortion caused by different levels of recruitment reveals an unexpected result. (See Illustration 62) The casualty rates would be expected to be much higher amongst officers, and therefore the expectation would be that the casualty rate amongst students would remain significantly higher than that amongst ordinary farm labourers. Such was not quite the case. 25.5% of ordinary farm labourers who served in the war were killed. 26.0% of students from Clare who served in the war were killed. In both

cases, therefore, just over a quarter of those who served in the war were killed, something remarkable given previous assumptions about the casualty rates amongst junior officers as opposed to enlisted men, and one worthy of further investigation.

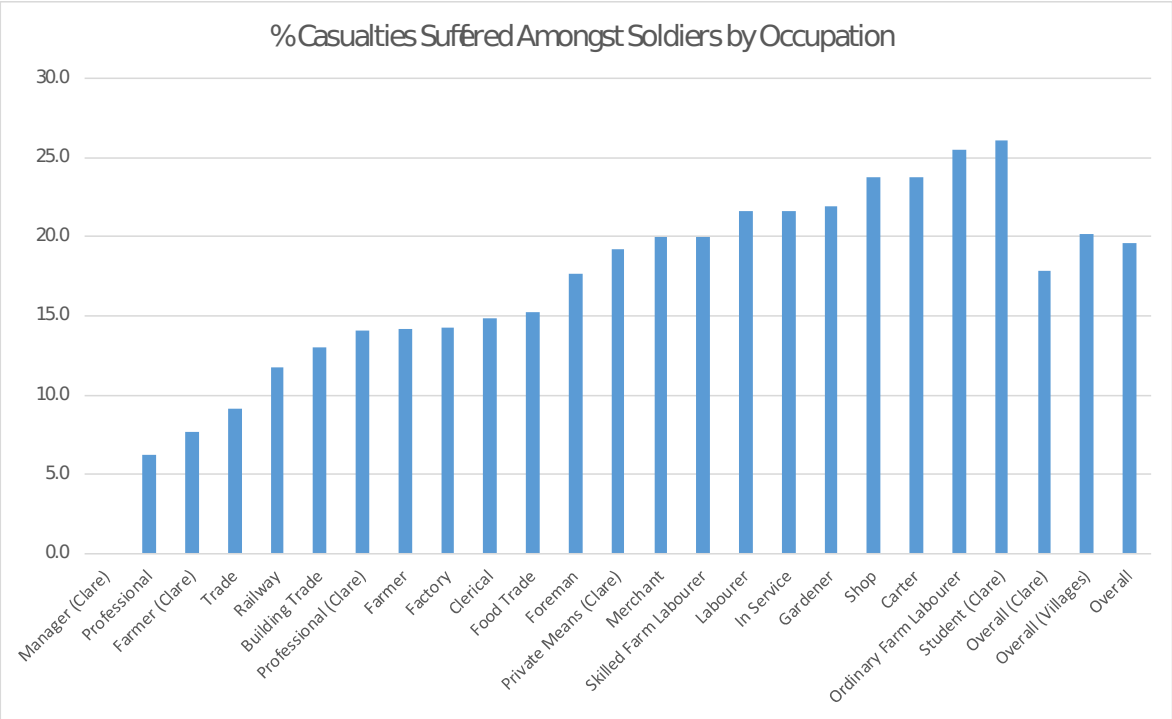


Illustration 62: Percentage of those who served in the war who died, split by occupation

The final element of occupation which appears to have had an influence on wartime activity is the percentage of the female population that was employed. This rather surprising finding relates solely to the percentage of men from a village who appeared before a Tribunal—the percentage of women employed does not appear to have influenced the numbers who volunteered or who served overall. Illustration 63 shows the comparison. The fit is not perfect, but it is suggestive that there is more here to explore, perhaps by comparing this with details from parts of the country where women were employed in industry to a greater extent than in Cambridgeshire.

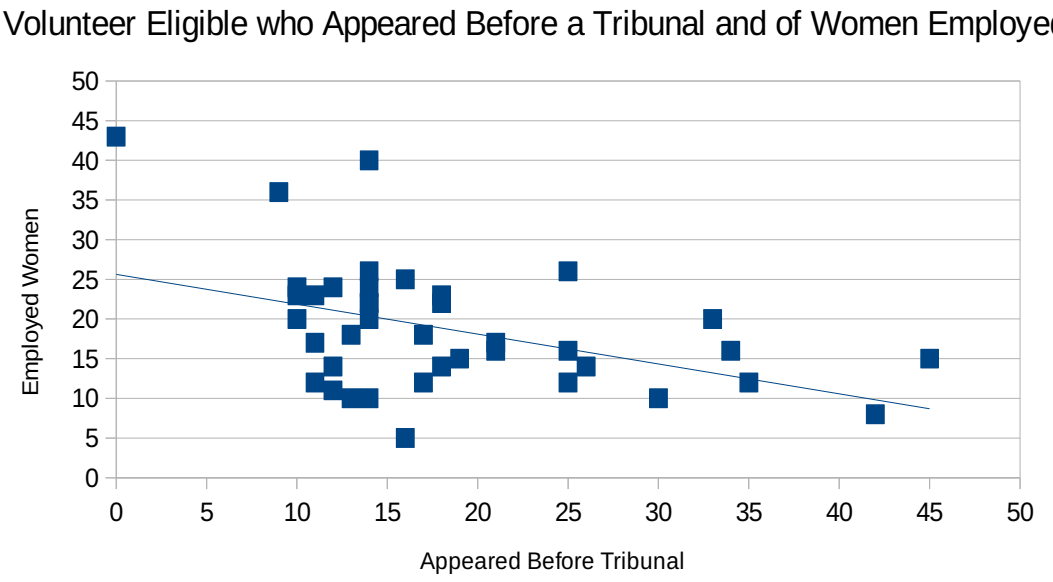


Illustration 63: Comparison of the percentage of women who were employed in a village and the percentage of men who were eligible to volunteer who appeared before a Tribunal

1 – Conclusion

This chapter has disproven the null hypothesis, that there was no difference in enlistment rates across age, location, and occupation. A strong correlation was shown between the percentage of gardeners / smallholders in a village and the percentage who appealed. Occupational categories show a statistically significant difference in military participation and appeal to tribunal. The average enlistment rate in Cambridgeshire amongst men eligible to serve in the war was 35.6% (of 8,311 in the age category). 47.6% of ordinary farm labourers served, compared with 20.1% of farmers and their sons, and 24.7% of gardeners and smallholders. This is clearly a substantial difference (27.5 percentage points difference between ordinary farm labourers and farmers, or, put another way, ordinary farm labourers were over twice as likely to serve in the armed forces during the war). Similarly significant differences also appear in rates of appeal to Tribunal.

Previous studies have highlighted the importance of occupation in enlistment, but have also suggested that this can be explained at least in part by age. By comparing the same age group, it has been possible to illustrate that other factors must have been at play, perhaps relating to the nature of the occupation or to levels of pay. The fact that such substantial variations remain when the age structure is taken into account suggests that either some occupational groups were more patriotic or open to patriotic persuasion than others, or that earnings or other factors played a large part in decisions to enlist or appeal. The nature of the sources used did not allow for comparison of physical fitness across different occupational groups, but this should be borne in mind.

While no claims can be made for areas outside Cambridgeshire, these statistics cover the entire population of two districts and one College. The villages show a variety of land holding patterns and occupational groups, and seem to be representative of Cambridgeshire as a whole. A comparative study of other areas of the country would be

necessary to make a broader claim; this lies outside the scope of the thesis but does suggest an avenue for further research.

These statistics do not in themselves answer the question of how communities responded to the war, but they do provide an underlying illustration of the extent to which the war removed men from their home communities.

2 – Mobilising Manpower

Illustration 64: CIP 18 December 1915

'Is your name on a Roll of Honour?' demanded Illustration 64. In the early months of the war this description referred not to casualties, but men who volunteered for service overseas. The importance of these Rolls of Honour to contemporaries seems clear from the numbers printed. The *CC* devoted an entire page to reprinting the full roll of honour of men who enlisted at Cambridge throughout October, with the lists growing to cover nearly a page and a half when the various employers lists were included.[97] The *CIP* printed only new enlistments, but included the names of those in the Cambridgeshire Regiment who volunteered for service overseas.[98] These lists included not only those from Cambridge itself, but also villagers who came to Cambridge to enlist, as well as further lists for those who enlisted at Newmarket and Ely. The *Review* published War Lists for the University throughout the war, running to seven editions before the final, post war one was compiled.[99] The interest was not limited to the newspapers; in early 1915 a Roll of Honour was compiled for the Cambridge Petty

97 *CC* October 1914.
98 *CIP* October 1914 to December 1915.
99 *The War List of the University of Cambridge*; final edition published 1921, edited by G V Carey.

Sessional District, and there is a Roll of Honour for Balsham preserved at Cambridgeshire Archives.[100] Though these are the surviving ones, others are mentioned in the local press and it seems most parishes had a list of men who had volunteered for service displayed somewhere in the village, usually in the church or post office. Many of these were elaborately decorated, intended to not only honour those who had enlisted, but to form a list for prayer.

However, as Illustration 64 implies, not everyone's name was on the Roll of Honour, and increasing communal pressure was placed on the 'shirker' or 'slacker' who failed to enlist. This stopped short of printing the names of men who had not enlisted, but villages certainly came in for attention if they were believed to have sent less than their fair share of men to the front. Illustration 64 comes from December 1915, the last push of the voluntary period, and refers to firms rather than villages. Although Cambridgeshire had few large industries, the *CC* did include employers' lists, and Cambridge University Press published a post-war Roll of Honour.[101]

Besides printing Rolls of Honour, the local press carried detailed reports of the operation of local tribunals. For the Linton and Chesterton Rural Districts, the proceedings seem to have been reported in their entirety, while for the Borough, at which the university cases were heard, the full details are not always given for each case, but in those weeks when each case was not described individually, a summary was given. All the tribunals in the county then fed into the appeal tribunal, if the military representative or the appellant (or both) was dissatisfied with the decision, and this in turn could feed into the central tribunal based in London.

Throughout both the volunteer and conscription phases of recruitment, the local community mediated and articulated the demands for more men, and the occasional reservation about precisely which men should be taken. Young, single men were the

100 Louis Tebbutt, *Petty Sessional Division of Cambridge Roll of Service, Compiled from the Parochial List* (Cambridge, 1915); Record of War Service of Balsham Men, 1914-1918, Cambridgeshire Archives, P7/28/40.

101 *War Record of the Cambridge University Press 1914-1919* (Cambridge, 1920).

preferred target for recruiters—both official and unofficial. Married men were accepted to have other duties and responsibilities.[102] An increasing mobilisation of manpower, and an increasing effort to rationalise manpower allocation can be seen in the movement from voluntarism to conscription. In both the voluntary and conscription phases, the local community was the venue and the local elites (whom Batten termed the 'provincial patriots') were the leading figures.[103] Messenger and Philpott argued that the provision of manpower was the greatest struggle of the war.[104] Certainly an understanding of patterns of recruitment is essential both in understanding the local home front, and as an illustration of the cooperation and conflict between local and national priorities.

It was not just 'man' power that needed mobilising. The First World War also saw the involvement of women in roles that took them away from their home.[105] The way women were recruited for 'non-traditional' roles (munitions and uniformed work) shared many features with recruiting men for the armed forces. However, there were no sustained campaigns to recruit women for nursing work. Indeed, where men came under the pressure of friends and family to enlist, some women came under pressure to do the opposite and to remain at home.

102 Richard Van Emden, *The Quick and the Dead*, 20; Martha Hanna, 'Private Lives' in ed Jay Winter, *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume III Civil Society* (Cambridge, 2014), 7.
103 Batten, *Devon and the First World War*, 47.
104 Charles Messenger, *Call to Arms: The British Army 1914-1918* (London, 2005), 10; William Philpott, *Attrition: Fighting the First World War* (London, 2014), 114.
105 The role of women in their home communities, which often included war work, will be discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1 – Voluntary Enlistment

On the outbreak of war, Cambridgeshire had only a Territorial Regiment.[106] From the very beginning, the Territorial Force Association (TFA), the committee responsible for the Territorials, took a leading role in recruitment, and a large number of pre-war Territorials attested for service overseas (591 on 2 September 1914). Gale found that the Territorials felt more local than city-based Pals battalions, and so proved more popular in the countryside.[107] This was seen in Cambridgeshire; Illustration 65 showing cumulative enlistments for the Cambridgeshires and the New Army demonstrates the popularity of the Territorials.

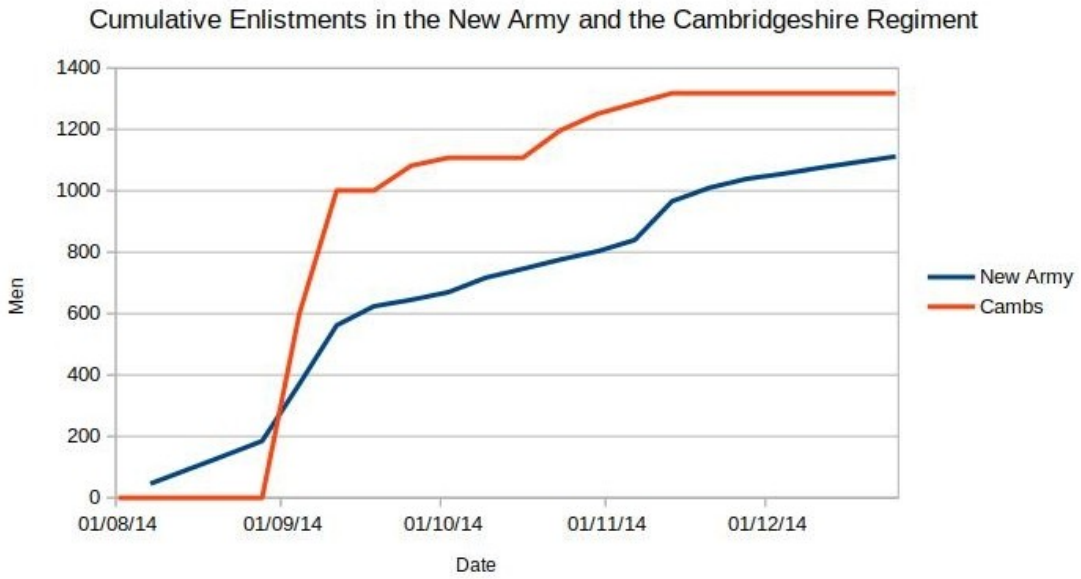


Illustration 65: Cumulative Enlistment in the New Army and the Territorials. Figures derived from the Rolls of Honour published in the CIP

Those who wished to enlist in Kitchener's New Army had to join another county regiment. Cambridge's wartime recruiting station initially sent men to Bury St Edmunds to

106 The majority of county regiments in the British Army had a Regular battalion which was usually based overseas, a second line battalion usually based in the United Kingdom in the garrison town, and a Territorial battalion. Some county regiments had more battalions than this on the outbreak of war, particularly those based in more populous counties.

107 Gale, 'The West Country and the First World War', 114

join the Suffolk Regiment, where many found themselves in the 9th Suffolks. When Bury St Edmunds could accommodate no more, the TFA was asked to assist with housing those who enlisted in Cambridge, and it was from this that the Cambridgeshire Kitcheners, Cambridgeshire's pals battalion, was born.[108] Local commentators swiftly altered the story to stress local patriotism in place of military necessity. Thus, the *CIP* reported that 'The County Association, in response to a very strong desire throughout the County that Cambs. should be represented by a Regular battalion, made representations to the War Office, and last week the Army Council (largely, we believe, through the personal influence of Mr. C. R. W. Adeane) accepted their offer to raise such a battalion... new recruits are coming in briskly, showing how greatly the men of the county appreciate the honour… and the very solid advantages of serving in a battalion composed of Cambs. men.'[109] From the start, emphasis was placed on the fact that this was a battalion for the whole county, with recruiting stations in Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely alike sending men who enlisted for service in the New Army to join the Cambridgeshire Kitcheners, later numbered the 11th Suffolks.[110] When 'Citizen' wrote to the *Wisbech Standard* to ask 'why not an Ely Battalion of the Suffolk Regiment or Wisbech Battalion of the Suffolk Regiment? Let not the Isle allow this Borough Battalion to be raised alone', the editor responded: 'Our correspondent appears to be under quite a wrong impression. The new Battalion of the Suffolk Regiment is not associated exclusively with Cambridge; it represents the whole of the county, including the Isle of Ely.' Despite being a paper devoted to the northernmost parts of the Isle of Ely, the editor was referring explicitly to the county as a whole, meaning both Cambridgeshire and the Isle.[111] The 11th Suffolks also drew officers from the University of Cambridge, incorporating them in the county's response to war. The battalion's eventual commanding officer, Gerald Tuck, was an undergraduate on the outbreak of war, and

108 Costin, *The Cambridgeshire Kitcheners*, 1-2.
109 *CIP* 2 October 1914.
110 Hereafter the battalion will be referred to as the 11th Suffolks, save where quoting contemporary sources. It should be noted that there were several other contemporary names for the 11th Suffolks, including the 'Cambs Suffolks', the 'Chums', the 'Pals', and the 'Regulars'.
111 *Wisbech Standard* 23 October 1914.

served with the battalion from its formation through to its disbandment.[112] Germains, in his 1930 history of the raising of the New Armies, emphasised the importance of 'voluntary effort, local patriotism, and a general spirit of enthusiasm', and these factors can certainly be seen in the raising of the 11th Suffolks.[113]

The close connection between the 11th Suffolks and the Territorial Regiment was unusual, but the influence of leading local men in raising the battalion in recruiting was not. In Barnsley, for instance, the Mayor took the lead.[114] Arguably, Charles Adeane was more of a personal driving force in recruiting the battalion, and the TFA, of which he was president, simply followed his lead.[115] Like the Territorials, the 11th Suffolks had companies named for areas of the companies. Mansfield argues that the 11 Suffolks represented 'a new county patriotism for a geographically varied area which had a poor image of its own identity'.[116] However, naming companies of a Pals battalion for specific localities was not unique to Cambridgeshire. Further afield the Accrington Pals could perhaps more accurately have been termed an 'East Lancashire' unit, comprising an Accrington Company, an Accrington District Company, a Chorley and Blackburn Company, and a Burnley Company.[117]

112 Costin, *Cambridgeshire Kitcheners*, 36-37.
113 Germains, *Kitchener's Armies*, 75.
114 Cooksey, *Barsnley Pals*, 37.
115 *CIP* 2 October 1914.
116 Nicholas Mansfield, *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism, 1900-1930* (Aldershot, 2001), 96.
117 William Turner, *Pals*, 37.

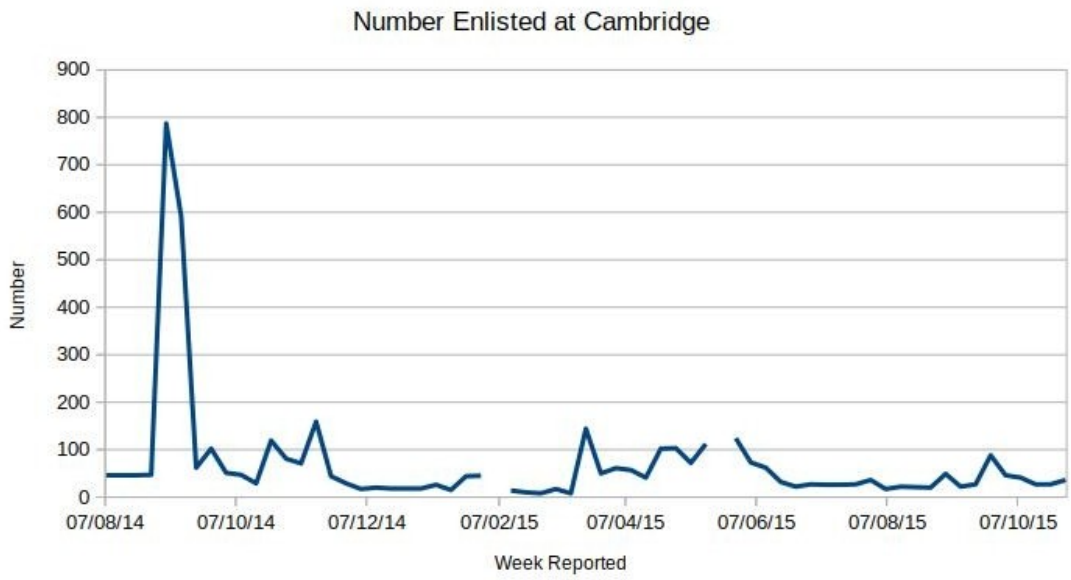


Illustration 66: Total number enlisted at Cambridge, week by week. Figures derived from the Rolls of Honour in the CIP.

Illustration 66 shows the initial recruiting boom, and it is clear that the peak was in the first two weeks of September. This first peak has been tied nationally to the reporting of the Battle of Mons, with Good describing the Amiens despatch as 'the most effective recruiting appeal.'[118] In Cambridgeshire the end of the harvest may have had as much of an impact. In such a predominantly agricultural county, agricultural work patterns are crucial for understanding not only this first phase of enlistment, but also the subsequent phases.[119] Even during conscription, allowance was made for the agricultural cycle, and a hiatus granted during the planting and harvesting seasons. The harvest was so important that a recruitment meeting in Linton, described as 'highly successful', instructed men not to enlist then but to wait until after the harvest.[120] A report in the *CIP* at the end of August noted that recruiting was 'steadily proceeding', but 'one hopes to see a much larger response when the harvest is over.'[121] However, it is difficult to separate out this from the

118 Good, 'England Goes to War 1914, 109; see also Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 64; Peter Simkins, *Kitchener's Army: The Raising of the New Armies 1914-1916* (Manchester, 1988), 64; Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), 32.
119 Mansfield, *English Farmworkers and Local Patriotism*, 88.
120 *CIP* 21 August 1914.
121 *CIP* 28 August 1914.

impact of the Battle of Mons; the two happened at the same time, and the supplement to the *London Gazette* on the battle was printed in the *CIP* in full.[122]

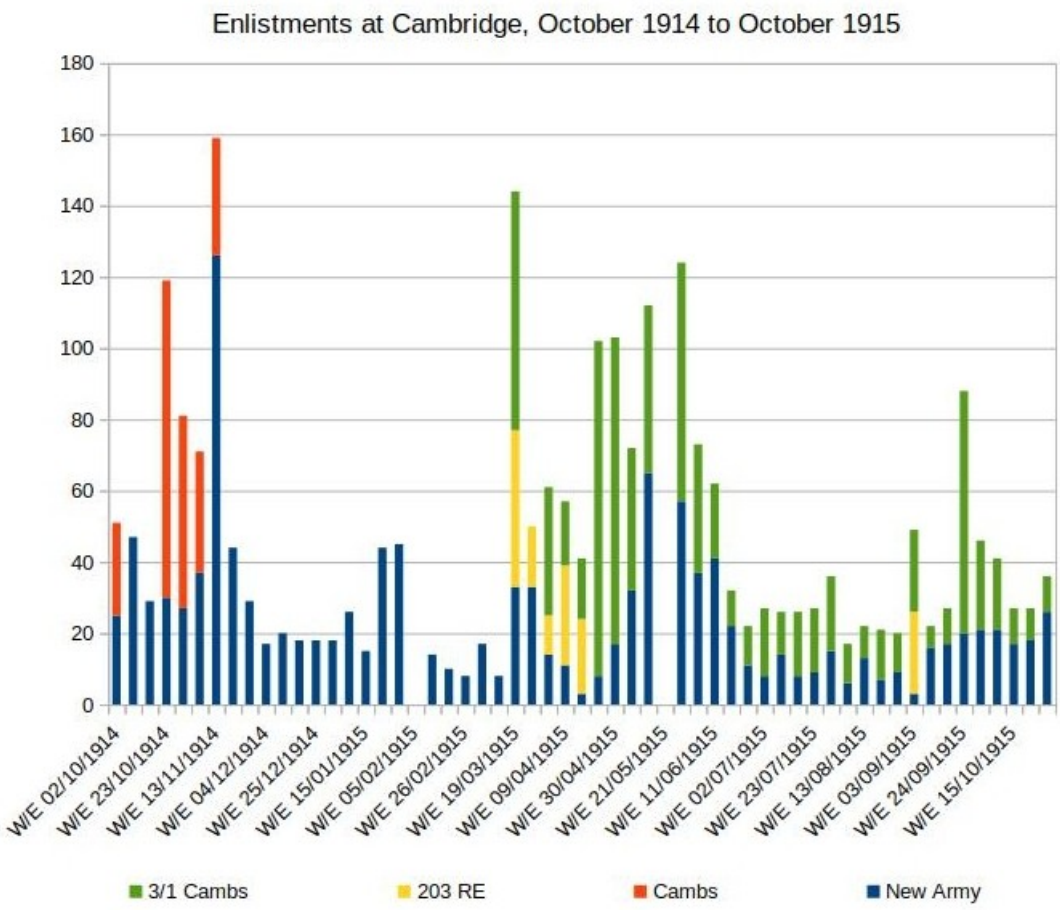


Illustration 67: Enlistments at Cambridge, October 1914 - October 1915, derived from the Rolls of Honour in the CIP, showing the unit breakdown.

Later in the voluntary period, the unpredictable patterns of recruiting continued. Illustration 67, showing only the period October 1914 to October 1915, makes this much clearer. It also enables the varying popularity of different units to be seen.[123] The 3/1 Cambs proved particularly popular, and a late recruiting spike can be seen in September 1915, almost entirely from the Wisbech hiring fair (75 enlisted in the 3/1 Cambs).[124] The *CIP* commented that the fair 'will long be memorable for the remarkable success of the recruiting appeals which were addressed during the day to the stalwart youths that attended

122 *CIP* 11 September 1914.
123 See Appendix 3 for a list of local units.
124 The 3/1 Cambs was raised as a home service only unit.

it.'[125] It is interesting to note that by enlisting, those who might otherwise have been deemed 'slackers' instantly became 'stalwart youths' (whether or not they were youthful!). The success of the appeal can also be tied to agricultural work patterns—most labourers would be hired on year-long contracts, and may not have been able to enlist until September 1915. Of course many employers did allow or even encourage men to leave to join the colours—one farmer in Balsham offered half a sovereign to every volunteer.[126]

A significant focus in the historiography has been the question of why men chose to enlist. A wide range of motives have been suggested, from patriotism to profit, adventure to duty. Simkins labelled patriotism and escape from drudgery as key factors, tying the latter particularly to lower middle and working class recruits.[127] Hartigan argued instead that unemployment and economic factors were key, and Young makes a similar argument for Scotland.[128] Although recruits themselves often emphasised patriotism or duty, Silbey suggests that patriotism provided a useful cover for other motivations.[129] Gregory argues that men did not join the Army until they were sure of their family's welfare, suggesting economic motivations could act as a disincentive to enlistment.[130] Delays in separation allowances were well-known in Cambridgeshire, which tends to argue against the economic motive.[131] However, the telling fact that the lower classes of employment produced the most recruits (with the notable exception of Clare students) suggests that economics was not unimportant.[132] Workplace pressure could also prove a strong motive for enlistment, especially when combined with the actions of employers—claims were investigated in Wolverhampton that employers were dismissing men to force

125 *CIP* 17 September 1915.
126 *CIP* 17 March 1916.
127 Simkins, *Kitchener's Army*, 165-173.
128 Hartigan, 'Volunteering for the Army', 175; Young, 'Voluntary Recruitment in Scotland', 102.
129 David Silbey, *The British Working Class and Enthusiasm for War, 1914-1916* (London, 2005), 7-10.
130 Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 32.
131 *CIP* 18 September 1914, *CIP* 30 October 1914.
132 See Chapter 1 for the full statistical picture.

them to enlist.[133] What this debate illustrates is the difficulty of assessing personal motivations. Moreover, it must be remembered, as a number of historians have pointed out, that the majority of men in fact chose not to volunteer.[134]

Reframing the question slightly, from 'why did men enlist?' to 'how were men persuaded to enlist?' makes it more answerable. Evidence abounds in the local context for recruiting meetings, newspaper articles, and even more ephemeral methods, such as personal recruiting, posters, and postcards.

Unique to Cambridgeshire, in scope of activities and wartime importance, if not entirely in concept, was the Ladies' Recruiting Committee. Initially intended to aid recruiting in the Cambridgeshire Regiment during a special recruiting week in January 1914, the committee was reformed at the behest of the President of the TFA, who stated that 'If the whole population is to be aroused to a proper sense of the importance of the crisis, the assistance of the women of the county must be invoked.'[135] Ladies' Recruiting Committees had been suggested elsewhere, and some had a brief pre-war life, including one in Liverpool.[136] It was only in Cambridgeshire that they played a significant role in wartime recruiting. The members were leading local women; the chair, Madeline Adeane, was the wife of Charles Adeane, President of the TFA and from 1915 the Lord Lieutenant of Cambridgeshire. In 1917, Madeline became an alderman, and the *CIP* commented: 'For many years she has taken a prominent part in such organisations as the County Nursing Association, and since the war began, she has ably supported the Lord Lieutenant in all kinds of war work—recruiting, Red Cross societies, prisoners of war funds, and the provision of comforts for troops.'[137] Lillian Mellish Clark, chairman of the executive committee, became the first woman to chair a county council outside of London when

133 Gower, 'The Civilian Experience of World War I', 88.
134 Adrian Gregory, *The Last Great War: British Society and the First World War* (Cambridge, 2008), 89 ; Ian F W Beckett, 'The Soldiers' Documents of the Great War and the Military Historian', *Archives* (1998), 63.
135 *CIP* 4 September 1914.
136 *Northern Whig*, 28 January 1908.
137 *CIP* 3 August 1917.

elected to Cambridgeshire County Council in 1947. She was a governor and chair of governors at Cambridge School of Art for thirty-five years.[138] The secretary of the committee, Rosamond Philpott, was a bookbinder and much involved in art projects and displays, while Mrs Harding-Newman was the wife of a JP. Other members of the committee were the wives of Cambridgeshire Regiment officers, including Mrs Twelftree-Saint and Mrs Tebbutt.

The local recognition of the importance of women in recruiting contrasts sharply with the reaction to the 'white feather campaign'. Gullace's analysis of responses to women distributing white feathers suggests great public concern was voiced over female usurpation of the male recruiting role.[139] In Southport, women were involved in recruiting, but their activities seem to have been primarily at the level of personal recruiting, rather than as organisers.[140] Women were much more accepted in charitable work than as recruiters. Perhaps the secret to the success of the Ladies' Recruiting Committee was not the social standing of the women who were involved in it, but rather their prominent roles in other areas of charitable work. Of thirty-five women identified as members of the Ladies' Recruiting Committee, five were members of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families' Association and ten on the Cambridgeshire Grand Council of the Red Cross. The Ladies' Recruiting Committee itself provided comforts and as the war progressed morphed into a Prisoners' of War Help Committee. The combined involvement in both charitable work and recruiting therefore meant that when the Ladies' Recruiting Committee was described as being on the 'warpath', it was in affectionate manner.[141] This was a significantly different reaction to that elsewhere in the country.

Recruitment meetings were the most publicised way of drawing men to the colours. They were generally held in either a local school or church hall, though some were held

138 This became part of Anglia Ruskin University, and until its recent demolition, one of the buildings on the Cambridge campus was named after her.
139 Nicoletta F Gullace, 'White Feathers and Wounded Men: Female Patriotism and the Memory of the Great War' *Journal of British Studies* 36.2 (1997), 187.
140 Gregson, 'A Territorial Battalion and its Home Towns', 49.
141 *CC* 13 November 1914.

outside during the summer, and a particularly large (though unsuccessful) one was held on Parker's Piece. The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee gets comparatively little press in Cambridgeshire; elsewhere it seems to have played a leading role.[142] Instead, a combination of the Ladies' Recruiting Committee and local magistrates took the lead in organising meetings.

Wounded officers and men were the most popular speakers, although not the most common. In Sussex, they were also used to great effect, though in more informal settings.[143] Accounts of the fighting were in great demand, and a meeting held at the Cambridge Union addressed by Captain Mowbray was reported in detail in the *CM* afterwards. Although not a recruiting meeting, the *CM* commented 'We trust that Captain Mowbray will soon be well enough to rejoin his Suffolks... and that sufficient University volunteers will be found to officer Kitchener's new armies.'[144] The realities of war service were not shied away from by veterans. Corporal Austin DCM of the Cambridgeshire Regiment described how the Cambridgeshire Regiment had 'lost heavily… and they wanted to fill the ranks.' The same week, Sergeant-Major Longley DCM of the Royal Engineers told his audience 'If you die, as so many of our comrades have done, those you leave behind will be cared for, and they, too, will be able to hand down to future generations the fact that dad gave his life for his King and Country, the noblest of causes'—not quite the message one would expect from a recruiting meeting![145]

Belgium was the focus of most speeches, both as a reason to enlist in itself and an illustration of what might happen to Britain if insufficient men volunteered. At Linton, for instance, the Vicar told those assembled that 'what had happened to Belgium was but a faint shadow of what they would like to do to us.'[146] The same theme was found in Corporal Austin's speech at the Playhouse in 1915, describing Ypres where 'the inhabitants

142 Ray Douglas, 'Voluntary Enlistment in the First World War and the Work of the Parliamentary Recruiting committee', *The Journal of Modern History* 42.4 (1970), 268.
143 Grieves, '"Lowther's Lambs"', 64.
144 *CM* 21 November 1914.
145 *CIP* 8 October 1915.
146 *CIP* 2 October 1914.

were living in it peacefully, but they did not stay long, for very soon the Germans began to bombard it and knock down the houses. How would they like that done in England?'[147] Good found a similar stress on Belgium in the national context.[148] Belgium's defence was equated with national honour and underlined Britain's duty to fight.

Besides national honour, there was local honour to satisfy. At a meeting in Soham, General Paget said 'Cromwell's Ironsides came from that part of the country, the men who broke down the divine right of kings, and gave a freedom which they had enjoyed since those days'.[149] This shows how the themes of local and national honour and patriotism could intertwine. Local honour worked both ways; Colonel Fortescue proceeded to tell the assembled crowd that 'there were 220 young men in Soham who ought to be with the colours that night… there were still 200 to come.'[150] Elsewhere Reverend C F Townley made a similar point, stating 'Fulbourn… had sent twelve recruits, but this was not nearly enough'.[151] The honour of a village could thus be used in both a positive and negative light. This local honour fitted within a county context, with the *CIP* in December describing the men of Cambridgeshire as 'descendants of Hereward's men, of Cromwell's men'.[152] Both of these historical examples were from the Isle of Ely, but as in 1916, when the 11th Suffolks first went overseas and a similar reference made to the reputation of Cambridgeshire men as fighting men that 'their forefathers won in the days of Cromwell and, later, during the Napoleonic wars', they were used for the county as a whole.[153] Thus local honour was often explicitly referred to, not simply in recruiting speeches, but also in the local press in the wider context of recruiting.

The importance of the recruiting meeting in actually encouraging enlistment was, at times, quite questionable. Good described recruiting meetings as being more of a forum for

147 *CIP* 8 October 1915.
148 Good, 'England Goes to War', 30.
149 *CIP* 4 September 1914.
150 *CIP* 4 September 1914.
151 *CIP* 25 September 1914.
152 *CIP* 11 December 1914.
153 *CIP* 5 February 1916.

local self-congratulation than as an actual vehicle for recruitment.[154] Gregory, however, has emphasised their importance.[155] The picture seems to be variable, depending on the time in the war and the nature of the meeting. Orwell's village news on 13 November stated that 'Harry Freestone, of this village, who has enlisted in Lord Kitchener's Army, is the first young man of the parish to join the colours since the recruiting meeting was held here on October 16th. It is to be hoped that his lead will be speedily followed by other young men of the parish.'[156] It is clear that, in Orwell at least, recruiting meetings were far from successful. However, not all were unsuccessful. A 'crowded and enthusiastic' meeting in Gamlingay saw ten men give their names in at the end of the meeting, with a further eleven the following day. They were taken together to Cambridge on Monday and were all accepted.[157] In Foxton the following week, a meeting saw eight names given in, and at Meldreth six enlisted in the wake of a meeting.[158] Even during the same week, however, some meetings were more successful than others for reasons that are not apparent. On the whole the number of recruits (if any) declined with the passing of time. In Essex, the number of meetings peaked after the recruiting boom had passed.[159] Cambridgeshire saw a wider chronological spread, but many, especially later attempts to reinvigorate recruiting, were noticeably unsuccessful in producing recruits. In this respect, Cambridgeshire matches more closely with the experience of Gwynedd, where for the first few months the meetings were popular without necessarily being successful. By May 1915, however, they were being boycotted.[160] There is no evidence of meetings being boycotted in Cambridgeshire, but attendance, and effectiveness, certainly declined.

Unquestionably crucial in persuading men to enlist was the local press. The *CIP* report on a 1915 recruiting rally noted that 'it is, of course, too early to give any idea of the

154 Good, 'England Goes to War', 135
155 Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 75.
156 *CIP* 13 November 1914.
157 *CIP* 4 September 1914.
158 *CIP* 11 September 1914.
159 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 136.
160 Parry, 'Gwynedd and the Great War', 85-90.

result of the Recruiting Rally at Cambridge on Saturday… An open air speech does not carry very far… The full effect of the speeches, therefore, cannot be established until they have been printed in the newspapers, where they are available to every person.'[161] Studies of Pals battalions have found time and again that the local press was a leading partner in recruiting, as in Accrington where appeals were published in the *Accrington Observer and Times*.[162] Although there may be a degree of distortion, in that the local press is one of the most important local sources, there is no doubt that the newspapers were eagerly sought and read throughout the war period.[163] Local newspapers carried direct appeals for recruits in the form of letters from prominent individuals, cartoons, and adaptations of posters. Reports on recruiting were allied with calls for more men. For instance, a report on recruiting for the 11th Suffolks ended 'recruits are wanted at once, and it behoves all who have the reputation of the county at heart to do all they can to bring the battalion up to full strength'.[164] The following week there was a lengthy report on training, again with the partial aim of encouraging more to enlist.[165] Besides the emphasis on the importance of the local news, here again reference to the county can be seen.

For the University, matters were slightly different, though the University was physically located in the town, and there was a degree of overlap between the two. Many students applied for commissions through the CUOTC, and lengthy reports on the CUOTC in University magazines served a similar purpose to those on the 11th Suffolks.[166] Peer pressure undoubtedly played a part in enlistment amongst students. As far as recruiters were concerned, the Colleges were full of eminently eligible young men, and numbers in residence dropped rapidly. In Michaelmas 1913, 3,263 undergraduates were in residence.

161 *CIP* 8 October 1915.
162 Turner, *Pals*, 27-28
163 For further discussion of the local press and local war news, see Chapter 5
164 *CIP* 2 October 1914.
165 *CIP* 9 October 1914.
166 *CM* throughout October and November 1914.

This fell to 1,658 in Michaelmas 1914, 825 in Michaelmas 1915, and by Michaelmas 1916 was down to just 444.[167]

The poster campaign is difficult to assess. The Parliamentary Recruiting Committee produced an enormous number of recruiting posters, and distributed them across the country. These were intended to sustain, rather than create, enthusiasm, and drew on advertising techniques.[168] However, as important in the village context were those posters which merely contained information on terms of enlistment. William Brand, Pampisford's postmaster, recorded notices he was given to exhibit, which seem to have been the information only ones, rather than the more famous pictorial appeals.[169] Also printed in the local newspapers, this information was a vital prerequisite for a man to choose to enlist. There is significant evidence that posters were put up across Cambridgeshire, on advertising hoardings, village noticeboards, and in shop windows and vans. In 1915, Mrs Clare and Mrs Pryor wrote to 130 firms, requesting that they display recruiting posters, all of which were to be distributed in a single day.[170] This was part of a late effort; in August 1914 posters were distributed by the chief constables, being conveyed to the Isle of Ely by motor cycle. The same week, they were also put up in the various colleges by a Fellow of Trinity College.[171] So much for their distribution, which must have occupied a considerable amount of time.

167 *Review* 18 October 1916. See Chapter 6 for more on the impact of the war on the University.
168 Nicholas Hiley, '"Kitchener Wants You" and "Daddy, what did You do in the Great War?": the myth of British recruiting posters' *Imperial War Museum Review* 11 (1997), 40-41.
169 ed. O. C. Mayo, *Journal from a Small Village: The Diary of Pampisford's Postmaster William John Brand 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2002), 9 August 1914, 14 August 1914, and 26 September 1914.
170 *CIP* 1 October 1915.
171 *CIP* 14 August 1914.

Illustration 68: CIP 4 December 1914

The posters themselves were objects of interest, particularly when defaced or taken down. Soham's billposter, Harry Pendle, was summoned for 'malicious damage to three notices', including 'Lord Kitchener's Appeal for a Second Regular Army'. These were put up on the parish noticeboard by Sergeant Haylock. Infuriated, Harry Pendle told Sergeant Haylock that he would 'take off all the b--- notices that were put on', demanding his sixpence per notice. The magistrate deemed it not malicious, but certainly serious, and fined £3 10s, including costs, or a month's imprisonment if he was unable to pay.[172] Profiteering above patriotism, perhaps, but there is no evidence that the posters were resented in any sufficient form to lead to them being torn down. There was a similar controversy in Duxford, following allegations that recruiting posters were being torn down. Rev Hogben, the local Congregational Minister, wrote indignantly to the *CIP:* 'I do not know who your correspondent may be… but he could have been better employed than in maligning our village… One would think, from your correspondent's remarks, that

172 *Newmarket Journal* 5 September 1914.

Duxford was opposed to recruiting.'[173] He insisted that the posters in question had not been ripped down as a marker of dissent from the war, but were instead badly stuck up on a windy corner—only natural that they would blow away. The fact that recruiting posters were used to make the point demonstrates how the posters became emblems of recruiting. Illustration 68, a cartoon from *Punch* reproduced in the *CIP*, and a passing comment in 1918, complaining about advertisements for the War Savings Committee showing 'that vulgarisation of the issues which was complained of when the first voluntary recruiting posters appeared' demonstrates how they became embedded in popular culture.[174]

Illustration 69: Postcard sent to Mrs E Johnson, of Ely, Cambridgeshire. Postmark date unclear but illustration dates it to the war period. Author's collection.

Tied to posters through many of their illustrations, a number of patriotic, pro-enlistment postcards circulated in Cambridgeshire during the war period. These illustrations show not only the popular adoption of recruiting messages and images by individuals, but also the many ways in which the recruiting message could be framed. The

173 *CIP* 7 May 1915.
174 *CIP* 4 December 1914; *CDN* 13 April 1918.

vast majority of the images were humorous. Illustration 71 was sent as a birthday card in 1917, suggesting that even when recruiting messages were on the front, their use could be entirely coincidental. However, Illustration 70, to a soldier stationed in Peterborough in 1915 carries the line ‘What do you think of this card of course I am proud of you’. Illustration 69, too, referenced the front, with the message: ‘Don’t try to swank old sport you ain’t quite so eager for the front’.[175] This small selection of postcards is illustrative of the way in which they were used.

Illustration 70: Postcard sent to Peterborough in 1915. Author's collection.

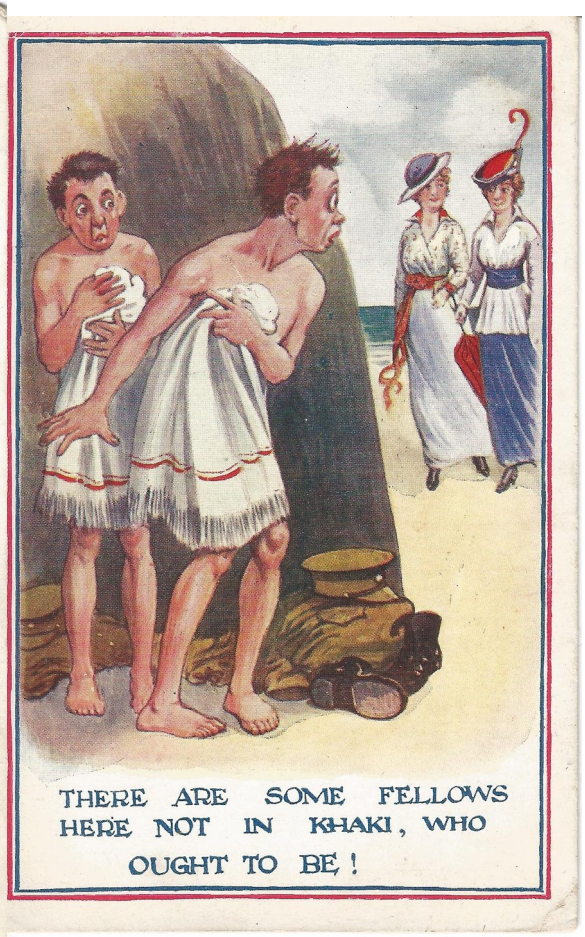


Illustration 71: Postcard sent to March in 1917. Author's collection.

175 Postcard sent to Mrs E Johnson, of Ely, Cambridgeshire. Postmark date unclear but illustration dates it to the war period. Author’s collection.

Contemporaries recognised that meetings and posters alone were not necessarily enough. The ideal was for the ineligible to become informal recruiters, a role also taken on by those who had already enlisted. In *How to Help Lord Kitchener*, readers were encouraged to 'try all the uses of persuasion, and legitimate verbal stimulation.'[176] In villages, this could take a pragmatic turn with the recruiter driving men to Cambridge to enlist. Although this smacks now of coercion, it must be remembered that for many the only other option would be to walk. Arthur Elbourn, a pre-war Territorial, 'had to report to Cambridge and his whole family walked part of the way with him… They went as far as the youngest child could walk.'[177] Doubtless they would have appreciated a lift.

Alongside personal recruiting, the attitude of the local elites undoubtedly played a part. In smaller towns like Colchester, the behaviour of the elite was noticeable.[178] In Devon, Batten argues that the local elites were 'essential intermediaries and campaigners for the arbitration of the war effort on a local level and for the mobilisation of the local population for the war.'[179] Participation in recruiting offered those unable to fight themselves a 'patriotic and visible substitute' for enlistment.[180] In Pampisford, William Brand made frequent comparisons between the attitude of his local squire and the Adeanes —when Private Day of Bourn Bridge was spotted by Mr Adeane, he was spoken to kindly and given half a sovereign for himself, and half a sovereign each for two other local men in his battalion. Jack, William's son, who had also enlisted, saw Mr Binney and got only a 'good morning.'[181] It is likely that at least some of the variations in village enlistment identified in Chapter 1 can be accounted for the attitude of the local gentry.

176 A J Dawson, *The Standard Book of How to Help Lord Kitchener* (London, 1914).
177 Tony Beeton, 'Account of Grandad Elbourn's Army Service', unpublished family history account, with thanks to Tony Beeton for sharing his research.
178 Robert Beaken, *The Church of England and the Home Front 1914-1918: Civilians, Soldiers and Religion in Wartime Colchester* (Woodbridge, 2015), 121.
179 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 50.
180 John Morton Osbourne, *The Voluntary Recruiting Movement in Britain, 1914-1916* (London, 1982), 25.
181 Mayo, *Diary of William John Brand*, 21 October 1914.

2.2 – Quantifying and Controlling Enlistment

Recruiting for the Armed Forces did not proceed as swiftly as some hoped. Nevertheless it caused considerable dislocation to industry, and in Cambridgeshire concerns were continually raised about the level of farm labour available, especially skilled labour.[182] There were equal concerns about the presence of slackers, and that certain trades or areas were not doing their fair share. These concerns led first to National Registration and the Derby Scheme, and ultimately to conscription. All three initiatives were efforts not merely to increase the number of recruits but to ensure that recruits were drawn from labour pools where they could be spared.

Local newspapers reveal a fascination with the numbers and statistics of recruiting. Under "Local War Intelligence", for instance, the *CC* reported: 'Now the harvest is over a lot of young fellows from the surrounding villages are offering themselves for enlistment. The numbers sent off each day this week have been:--Monday, 56, Tuesday 18, Wednesday, 59, and Thursday 32. Since August 10th, 371 recruits have enlisted in Cambridgeshire.'[183] The *CIP* carried similar reports. But it was not just a concern with the number of recruits from the county as a whole; as the voluntary period continued, the figures began to be split between the Borough and the villages. In the University, there was a less explicit competition between the colleges, but comparative figures were still printed, illustrating the reduction in the number in residence term by term.[184] This comparative approach arguably laid the foundation for both the Derby Scheme and conscription, an early attempt to ensure, or at least to investigate, equality of sacrifice.

From the start comments were made on the level of patriotism shown by particular villages. This was particularly true of the *CC* which published stories from mid-August on the patriotism of various families ('Seven Brothers for the Front' and 'Patriotic Professor'

182 See Chapter 1 for the actual statistical picture.
183 *CC* 4 September 1914.
184 The *Review* published these in the second week of every term.

for instance); by early September local Rolls of Honour appeared under headings like 'Well Done Bourn', 'Histon Footballers for the Front' and 'Ickleton's Patriotism'.[185] Though not explicitly comparing villages, the implication was there. Certain villages were seen to be doing particularly well, and from November 1914 the *CIP* began printing the number per village who had enlisted that week at the head of its 'Roll of Honour'.[186]

At the end of May, the *CIP* took this one step further, and produced an explicit comparison of villages in the Linton district, asking whether the country lads were 'hanging back'. The number enlisted in each village was compared with the 1911 population to give the percentage who had enlisted. 'In view of the disappointing results in certain localities of the various recruiting efforts... the following figures showing the number of men serving… at the present time are interesting and instructive. It will be seen that West Wickham heads the list with the percentage of 11.3, and that Horseheath is at the opposite extremity with 1.9.'[187] On 16 July 1915, this was extended to every village in Cambridgeshire, though the Borough was not included as it was proving 'an arduous affair' to tabulate the Borough information. This used the male population as its basis for the percentage enlisted.[188] The production of the list, which involved the collection and collation of information on 153 parishes, was a significant undertaking, and the fact that it was carried out points to its importance to contemporaries. A similar comparative approach was found in Devon by Batten, with the shaming of 'backwards' parishes in local newspapers.[189] On a national level, the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee found that the lowest enlistment rate was in East Anglia, with 80 enlistments per 10,000 (the second lowest being the West Country with 88 per 10,000).[190] There was a perceived lack of

185 *CC* 4 September 1914; *CC* 11 September 1914.
186 *CIP* November 1914.
187 *CIP* 21 May 1915.
188 *CIP* 16 July 1915.
189 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 96
190 Gale, 'The West Country and the First World War', 70

patriotism in some parishes, as illustrated by lower enlistment percentages, and the tables backed this up.[191]

This concept was taken one step further in the *Cambridge Petty Sessional Roll of Honour* (Chesterton Rural District), with the number of males being listed by age group. In the introduction, Tebbutt suggested that to work out whether a village has done its share, one simply compared the number of names with the number of men of approximate military age in the village.[192] Arguably this concern as to which villages were and were not doing their share underpin the notion of 'equality of sacrifice' which Hallifax argued was the underlying principle of decisions taken by tribunals during the conscription period.[193] In March 1915, William Brand recorded the request of Mr Binney to look at the Roll of Honour, 'as the Cambridge Recruiting Committee had requested him to give a list of eligible men in Pampisford who had not volunteered.'[194] The explicit intention to use the Roll of Honour to identify 'slackers' is particularly interesting given the timing—this predated even the Derby Scheme. It shows the interaction of local and national concerns, the need to obtain more recruits made intensely personal. The early concern with village comparisons suggests that it was not a development during the war bur rather something that, in public discourse at least, ran throughout.[195]

In the University, there was less of a competitive spirit, but the *Review* did publish the percentage who were missing from amongst the undergraduates. Assuming that there would be the same number of undergraduates in residence in 1914 as there were in 1913 but for the war, the University as a whole showed a contribution of around fifty percent. The percentages for individual colleges they worked out and ranked from highest to lowest: 'Pembroke 71; Jesus 65; Clare 62; King's 59; Trinity 59; Trinity Hall 57; Caius 56; Corpus Christi 53; Magdalene 47; Christ's 44; Selwyn 42; Emmanuel 39; Peterhouse 39;

191 See Chapter 1 for more on the recruiting rates in different parishes.
192 Tebbutt, *Petty Sessional Division of Cambridge Roll of Service*.
193 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 159.
194 Mayo, *Diary of William John Brand*, 20 March 1915.
195 See Chapter 1 for more on village comparisons.

St John's 39; Downing 38; Queens' 37; Sidney Sussex 36; St Catherine's 26.'[196] Several weeks later, the editor acknowledged that some complaints had been received, but responded that they based their figures on lists from College Authorities.[197] In May 1915, an analysis of those in residence concluded that although the outward flow of undergraduates continued, and 'every college may seek with patriotic pride the ideal of being included in the category of 'smaller colleges'--still it is satisfactory to note that supplies have not been completely cut off, and that even at this stage of the academical year some colleges have won new recruits or added to their numbers those coming up to take degrees.'[198] Thus, although the *Review* did offer some comparisons, the numbers were not produced in the same way (the war list included alumni, which would make percentage comparisons even more difficult).

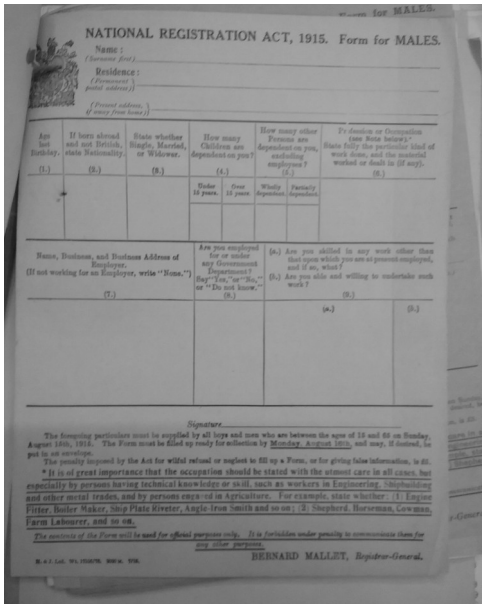
Illustration 72: CWN 18 June 1916

For employers, the number from their firm who had enlisted was used to highlight patriotic credentials. Employer Rolls of Honour were actually nothing new; during the Territorial Recruiting Week, lists of 'patriotic employers' who had agreed to allow their employees to join the Territorials were printed as a 'Roll of Honour'.[199] During the early months of the First World War, employer Rolls of Honour became instead lists of men from particular firms who had enlisted.[200] Shortly after the war, the Cambridge University Press printed a full Roll of Honour, containing a number of pictures, to give a record of the firm's

196 *Review* 21 October 1914.
197 *Review* 11 November 1914.
198 *Review* 5 May 1915.
199 *CIP* 9 January 1914.
200 There are a large number of these in the *CC* in September and October 1914.

war service.[201] These were used during the war as part of advertising campaigns, as in Illustration 72.[202] By highlighting their patriotic credentials, stores could tap into the wider discourse of duty.

The increasing interest in which villages were (and were not) doing their share tied in almost exactly with the National Registration Act, which was passed on 15 July 1915. In Histon, it was reported that the delivery of registration papers 'caused a good deal of comment. One enumerator when delivering his papers in Page's Close had the grim experience of being bitten by a dog. Luckily it was not a serious wound.'[203] The work of delivering and compiling the registers was done mainly by volunteers, many of them women. Although subsequently connected to the Derby Scheme, the Act covered both men and women, and included those over and under military age. Concerns had been consistently raised amongst farmers that there were too few men on the land to adequately cultivate it, and the same concerns were seen in other industries. A number of skilled engineers from the Accrington Pals, for instance, were sent back to civilian life in July 1915.[204] In effect a census of the working population only, it entailed the registration of everyone (male or female) between the ages of 15 and 65. Its portrayal as a census, and the insistence that it was not intended as anything more than a stock-taking exercise, was tied to concerns that this was conscription by stealth. The intention was to enable the better use of manpower by highlighting both surpluses and surfeits.[205] This then meant certain classes of occupations


NATIONAL REGISTRATION ACT, 1915. Form for MALES.

Name:

Residence:

Signature

BERNARD MALLET, Registrar-General.

Illustration 73: Specimen registration paper RG 900/1

201 War Record of the Cambridge University Press 1914-1919 (Cambridge, 1920).
202 *CWN* 18 June 1916.
203 *CIP* 13 August 1915.
204 Turner, *Pals*, 87.
205 Rosemary Elliot, 'An Early Experiment in National Identity Cards: The Battle over Registration in the First World War' *Twentieth Century British History* (2006), 149-150.

could be 'starred', and those who followed them refused permission to enlist for immediate service, and this principle carried over into the Derby Scheme.

The Derby Recruiting Scheme was personal recruiting, always considered the most effective method of encouraging men to enlist, carried to its logical extreme, and sat as a half-way point between voluntarism and conscription. Although a national scheme, it had clear antecedents in Cambridgeshire, suggesting that the scheme was not merely imposed by the government. Hallifax argued that it saw the shift from local elites promoting volunteering to ensuring equality of sacrifice.[206] Silbey described it as a 'public spectacle' to 'assure the supposedly restive working-class that the voluntary system was being given every chance.'[207] What the Derby Scheme hoped to achieve therefore was either a justification for conscription, or to render it unnecessary by having sufficient volunteers ready and willing to come *in their turn* (i.e. in an order based on first marital status, then age, with some shifted back if their work was deemed to be of national importance).

The first task of the Derby Scheme was to find recruiters; this proved far from straightforward. Meetings were held under the auspices of the Parliamentary Recruiting Committee to recruit recruiters. The Mayor, addressing the Borough Recruiting Committee, said that 'nobody could have read the King's message [appealing for recruits] without feeling that the existence of the Empire and of the nation was at stake more so than it was considered to be at the outset of the war, when the motto was, "Business as usual." That, he considered, was an unwise remark because it proved to have been wrong… We were fighting for our life as an Empire, and under such circumstances business could not be as usual. The country had made enormous sacrifices, but it was quite clear… that the end was not in sight, and that being so, they had to make still deeper sacrifices.'[208] He proceeded to appeal for canvassers, and this meeting illustrates the progressive escalation in what Britain was fighting for (national 'life' rather than just 'honour), and in the groups

206 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 159
207 Silbey, *The British Working Class and Enthusiasm for War*, 36
208 *CIP* 22 October 1915.

involved in the effort. The appeal was spreading from young men to fight to incorporate the older men in the war effort, if only as recruiters.

Despite the appeals, the Derby Scheme was far from popular in Cambridgeshire. As with most matters involving recruiting, prominent locals were expected to take the lead. But finding canvassers was difficult. Hanslip Long, who undertook the canvassing in Balsham, died shortly afterwards, and the *CCDM* commented 'He never shirked what seemed to be his duty, because that duty was hard or irksome. Only a few months ago he undertook a piece of work which nobody desired to do—that of recruiting under Lord Derby's scheme. It was disagreeable because this parish had already given most of its men of military age, but he carried through his part successfully, because, as he said "somebody must do it."'[209] Barrington proved even worse off. Described as 'Backward Barrington', the *CIP* remarked that 'what is chiefly wrong is that no one in the village can be induced to undertake the canvassing of unstarred men'.[210] The denigration in the press proved effective; the following week a report was made that the 'foul alliteration' of 'Backwards Barrington' could no longer apply. Canvassers had been found (admittedly from near the village, not actually resident in it), and they wrote in stating that fifty-two had enlisted prior to the canvas, and that all but two of the men who were canvassed had offered to enrol.[211]

209 *CCDM* February 1916
210 *CIP* 26 November 1915.
211 *CIP* 3 December 1915.

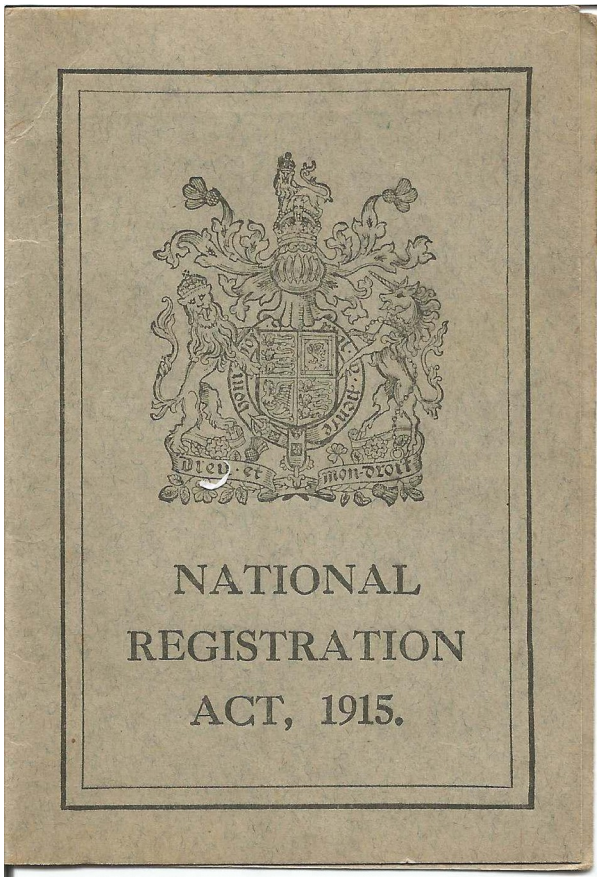


Illustration 75: National Registration Card of Percy Mallyon (Front). Author's Collection

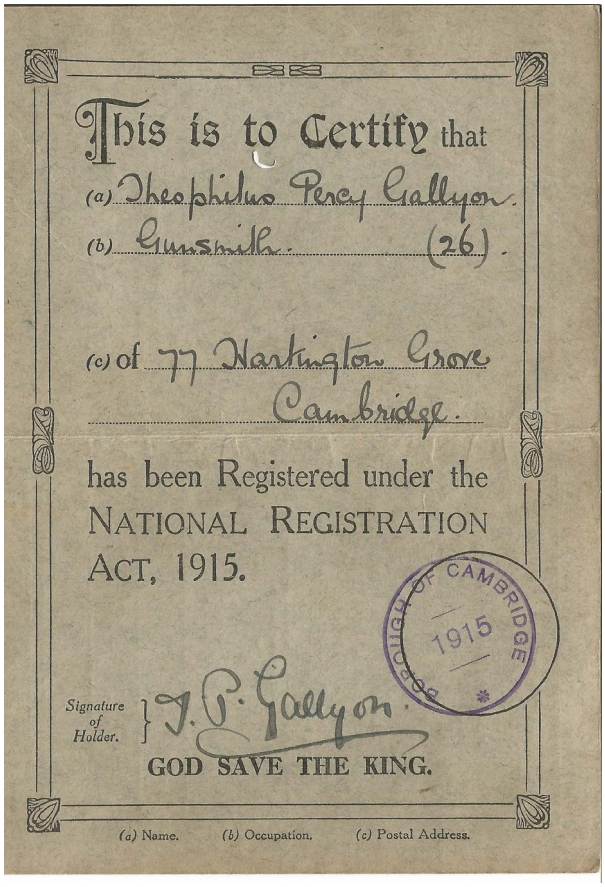


Illustration 74: National Registration Card of Percy Mallyon (Interior). Author's Collection

It was not just that the actual going round to each man deemed eligible was a thankless task; the system of 'starring' was considered inequitable. Lord Selborne of the Board of Agriculture issued a statement as the Derby Scheme got under way, emphasising that at least some farmers were needed to stay at home, in order to avoid 'many of the best farms in the country [being] laid down to grass, thus diminishing the productivity of the land at a time when it is essential it should be increased.' He went on to refer to agricultural workers too, stating that the classes of worker which had been starred 'will in no case be enlisted for immediate service with the colours'.[212] It was this which caused the trouble. The *CIP* reported that starring was 'causing a great deal of dissatisfaction in the parishes, and men are declaring that they do not see why they should be badgered to enlist when so-and-so, who is no more entitled to be exempt than they, is not being called upon…. The

212 *CIP* 19 October 1915.

principal trouble, it is stated, is with regard to farmer's sons who have claimed exemption.'[213] The same concerns about starring were found in Devon, Essex, and Pembrokeshire.[214] The trouble with farmer's sons did not end with the Derby Scheme. Complaints about their inequitable position continued into the conscription period.

However, farmers were trying to fulfil two incompatible aims, being urged to produce more food, while simultaneously being ordered to give up their workers. This caused a certain amount of tension. One farmer who appeared before a Tribunal to appeal for three of his six sons, none of whom had attested, was said to have been abusive towards the canvassers. A Tribunal member remarked that 'this was the kind of case they had heard a lot about, farmers keeping their sons from attesting', but as far as farmers were concerned they were doing their duty in producing food for the country.[215] A similar attitude was prevalent in Devon, where farmers used a discourse of patriotism that stressed food production, providing them with the means to continue in their peace time occupation.[216] In the same county, White found evidence of farmers and the rural community responding with aggression to recruiters.[217]

It was not just the farmers who were frustrated; the *CM* throughout November 1915 voiced concerns about the position of medical students, and continued: 'according to the policy of indiscriminate recruiting amongst special groups which has just been inaugurated, University men as a body are being approached in their rooms in College and elsewhere by the local recruiting agents, generally with a view to persuading them to enlist as privates in infantry regiments.'[218] Naturally, as far as University men were concerned, they should be enlisting instead as officers, and this would be done through the University. There was also an undertone of anger against the invasion of privacy.

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213 *CIP* 26 October 1915.
214 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 110; White, 'War and the Home Front', 100; Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 258; Hancock, 'The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire', 173.
215 *CIP* 10 March 1916.
216 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 113.
217 White, 'Early recruitment efforts in Devonshire', 642.
218 . *CM* 20 November 1915.

As a way of avoiding conscription, the Derby Scheme was a complete failure; that may have been its point. Insufficient men attested, and at least some of those who did attest appear to have done so with the intention of not enlisting. A humorous account of a dinner party in the *CM* illustrates this view. 'I pass on to the great Derby panic. It had, as you all know, its ironic side—particularly the vast number of married men who attested with unction, never dreaming for a moment that they would ever be called up, and that the post-dated cheques which they had signed so fluently would ever actually be presented at the bank of their own lives.'[219] Within the town, a case at the Borough Tribunal led to a member remarking that it seemed William Hobbs had 'attested not because you wanted to help your country, but because you didn't want to help.'[220] However, although not popular locally it is interesting to note that many of the methods employed prior to the Derby Scheme (using rolls of honour to identify shirkers, for instance) were very similar. Following the disappointing results of the Derby Scheme, conscription followed almost as a matter of course.

219 *CM* 18 November 1915.
220 *CIP* 25 February 1916.

2.3 – Conscription

The local implementation of conscription led to variations in decisions across the county, never mind the country. In comparing Britain and New Zealand, Littlewood found that the former's traditions of localism and de-centralism produced a system with far less central control, and argued that the same factor makes it difficult to generalise as to whether British tribunals prioritised military or civilian needs.[221] Despite their prominent place in the literature, the actual numbers of conscientious objectors who appeared before tribunals were comparatively small.[222] When conscientious objectors are excluded, recent studies of the tribunal system have found that local tribunals were reluctant to send men to war.[223] Barlow argues that this shows an underlying lack of support for the war.[224] However, this does not necessarily follow. Instead, it seems to show a conflict between national and local needs, the difficulty of prioritising one over the other, and an awareness that the war effort could not be measured in soldiers alone.

The introduction of conscription did not entirely remove agency from individuals. Although often unable to prevent their ultimate enlistment, the tribunal system gave them, and their employers, the opportunity to protest their worth, or simply to protest. Thus, although Bet-El argues that conscription made men passive numbers within a vast bureaucracy, the number who appealed shows that men still played an active part in their transfer to the Army.[225] Roughly half the men called up appealed; this equally means that roughly half did not, and as newspaper accounts do not seem to attach any particular shame to appearing before a Tribunal on business, family or agricultural grounds, those who did not appeal must be seen as at least marginally willing.[226]

221 Littlewood, 'The Tool and Instrument of the Military?', 147 and 154.
222 See Chapter 6.
223 Grieves, 'Military Tribunal Paper', 150.
224 Robin Barlow, 'Military Tribunals in Carmarthenshire, 1916-1917' in eds Nick Mansfield and Craig Horner, *The Great War: Localities and Regional Identities* (Newcastle, 2014), 24.
225 Bet-El, *Conscripts*, 27-30.
226 Littlewood, 'The Tool and Instrument of the Military?', 102; McDermott, 'Military Service Tribunals in Northamptonshire', 34.

Public opposition to conscription was limited, though not absent. The local Liberal Sir George Fordham publicly resigned his membership in opposition to conscription, though this was not well received by his fellow Liberals, who asked him to reconsider.[227] All Saints' Church was leafleted by an undergraduate at the close of a Sunday night service in February 1916, with a pamphlet which 'declared that conscription was to be resisted because the Government were not trying to crush Germany by it but to crush labour.' The vicar took to the parish magazine to both protest the unnamed undergraduate's behaviour and refute his arguments.[228] On the whole, however, conscription was greeted with resignation over enthusiasm or protest.

From its inception, the Military Service Act(s) (MSA) was designed not merely to increase the number of men in the army, but also to prevent loss of men from vital industries. Conscription made the transfer of labour from industry to the army harder, and was above all an exercise in national efficiency.[229] As early as September 1916, the War Office was criticising the low yield from conscription, and blamed, amongst other matters, the tribunals for 'congestion, local influence, sentiment, tendency to criticise instead of administering the law, in some cases bribery.'[230] The system itself was remarkably complicated, and behind the Tribunals lay a labyrinth of local recruiting officers, card indexes, advisory bodies, and competing jurisdictions (badging, starring, and interference by other committees the main elements). Collectively these meant more men were exempted outside the tribunal system than within it.[231] Industries or employers with large numbers of men badged could cause resentment—in Gwynedd these concerns centred around the docks.[232] In Cambridgeshire, opprobrium was largely reserved for farmer's sons, though there were also some tensions over the construction of Duxford airbase.

227 *CIP* 25 February 1916.
228 *ASPM* February 1916.
229 Winter, *The Great War and the British People*, 41.
230 NATS 1/326.
231 Littlewood, 'The Tool and Instrument of the Military?', 121.
232 Parry, 'Gwynedd and the Great War', 110

Manpower policy itself was not static, and was informed by the military and political situation at a national level. There was no single manpower policy which operated throughout the war.[233] These national decisions, and the instructions sent to local tribunals, mean that although individual cases were judged at a local level, the priorities were set nationally. A huge number of documents produced by the Ministry of National Service (the NATS series at the National Archives) illustrate the competing priorities.[234] By 1918, fears about the manpower situation were increasing dramatically, and the Army had been pushed to the bottom of the priority list.[235] The Minister of National Service circulated a memorandum whereby he stated that War Cabinet demands 'cannot be met in full. I estimate that the total recruitment for 1918 cannot much exceed 700,000 men in all without shattering industry and severely crippling our whole war effort.'[236] Thus, the locally visible conflict between the agricultural representative and civilian interests on one hand, and the military or national service representative on the other, were reflections of a national debate over competing claims for manpower.

The Tribunals themselves were staffed by prominent local men, with a set of district Tribunals and a County Appeal Tribunal which alternated sittings between Cambridge and Ely. During a difficult discussion, one member remarked that: 'they were there to do their duty, and they were going to do it as far as they could without fear or favour of anybody'.[237] This comment shows how, although criticism can certainly be made of individuals (in Cambridge, Alderman Bester took a particularly aggressive line), on the whole members tried to be fair and impartial. The role was not popular, with sittings often lasting late into the night. Besides the local worthies was a Military Representative, and, in rural districts and on the Appeal Tribunal, an agricultural representative. These last two

233 R J Q Adams and Philip P Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy in Great Britain, 1900 – 1918* (Basingstoke, 1987), 250; see also Keith Grieves, *The Politics of Manpower* (Manchester, 1988) for an analysis of manpower policies throughout the war.
234 E.g. NATS 1/5, NATS 1/225, NATS 1/227, NATS 1/241, NATS 1/242, NATS 1/282, NATS 1/326, NATS 1/329, NATS 1/427, NATS 1/462, NATS 1/472, NATS 1/473, NATS 1/474, NATS 1/475, NATS 1/476.
235 Adams and Poirier, *The Conscription Controversy*, 225.
236 NATS 1/227.
237 *CIP* 22 December 1916.

frequently came into conflict. During a case in December 1916, the Agricultural Representative brought up the labour scale agreed between the two bodies, only to be told that ‘that is only for our guidance, it does not bind us’, and leading to a good deal of acrimony in the papers.[238] Two weeks later, there was a ‘breezy discussion’ after the Agricultural Representative reported his military counterpart to the Local Government Board.[239]

Taking the work of the Tribunals as a whole, matters consistently boiled down to the question of how best to serve the national interest. Key within individual cases were age and physical fitness (i.e. how useful a man would be within the Army); marital status and family; importance to agriculture or other work of ‘national importance’; and finally the fact of other sacrifices made by either the family or employer. Although localism led to considerable variation, these themes have been found across recent studies of tribunals. Thus, while specific weightings differed, and a case considered good enough by one tribunal at one point in the war might well be insufficient elsewhere or at another time, the guiding themes and principles within which decisions were made appear to be comparable.[240]

The presentation of cases stressed the role of the employer or parent. The number of cases where a man appealed for himself were comparatively few, as shown in Illustrations 76 and 77. When unknown cases are taken out (Illustration 77), over half of appeals were made by employers. Placing the applicant first, followed by the man for whom he was appealing, makes the individual whose life was at stake appear passive. In one case, Private W Bendall of the 9 Royal West Kents wrote to the Borough Tribunal ‘I would like to know who applied for an exemption for me as I gave no one permission

238 *CIP* 8 December 1916.
239 *CIP* 22 December 1916.
240 Littlewood, 'The Tool and Instrument of the Military?’; James McDermott, 'The Work of the Military Service Tribunals in Northamptonshire'; Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 210-218; Grieves, ‘Military Tribunal Papers’; Philip and Julie Spinks, *First World War Military Service Tribunals: Warwick District Appeal Tribunal 1916-1918* (2017).

to.'[241] However, some employees may have influenced the decisions of their employers as to who to appeal for. The motor garage proprietors Wallis and Easton applied for one or the other to be totally exempted, and seem to have decided between themselves who would go.[242] Linguistically, the words 'take' and 'taken' appear time and again. The implication is of a degree of violence, certainly unwillingness. Bet-El argues perceptions of conscripts stemmed from the volunteer period, when the discourse of newspapers and posters stressed that those who failed to volunteer were not heroes.[243] However, although casualty reports after conscription began sometimes mention that men had enlisted at the beginning of the war, the Roll of Honour ceased to mean volunteers, and became instead for casualties.

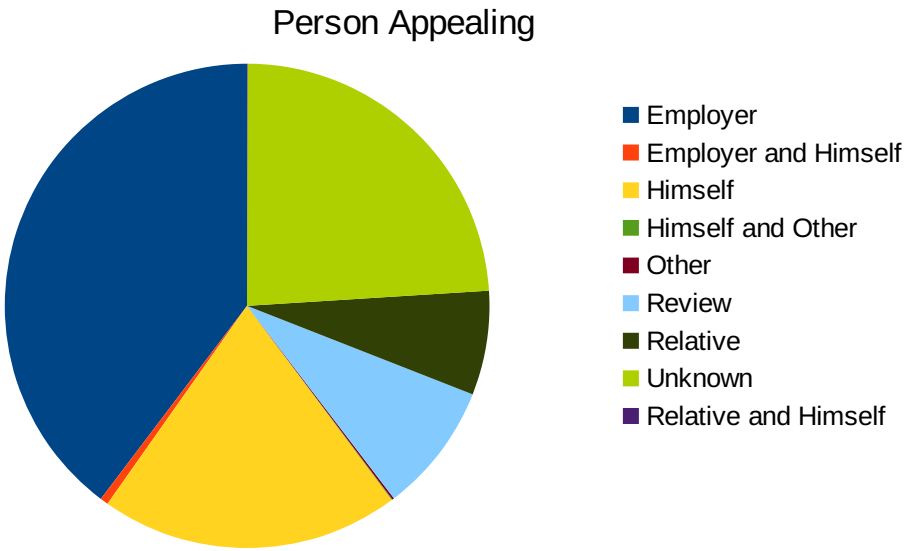


Illustration 76: Applications to the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals, showing who appealed

241 *CIP* 24 March 1916.
242 *CIP* 12 May 1916.
243 Bet-El, *Conscripts*, 2

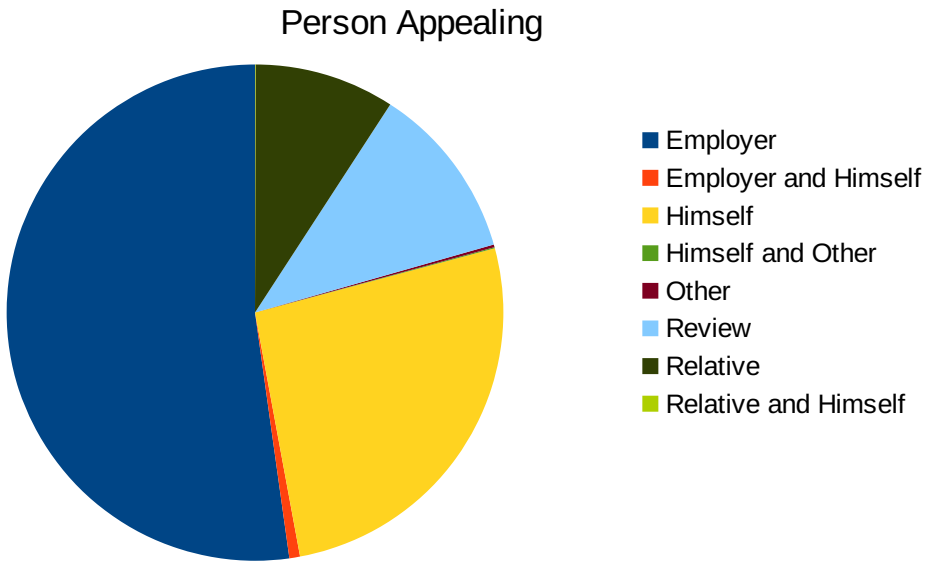


Illustration 77: Applications to the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals, showing who appealed in cases where the applicant is known

Age, marital status and physical fitness played a key role both in the presentation of cases and in decisions. Nathanial Axtell was appealed for by Mrs Myers, who stated: 'It is not for what he does that I appeal, but because he is unfit… I do think a man who is practically an invalid should not be sent without having a sound and proper medical examination.'[244] This complaint about the cursory nature of the medical examination was far from unique, there being ample evidence in other Cambridgeshire cases, and in Northamptonshire.[245] Arthur Harries, working at the paper mill in Whittlesford, appealed 'on the ground that a single man who worked with him had been fully exempted'.[246] Although unsuccessful, his attitude is illustrative. More successfully, Frederick Trundley applied for exemption for his work on ten acres of market garden. In granting a three month exemption, the Chairman remarked 'we do not consider this a strong case. The chief thing in his favour is his age.'[247] From the opposite perspective, two eighteen-year-olds who appeared before the Borough Tribunal in March 1916 were given no exemption, in

244 *CIP* 8 December 1916.
245 McDermott, 'Military Service Tribunals in Northamptonshire', 203.
246 *CIP* 21 April 1916.
247 *CIP* 7 July 1916.

each case the decision being 'on account of his age.'[248] This attitude reflected wider concerns which could portray the enlistment of a married man as dereliction of family duty.[249] Illustrations 78 and 79 show the marital status of applicants—a far higher number of married men appealed.

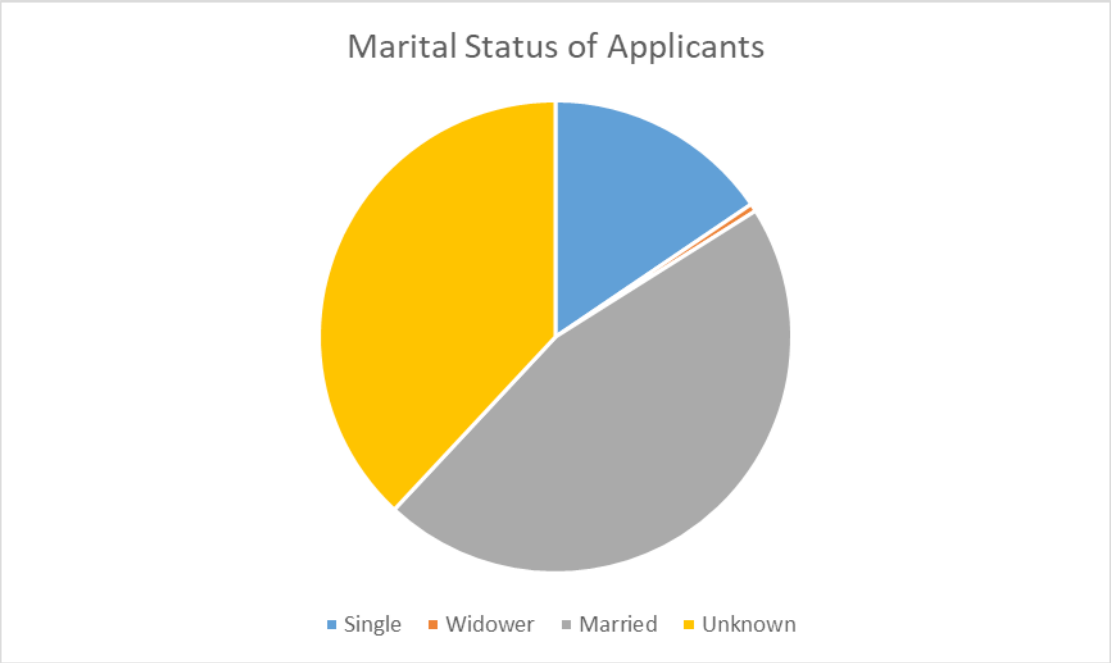


Illustration 78: Marital status of Tribunal applicants - a significant proportion are unknown.

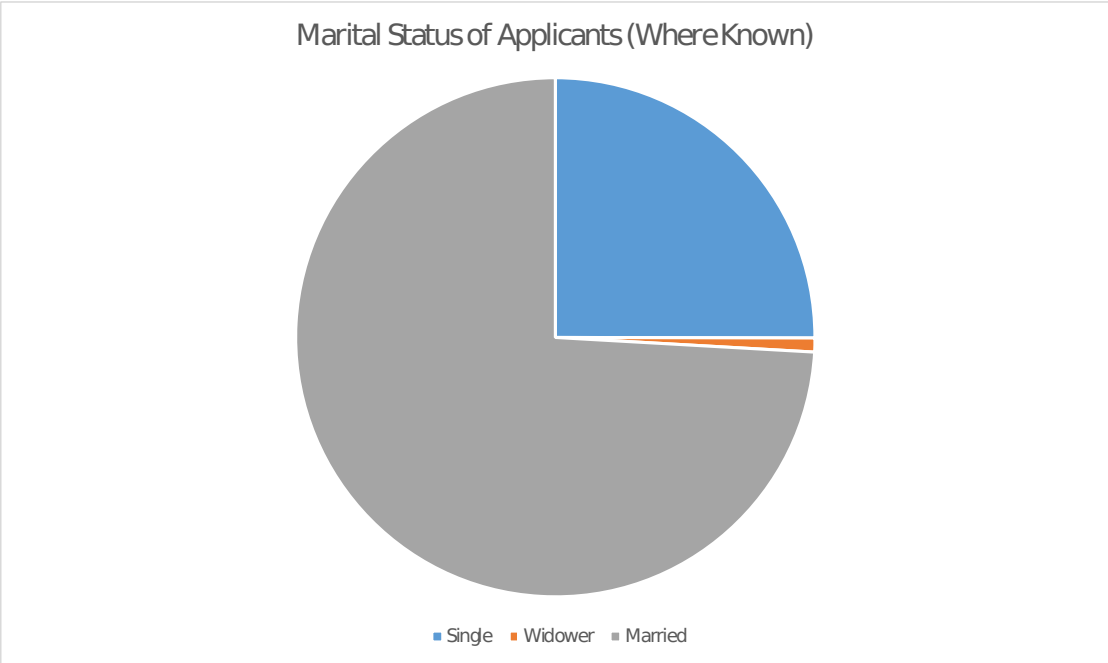


Illustration 79: Marital status of Tribunal applicants - excluding those cases where the marital status is unknown makes the proportions particularly noticeable.

248 *CIP* 9 March 1917.
249 Van Emden, *The Quick and the Dead*, 20; Hanna, 'Private Lives', 7.

In both the Borough and the rural districts, cases heard on occupational grounds were dominant. Illustration 80 shows an overview, combining cases heard on agricultural and business grounds as being both related primarily to occupation. The proportion did not vary significantly over the course of the war, although there were periods when a higher proportion were not reported in sufficient detail to be sure as to why the appeal was being made. This can be seen in Illustration 81.

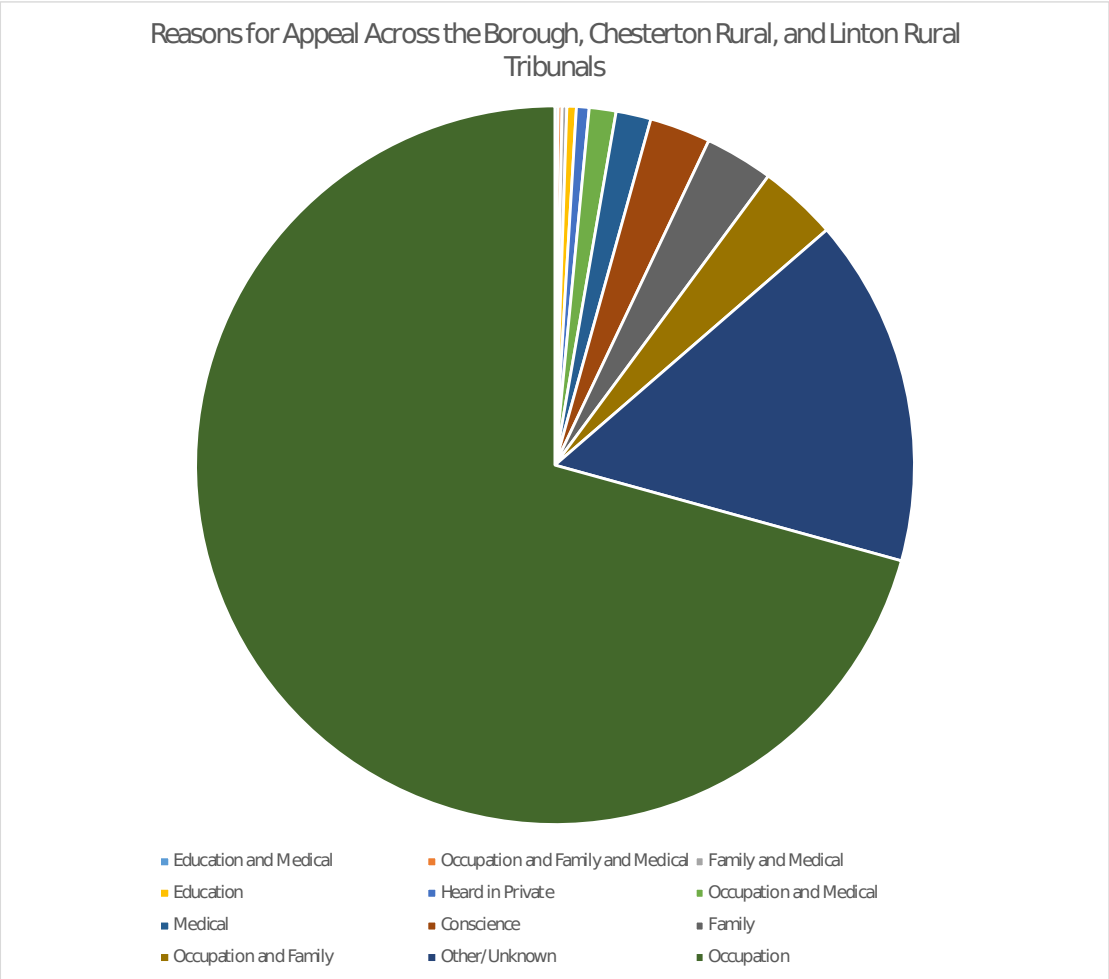


Illustration 80: Reasons for appeal in the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals, throughout the conscription period

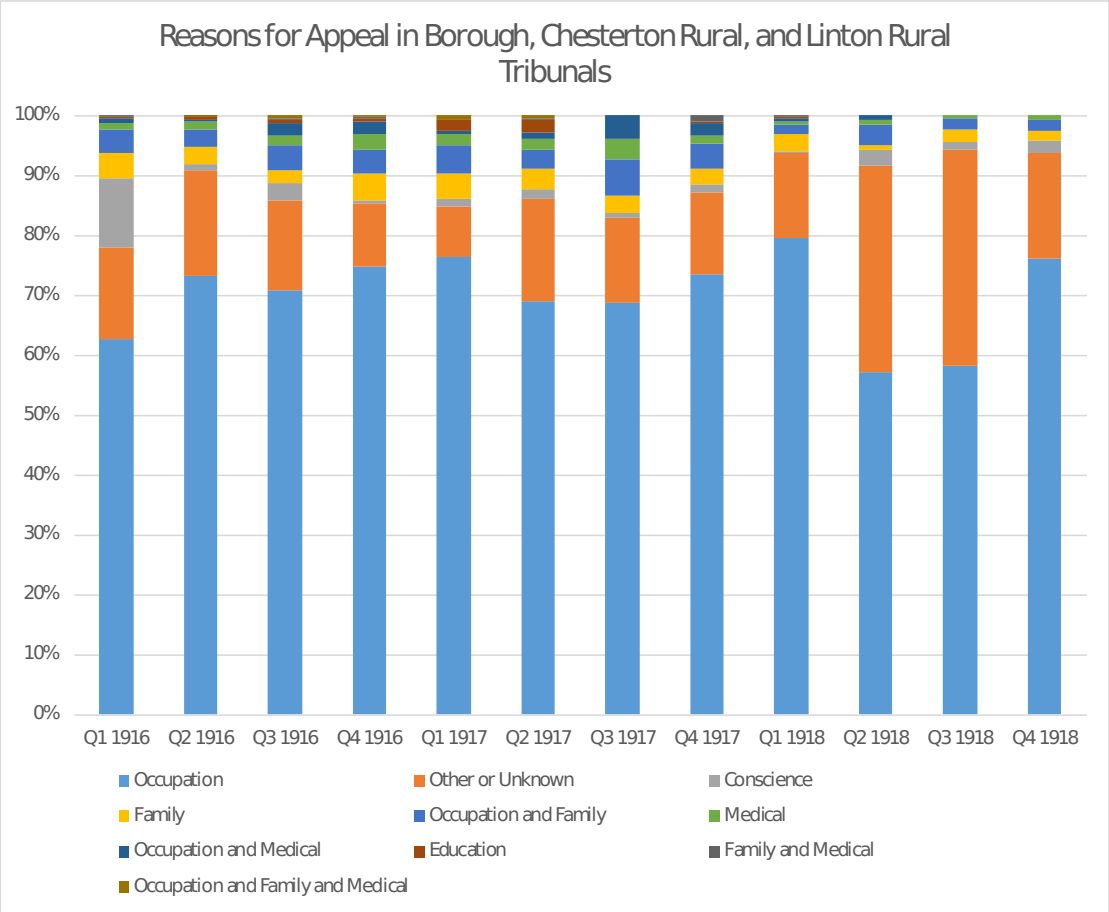


Illustration 81: Reasons for appeal as a proportion of cases heard per quarter in the Borough, Chesterton Rural, and Linton Rural Tribunals

In Cambridgeshire as a whole, agricultural cases dominated. The treatment of farmers' sons came in for a good deal of attention, and was often seen as inequitable. The perception may not have been so far off the mark. Mr Tupling applied for his son, Frank, and an employee, Frederick Edwards. His son's case was heard first, and dismissed with no exemption. When Frederick's came up, the Tribunal decided to give Mr Tupling the choice as to which he would prefer. He responded: 'I'll soon settle that sir, my son of course.'[250] Before cases even reached the Tribunal, farmers and their sons were in a more favourable position. They were considered more important in the list of starred occupations, and in making a decision about who to apply for, a farmer would naturally choose himself and his family above his employees.

Although often treated favourably, this was not always the case, particularly if there was more than one son or the holding was smaller. William Gimbert was applied for by his

250 *CIP* 12 May 1916.

father who had 47 acres and kept pigs, and falls on the borderline between farmer and smallholder (this has been taken to be 50 acres, unless, as in this case, there was a significant amount of livestock). The initial application was unsuccessful, and so was the appeal.[251] S S Rowley was also unsuccessfully applied for by his father when the military appealed his exemption. Mr Rowley (sen) claimed his son was necessary for farming and seed-growing, and spent all his spare time volunteering for the VAD. Lieutenant Ollard however argued that 'repute' labelled him a 'joy-rider' and 'slacker', continuing that the farm was overstaffed according to the scale. Mr Rowley (sen) retorted 'I don't recognise the scale, nor does the Tribunal, judging from what I find in the papers.' It was to no avail; the military appeal was allowed, though he was given a grace period of a month before being called up.[252] E G Lister of Fen Ditton applied for three sons, and the decision was given, in order of their age from youngest to oldest, none, one month, three months, whereupon applicant 'said he would prefer losing his eldest son,' and the Tribunal agreed to allow him this, varying the exemptions to one month, three months and none.[253]

In other agricultural cases, much depended upon the precise situation of the farm, with local knowledge often playing a part, either as related to the difficulty of the land or the farmer's previous record. When S W Crawley applied for his horsekeeper the Tribunal was told that he had given half a sovereign to each of his men who enlisted at the outbreak of war. Now there remained only Jacobs and four others. The Military Representative was duly impressed, and agreed at once to exemption.[254] But, as the war continued, even previous sacrifices were not necessarily enough to keep specific men, and a substitution scheme was instituted. This meant that if a man could be replaced by someone less useful to the Army, he should be. Chesterton Tribunal's Chairman stressed that a substitute was sent 'not for his own convenience or advantage, but to assist his country in the war', and in marginal cases, exemption could be given conditional on a certain number of hours work

251 *CIP* 4 November 1916.
252 *CIP* 15 December 1916.
253 *CIP* 24 March 1916.
254 *CIP* 17March 1916.

as a substitute.[255] Working the other way, younger, fitter men were often given no exemption, but ‘not to be called until a suitable substitute is provided’. This wording highlights a number of issues that arose with the substitution scheme, the largest of which was the ‘suitability’ of the substitute. Substitutes were less fit for military duty, either by reason of age, medical condition, or both. This equally meant that they were usually less effective labourers. Moreover, their actual ability to work on a farm was often questionable. Alexander Towler, who applied for two men at the Borough Tribunal, acknowledged that he had been given a substitute, but the substitute ‘had had no experience on the land’, other than feeding horses at harvest while a schoolboy. The Borough Tribunal, unaccustomed to agricultural cases, deliberately gave an unsatisfactory decision to allow for an appeal—the Appeal Tribunal had the agricultural representative that the Borough lacked.[256] The delay could therefore be considerable, satisfying few—the military dissatisfied by dint of not receiving the man they'd been promised, the farmer and the farm worker because of the uncertainty the condition entailed.

In the Borough, cases varied from multiple applications from large employers, through sole traders who feared the loss of their business. Amongst the latter was Alfred Matthews, a hairdresser on Mill Road, whose fears proved well-founded when he was summoned for non-payment of rent, leading to a request for eviction.[257] The Co-Operative Society was roundly criticised for the high number of men it appealed for. The Military Representative said ‘The firm had apparently done nothing to help the war; they had applied for every possible man.’ Mr Smart responded that of 104 men of military age at the start of the war, 77 were now serving and 5 unfit. Though the number of applications from the Co-Operative seemed high, the society argued that others were applying for proportionally more men.[258] Despite expressing considerable sympathy towards men who ran their businesses single-handed, the Borough Tribunal was more likely to tell them to

255 *CIP* 10 November 1916.
256 *CIP* 12 January 1917.
257 *CIP* 23 February 1917 and 25 May 1917.
258 *CIP* 3 November 1916.

apply to the Civil Liabilities Commission—a scheme for helping men with civilian debts while in the Armed Forces—than to grant them an exemption, especially as the war drew on.

Certain businesses were urged to co-operate, or were decided in a group. In February 1917, for instance, a number of chemists' cases came up through reviews, and four cases were heard together, with one of the dispensers agreeing with his employer beforehand that he was prepared to go. The military representative in turn agreed not to call him up for another month.[259] The other three cases were adjourned to be heard with an additional three at a future meeting, whereupon the two single chemists were given no exemption, along with the married man who was both class A and had no children.[260] Collective decisions like these underline how local needs were met with reference to both the military and the individual. By taking the man of the highest medical category, the Tribunal allowed the greatest benefit to the military without compromising on their earlier idea that of seven military age chemists, four could go.[261] The dairy trade came in for a similar approach. The Borough Tribunal acknowledged there was 'plenty of work to do', but suggested 'it can be so organised that it can be done with much less labour.'[262] These concerns fed into the drive to use substitute labour, releasing fitter men for military service. Bakers were also requested to cooperate, though the Borough Tribunal hoped that this would not involve 'smashing up the small businesses'.[263] There were clear concerns as to how to balance national, local, and individual concerns. From the purely local perspective, large, efficient bakeries would not mean a shortage of bread; they would also help the war effort by releasing men. Nevertheless the comment on the cooperation of bakers illustrates that attention was still paid to individual businessmen.

259 *CIP* 9 February 1917.
260 *CIP* 23 February 1917.
261 *CIP* 9 February 1917.
262 *CIP* 4 May 1917.
263 *CIP* 29 June 1917.

The Borough also heard the university cases. Students who were not conscientious objectors were markedly unsuccessful in gaining exemptions. William Francis Hicks was told 'the study of history was not in the present crisis of the nation to the national interest.'[264] Technically his case was heard by the Derby Scheme Tribunal, but in Cambridgeshire the newspapers make no distinctions between the February sittings of the Derby Scheme Tribunals, and the subsequent sittings of the Military Service Act Tribunals. Medical students generally fared better before the Tribunals, their work considered nationally important. The majority of University applications were, however, on conscientious grounds.[265]

As with farms and farmers, individuals who had already made sacrifices could secure a more favourable hearing. George Edward White, an 18 year old farm worker of Fulbourn, requested ten months to complete a fresher's course. Normally this would have been received little sympathy, but in September 1914 he joined the Cambridgeshires and served for two years, including five months in France. The Tribunal gave him the time, 'feeling that he had already done what he could.'[266] Similarly Edward Flood (40), a baker, was applied for by Mr Loker. 'The Mayor said he thought the fact that Mr Loker and his son had joined up made a great difference,' and he was granted 6 months.[267] J B Webb, a Cottenham smallholder who worked his own land and that of two brothers, one killed in the war and one wounded, was granted four months. He had another brother at the front and a younger brother keen to join the Navy.[268] Several months later he applied again. Five brothers had volunteered, three were now killed, and two wounded. This time he was granted exemption conditional on doing additional work for the War Agricultural Committee.[269]

264 *CIP* 25 February 1916.
265 See Chapter 6.
266 *CIP* 2 March 1917.
267 *CIP* 10 November 1916.
268 *CIP* 20 October 1916.
269 *CIP* 2 March 1917.

Applications on the grounds of familial hardship were the least successful. John Scott had been given to 18 August by the Chesterton Tribunal, but the military appealed, Major Papworth pointing out 'there was a wife with two children, and the man was only earning 17s a week. He would be better off if serving.'[270] Likewise Arthur Ferguson Holmes, aged 18, was the fifth and last son at home, four of his brothers being in the Army. On refusing exemption 'the Chairman remark[ed] that financially his mother would be no worse off. They felt it was a serious thing to take the fifth and last son but in the circumstances they must do so.'[271] The only case where a man stood a good chance of getting exemption on family grounds was if it was necessary for him to be physically present, for example to help crippled parents or an invalid wife. Frank Dobson's case exemplifies those more likely to be successful. He looked after his mother and sister physically and financially, with another sister in Fulbourn Asylum. 'His mother was ailing, and if he were taken it would "just about finish her off."' This was evidently a particularly worthy case as the military representative took the lead, pointing out that neither three months nor six months exemption was any good, and therefore supported absolute exemption, which was given.[272] Financial hardship was considered far lower in priority.

Unsurprisingly, not everyone was happy with the decision they were given. In Caxton, not content with appealing, the three aunts of Leslie Gordon (refused exemption by the Caxton Tribunal) decided to show their displeasure directly to the Chairman. Every time he walked past their house, he was greeted 'by an unmusical overture on police whistles and milk cans'. The aunts denied entirely that it was a response to his presence, when he summoned them for using insulting behaviour towards him, saying that the whistles were blown to call in the dog, and the 'Chinese gongs, not milk cans' were sounded to summon a guest to breakfast. The Bench bound both parties over to keep the peace, and ordered the defendants to pay the costs.[273] Although it has its amusing side, the

270 *CIP* 2 June 1916.
271 *CIP* 8 March 1917.
272 *CIP* 24 March 1916.
273 *CIP* 25 August 1916.

case emphasises the way in which those who made the decisions about who would go had to live alongside the families of those they sent to war.

Perhaps the greatest testament to the success of the Tribunal system is that they satisfied neither the military nor the civil authorities. Undoubtedly there were injustices, particularly with regard to the treatment of conscientious objectors, but the vast majority of men who appeared before a Tribunal were not conscientious objectors. And if the Tribunal system, and the men who ran it, were biased towards the employer, they were reflecting what they were intended to do, which was to ensure the maximum number of men were placed into the armed forces with minimum disruption to necessary civilian activities.

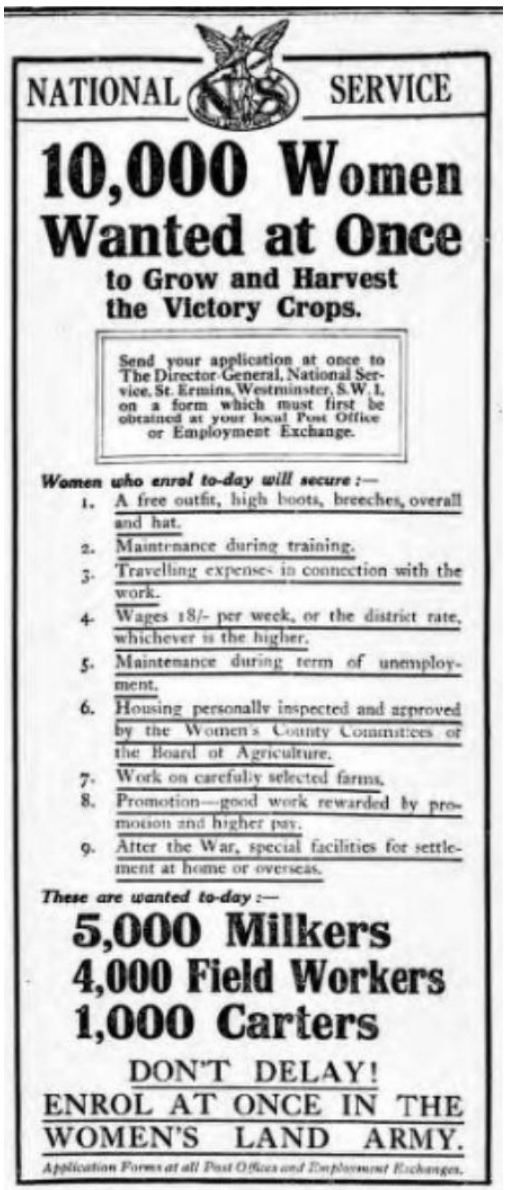
2.4 – Recruiting Women

In September 1917, Florence Keynes and Margaret Heitland wrote to the press on behalf of the Advisory Committee on Women's War Employment. Much, they acknowledged, had been done by women. But there was more to do. In war time, 'we may not rest content with past achievements. The daily call is for more men, and the place of almost every man who goes has to be filled by women.' Their particular appeal was for women to leave home, to work in munitions and 'even in the Army itself'. Women, they admitted, were 'useful at home; in peace time, we might agree that their presence at home is indispensable. But in times of grave national danger, duty to the few must give way to duty to the many.'[274] This was not the first appeal for women to leave home, nor would it be the last. In listing the various ways that women could help their country, however, and in advocating the general principle of war work away from home, it serves as a useful emblem.[275]

Women's war work was often advertised as being of benefit to women, as well as patriotic and useful to the country. Some of this may stem from the local advocates—Florence Keynes was a prominently involved in local politics, becoming the first woman to sit on Cambridge City Council in August, 1914. As a supporter of women's suffrage, it was natural that she looked to women's war work to support her position. The way women were recruited for service outside their home communities bore many similarities with the recruiting of men for military service. From the winter of 1916/1917 in particular, women became a target for recruiting efforts focussed on 'non-traditional' roles for women. There was no sustained campaign to persuade women to become nurses or do other Red Cross work (for instance in doing the laundry, or winding bandages). Nor were there posters asking women to knit for king and country. However, the intensification of the war and the

274 *CDN* 8 September 1917.
275 See Chapter 3 for women's war work at home.

fact that there was no clear end in sight led to a gradual increase in calls on women to do their ‘bit’, with that bit defined as doing war work either in munition factories or on farms.


NATIONAL SERVICE

10,000 Women Wanted at Once to Grow and Harvest the Victory Crops.

Send your application at once to The Director-General, National Service, St. Ermins, Westminster, S.W. 1, on a form which must first be obtained at your local Post Office or Employment Exchange.

Women who enrol to-day will secure :—

1. A free outfit, high boots, breeches, overall and hat.
2. Maintenance during training.
3. Travelling expenses in connection with the work.
4. Wages 18/- per week, or the district rate, whichever is the higher.
5. Maintenance during term of unemployment.
6. Housing personally inspected and approved by the Women's County Committees of the Board of Agriculture.
7. Work on carefully selected farms.
8. Promotion—good work rewarded by promotion and higher pay.
9. After the War, special facilities for settlement at home or overseas.

These are wanted to-day :—

5,000 Milkers
4,000 Field Workers
1,000 Carters

DON'T DELAY!
ENROL AT ONCE IN THE WOMEN'S LAND ARMY.

Application Forms at all Post Offices and Employment Exchanges.

Illustration 82: CIP 6 April 1917.

One of the key features in both recruiting men for the armed forces and women for munitions and land work was the importance of local organising committees. The Women’s War Agricultural Committee—a subcommittee of the War Agricultural Committee—was set up in mid-1916. Miss Philpott, of the Ladies’ Recruiting Committee, was prominently involved, and gave an interview to the *CIP*.[276] Its focus was to bring women back onto the land, and its earlier work was directed at village women, who, it was hoped, could take their husbands’ places. This was not a particularly popular idea in the villages, especially after the introduction of conscription, with women fearing that if they went to work on the farms, their husbands would lose their exemptions and be sent to fight. A door to door canvas (echoes of the Derby Scheme) failed to bear much fruit either. Somewhat more successful efforts were made later to train and bring in women from outside the villages through the Women’s Land Army.

Compared with munitions workers, the persuasion of women to work on the land received less coverage, and the work itself was less popular. Nevertheless, there were adverts printed in the local press for the Women’s Land Army, such as that in Illustration

276 *CIP* 2 June 1916.

82. This advert is particularly interesting for its echoes of earlier adverts for male enlistment in the Armed Forces. It lays out the conditions of work, and ends with the message 'Don't Delay!'. A similar style was seen in some earlier male recruiting adverts which focussed on conditions of service and also gave an indication of urgency. However, here patriotism was not mentioned explicitly. The emphasis was entirely upon conditions and the advantages that the women would secure through their employment.[277] Earlier in the war the point was made that women in receipt of separation allowances had little incentive, in monetary terms, to work on the land. Instead, the appeal must 'be made to their patriotism; they must be shown that by taking the place of their husbands, fathers and brothers on the farm they are "doing their bit" for their country.[278] Perhaps the alteration in the intervening two years reflected the low take up of the call to do their bit on the farm.

Although the persuasion of women to work on farms did not always include explicit reference to the war, sometimes it did. A report on the progress of women in agriculture in March 1917 linked agricultural work directly to the current military situation. 'Women know that the enemy is sinking transport ships which bring food to this country. Therefore they must realise that their help on the land is as vitally needed to hasten victory as is munition-making.'[279] This statement brings out a number of features of women's war work on the land. Appeals were made to women's intelligence and knowledge of the war situation—most women in the Women's Land Army or working away from home on farms were accustomed to town life and drawn primarily from the middling classes. The women in the Ladies Colleges (Newnham and Girton) set to work cultivating their own gardens.[280] The comparison with munition making draws out the perception of a hierarchy of women's war work, with munition making ranked more highly than agricultural work. Earlier in the same article was the assertion that 'No parent need be afraid for the future of her girl.' This was part of an explanation that women would be well

277 *CIP* 6 April 1917.
278 *CIP* 4 February 1916.
279 *CIP* 30 March 1917.
280 *CIP* 25 April 1916.

supervised and the farms carefully chosen.[281] The appeal to parents and the description of women as girls underlines the fact that parents could and did take umbrage at their daughters leaving home for war work. However, this should not be taken solely as evidence of the subordination of women; recruiting appeals to men made reference to the role of mothers in both a positive and negative light. The nature of farm work made it particularly open to fears about what would happen to the young women on farms, and similar concerns were expressed about placing schoolboys on the land.[282] The reference to the future in turn emphasises that female labour on farms was largely considered a temporary, wartime expediency, not a permanent solution.

Despite the importance of agriculture, in June 1917 the Women's War Agricultural Committee reported only 70 women in full time work or training.[283] This was only the number who had been placed on the land through their work. Nevertheless, the small number is revealing. Less popular with women, it was also unpopular amongst farmers. A report in the *CIP* emphasised that training was being given at the University Farm, and much of the commentary on women's war work on the land was related to their training and placement, rather than their recruitment.[284] Even amongst substitution officials women's agricultural work was not ranked highly—it was estimated that between 1 2/3 and 1 1/3 women were needed as a replacement for every man taken from the land.[285] *The Landswoman*, the official magazine of the Women's Land Army, emphasised the loneliness and the hard work. Mr Prothero (President of the Board of Agriculture) wrote 'We hope that the Magazine will be a companion, and that women workers will talk to one another through its pages.' The magazine also referred to the prejudice of farmers, and although it claimed this was 'gone or going fast', thanks to the hard work and poor conditions that the

281 *CIP* 30 March 1917.
282 See the discussion in Chapter 5.
283 *CIP* 1 July 1917.
284 *CIP* 9 March 1917.
285 NATS 1/215 'Dilution of Agricultural Labour', report on Dilution of Agricultural Labour by Bernard Gilbert.

Women's Land Army endured, this seems to be an exaggeration at best.[286] Although women were gradually accepted onto the land, comments in both tribunal records and official sources emphasise that their work was never considered equal to that of men.

Illustration 83: Typical Cambridgeshire Land Girls: Miss Mary Hudson, Dial Cottage, Great Shelford; Miss Mary Skellom, Bournemouth; Mrs Rita Coxhead, Highfield, Caldecote. CIP 9 May 1919.

Resident village women also worked on the land, but in a less organised and officially recognised way. Ministerial correspondence in 1918 noted that 'there is very little anxiety on the part of the local women to work on the land at all. The wife of the agricultural labourer who is at the front is apparently about the last person to find her way on to the land.'[287] Despite this criticism, it is apparent that some village women did take on an increasing role on the farm, though their work is almost invisible in the sources. Mrs Crouch, a 'middle-aged woman', was seriously injured at Swavesey after falling from a

286 *The Landswoman*, January 1918.
287 NATS 1/215 'Dilution of Agricultural Labour', letter to Lloyd Graeme dated 1 January 1918.

load of clover.[288] An even older woman, unnamed but reported to be 74 years old, worked in the fields along with other village women in Bottisham. According to the local correspondent, there was 'A noble response to the shortage of labour', with nearly forty engaged on the land, and every farmer taking advantage of the workers.[289] In Horningsea, the work was undertaken on a less official basis, with women and children taking advantage of 'the old custom of gleaning to pick up a little corn for their poultry'. This appeared in the newspapers through a dispute with a local farmer over their using his threshing machine—the farmer was angry because it held up his work, while the women maintained that it was an ancient custom.[290] The group of three land girls in Illustration 83 includes two local women and one from Bournemouth, but it is not clear whether the two local women could really be described as 'resident village women' as neither can be definitely identified in the census. It is impossible to quantify how much work women carried out in their villages, but it is clear they contributed to the continued running of the farms.

The recruitment of women for munitions work had even stronger echoes of the way men were recruited. On 8 November 1916, a recruiting meeting was held in Newmarket, with an address by Miss Barker, Lady Superintendent of Women Workers at Woolwich Arsenal. As with the earlier recruiting meetings for army volunteers, a prominent local man took the chair, and various other local worthies spoke. The only difference was that the platform was not all male; Mrs Keynes and Miss Gardner of the Central Labour Exchange, took the stage. There was a 'large attendance, chiefly of ladies'. Mrs Keynes 'wanted to tell them about the great openings that existed now for women—the wonderful openings. The country was now calling for her daughters as well as her sons… She… did not think that any woman who had health and strength should allow her time to be occupied with less important work when she might be helping to win the war. Some people talked about the

288 *CIP* 7 July 1916.
289 *CIP* 7 July 1916.
290 *CIP* 8 October 1915.

conscription of women, but there was no necessity for that. She felt sure that when women realised their opportunities they would not hang back.'[291] This passage is particularly interesting for the way in which it ties war work with women's opportunities. Mrs Keynes emphasised, as she continued, that there were still difficulties, but Woolwich Arsenal was a particularly good place to work. Her reference to 'openings', with echoes of the 'openings' for domestic servants, tied munitions work to the domestic past of women's employment while simultaneously urging it as a 'great' or 'wonderful' opportunity. As a supporter of women's suffrage, Mrs Keynes undoubtedly saw war employment as a way of further emphasising women's right to vote, and as a way of increasing women's engagement outside the domestic sphere.

The meeting continued to echo earlier military recruiting meetings. The need was stressed, and its urgency. It was a 'time of national crisis', so they should not 'hesitate' to come forwards. Miss Barker spoke more to conditions, acknowledging the dangers of working with T.N.T., but continuing 'If they had anybody in the trenches they cared twopence about, they would not jib at T.N.T., because they shells would not go off without T.N.T.'.[292]Here is where a difference does creep in; earlier meetings had emphasised abstract Belgian women and children, equating them with loved ones at home. For recruiting women for war work, the conditions were different, and so women at home were urged to think instead of loved ones fighting. There was also, despite the acknowledgement of danger, an emphasis that the best was being done to make women as welcome as possible. Danger was more explicitly accepted in the recruiting of men, and the wounded who addressed meetings were stark reminders of that danger. Miss Barker, by contrast, emphasised instead the respectability of hostels, and the possibility of using the pay 'to put by something for after the war… [when] there would not be so much money for the workers'. And, too, there was an acceptance that 'there were women who must stay at

291 *CIP* 10 November 1916.
292 *CIP* 10 November 1916.

home', though she hoped that they would still do something.[293] On the whole, however, the format and the methods were startlingly similar to those employed to recruit men.

As with the earlier period of recruiting men, personal stories and reports on progress were also used to persuade more women to join the munitions factories. At a meeting in Cambridge Miss Barker told the story of some girls from Cambridge who went to Woolwich and lasted only 24 hours, describing them as 'their mothers' little darlings', who ran away from the work. She used the mocking story to emphasise that though there were dangers, there were also three women doctors 'who did nothing but attend to the women'. Mrs Keynes spoke afterwards, saying that it was only four out of twenty-seven who came home, and that 'she hoped they were going to do a great deal better this time'.[294] It seems at first sight an odd story to use in recruiting, but the story both allowed Miss Barker to acknowledge the dangers, and to stir up in her audience a determination that they were not 'their mothers' little darlings', and that they could do their bit for their country—much like some of the language used in the newspapers in recruiting men which asked if mothers or sweethearts were holding back their sons and beaus from enlisting.

Several months later, in February 1917, a report on the work of the local advisory committee set up within Cambridge Employment Exchange to recruit women to Woolwich was published. The report acknowledged that the scattered population made recruiting difficult, and that care had to be taken not to interfere with the supply of women to the land. However, up to 12 January, 146 had been sent to Woolwich, and cheerful reports from the women were attached. As with many soldier's letters, good food and good health were mentioned, while one compared it with a 'soldier's life', saying that 'it is a very strong sense of patriotism that is making us do our duty', while acknowledging that compared with being in the trenches, the work was 'a mere trifle'.[295]

293 *CIP* 10 November 1916.
294 *CIP* 20 October 1916.
295 *CIP* 9 February 1917.

In 1917, both the Army and the Navy opened up auxiliary positions to women, followed by the newly created Royal Air Force in 1918. This received surprisingly little fanfare in the Cambridgeshire press, but some appeals were published. In July, the *CDN* observed that 'We shall soon have to include the young women of the family in our records of those who have joined up.' Commenting particularly on the family of Mr F J Lee, of St Andrew's Street, the editor observed that he had four sons at the start of the war. Three immediately enlisted, the final (married) son joining slightly later, and now 'the only daughter, in her desire to do something to help on the war, has gone to France in the service of the Army Pay Corps. Thus all the family are doing their bit. A creditable record!'[296] The August 1918 *ASPM* carried the following in 'War News': 'We have never before had a lady appearing in this column, but this month we cannot omit to congratulate Miss Hilda Spalding of the Red Cross upon her restoration to health after a long and tedious illness, and more than one painful operation. Her injuries were as certainly incurred in the service of her country as any that we have had to record.'[297] Hilda was a nurse rather than an auxiliary, and the context is slightly different. However, these instances underline both how women's service might make it onto a Roll of Honour, and how it was always in comparison with male service rather than included as by right.

Nursing and charitable work were not recruited for in the same way.[298] Many villages in Cambridgeshire already had Red Cross detachments or committees, with prominent local women heading them up. The detachments were described as 'mobilising' on the outbreak of war, and several villages sent parties to meet arriving wounded soldiers at Cambridge train station. However, these detachments did not go overseas. Although there were appeals for funds for Red Cross and other work, no appeals were published for women to come forward as nurses, or even for auxiliary roles. The Red Cross war service cards record a number of women volunteering to do laundry for an hour or two a week,

296 *CDN* 21 July 1917.
297 *ASPM* August 1918.
298 See Chapter 3 for more on charitable work.

while William Brand, the postmaster of Pampisford, noted in his diary that he spotted one of the Adeane daughters mopping the floor at the local VAD hospital. He commented on the incongruity. In fact, several of the Adeane sisters were involved in Red Cross work, and Pamela Adeane, after being dissuaded from travelling to France, went to the Queen's Hospital, which specialised in 'heads and jaws'.[299] Perhaps because of its more traditional nature, nursing seems to have been acceptable, accepted, and well enough volunteered for to make separate recruiting appeals superfluous.

299 Claudia Renton, *Those Wild Wyndhams: Three Sisters at the Heart of Power* (London, 2014), 306.

2 – Conclusion

This chapter has examined how individuals in Cambridgeshire mobilised to meet the growing demands of war. The local community played a key role in mediating the demands for men to serve in the Armed Forces. Local venues, the local press, and leading local figures were involved in the voluntary recruiting movement, and in the increased regulation of this recruitment through the Derby Scheme. Leading local men continued to play a role in conscription through service on local tribunals. These tribunals, although fulfilling national objectives and following national directives, worked out those demands at the local level, balancing the need of the Army for manpower with the need of the local community for workers, and the needs of individuals. Women were also mobilised, and here again the national met the local, often in ways (particularly recruiting meetings) that echoed earlier efforts to recruit men.

In Cambridgeshire the Ladies' Recruiting Committee took a unique role in encouraging men to enlist. Their treatment in the press contrasted sharply with the way women recruiters were treated elsewhere. Local patriotism was stressed in recruiting meetings, which used a narrative of county honour alongside national honour to encourage enlistment. As the voluntary period continued, there was an increasing interest in the statistics of recruiting amongst contemporaries, and the Derby Scheme formed a bridge between these concerns and conscription. Conscription itself was worked out through local interpretation of national guidance, decisions varying through the course of the war. Factors which affected decisions included age, fitness, and marital status, alongside importance to the local economy and individual circumstances.

Particularly from the mid-point of the war, the way women were recruited for work away from home echoed earlier efforts to persuade men to volunteer. Local women took to the stage, accompanied by national speakers, and similar themes were drawn out in the

recruiting speeches. However, there was also an indication that war service could be beneficial to the women involved, and patriotism was not given as the sole reason for women to undertake war work away from home.

Having examined the way individuals were recruited, the following two chapters explore communal mobilisation and community involvement in the war effort, both through voluntary efforts and the greater regulation of wartime society.

3 – Community Mobilisation

Illustration 84: CC 4 December 1914. Note the Red Cross emblem on Chum's collar and the Allied flags on his side.

Illustration 84 shows Mrs Fitzjohn and her pedigree dog, Chum. The accompanying article states that Chum 'performed a useful work on behalf of the Dog Brigade organised by a prominent ladies' paper', by raising funds for the Red Cross. Mrs Fitzjohn thanked all who had contributed, and said she was 'very pleased with the way in which children contributed their pennies and halfpennies.'[300] Mrs Fitzjohn and Chum were just one of the more unusual ways in which funds were raised across Cambridgeshire for purposes connected with the war. Not everyone could, or believed they could, join the Armed Forces. Nevertheless many of those same people wanted to 'do their little bit' and help the war effort. This chapter explores the way communities mobilised for war, through collective, voluntary enterprises, in communal self-mobilisation.[301]

First and foremost was fundraising and charitable work at home. Funds were needed for causes obvious and obscure. Most of the charitable work was couched in local terms. The County Committee (formed from the Ladies' Recruiting Committee) sent knitted goods to Cambridgeshire soldiers. The Red Cross had local branches, and local hospitals, which were recipients of eggs and other gifts. Even support for Belgian refugees had a local, personal character. The University accepted refugees from the University of Louvain, and provided facilities to students and lecturers who had fled from German occupation.[302] The local does not deny the national—many contributed to the Prince of

300 *CC* 4 December 1914.
301 Chapter 4 explores the regulatory side of the same narrative of mobilisation.
302 *Cambridge Review (Review)* 24 February 1915 contains a letter from 'Q.' (Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch) describing some of this work. Numerous appeals appeared in the *Cambridge Magazine (CM*) for funds

Wales' Relief Fund, and children collected wool for a national sock-making scheme. Fundraising efforts also had a social function.

Men who were either ineligible for military service or deemed themselves ineligible volunteered as Special Constables or for home defence.[303] The latter included an MA section of the CUOTC, and seems to have been at least as amusing as the popular image of the Second World War's Home Guard.[304] This work is closely connected with the new wartime regulations explored in the following chapter, as many were enforced by wartime volunteers.

Local churches were heavily involved in community mobilisation, with a particular focus on prayer. The call to prayer was couched in terms that equated it with volunteering to fight. An emerging trend in understandings of the Great War is an interest in the religious elements of the war—not merely in people's private lives and denominational history, but the way religious language permeated popular discourses of the war. Jenkins argues for the importance of a religious interpretation of the war, calling it 'thoroughly religious', with many Christian believers perceiving it as a holy war and spiritual conflict.[305] The religious language of chivalry seeped into wartime discourses, and if the established church did not necessarily come out of the war in a strong position, spiritualism and belief in the supernatural more generally seemed to undergo a revival.[306] The church was a part of the local community, as well as forming a community network of its own based upon religious affiliation.

Women's war work and involvement in local politics grew throughout the war. Batten argued that for women, 'charitable efforts provided a distinct recognition and validation of citizenship in the wartime community emerging from their patriotism.'[307]

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for these refugees.

303 Osborne, 'Defining Their Own Patriotism', 63.

304 *Review* 3 March 1916.

305 Philip Jenkins, The *Great and Holy War: How World War I Changed Religion Forever* (Oxford, 2014), 4-5.

306 Shanon Ty Bontrager, 'The Imagined Crusade: The Church of England and the Mythology of Nationalism and Christianity during the Great War' *Church History* (2002), 774;

307 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 167.

However, women in Cambridgeshire (primarily in the Borough and through the University) already had a prominent role in local society, and an increasing role in local politics. The war years saw Cambridgeshire's first female councillor and first female alderman. There was less glamorous war work too. Women took the places of men in all areas of civilian life, often without recognition, and rarely for equal pay, in areas as diverse as baking, shop-keeping, farming, and book-keeping. They were rarely mobilised specifically for that work, and despite occasional, rhetorical suggestions that they should be conscripted, the industrial conscription of women was never put into practice. Their entry into alternative spheres of work was as much a part of communal self-mobilisation as charity work, albeit an area in which political and economic motivations for the women, together with market forces, played a part alongside patriotic ones.

3.1 – Charitable Responses to the War

The war brought with it dozens of good, patriotic causes, all of which needed funds and volunteers at various levels and with varying time commitments. The Red Cross, comforts for local soldiers, and assistance for Belgian refugees were all popular causes, but they were far from the only options. Money could be raised for Serbian Relief, the Agricultural Relief of the Allies, the Prince of Wales' fund, and any number of charitable bodies, some directed solely to war ends, others pre-existing charities which mobilised to help the war effort. Raising money for charity, and giving money to charity, were popular ways of engaging with the war, and ones in which almost anyone could take part. Gifts were not always monetary, however, and a huge effort was made to make and collect comforts for the troops, covering everything from eggs to gramophones to socks.

In a review of 1914, the editor of the *CIP* stated that 'Immediately on the outbreak of war the nation and the Empire witnessed the commencement of the greatest outpourings of charitable offerings for the prevention and relief of distress that has ever been witnessed.'[308] Involvement in these activities, where names and amounts raised were often given in the local news, allowed people a tangible, and public, role in supporting the war effort. The subscription lists for war-related charities were published in a similar format, and often near to, the Roll of Honour of men who had enlisted (though it may be more accurate to suggest that the latter echoed the former). The importance of these subscription lists to contemporaries can be seen in their appearance in sources like the *CCDM*, where the small size of the magazine meant such lists could dominate village news. The corrections issued, and additions, further emphasise this point. Thus, in November 1914: 'Mrs H Long (junr) asks us to mention the following subscriptions to the Red Cross Society, which are additional to those noted in the last month's Magazine:--Mr C Purkis, 10/-; Pluck and Son, 2/6; Mr S Long, 5/-; Mr T Mann, 5/-; and Mrs S Slater and family

308 *CIP* 8 January 1915.

subscribed 10/6, not 10/- as stated in first list of subscriptions.'[309] By prioritising subscription lists, those who organised the local news were making a statement that this was the news of the village, and emphasised the communal nature of charitable giving. Batten argued that Devon's elites used charitable activities as a means of declaring their patriotism; a similar pattern can be seen in Cambridgeshire, but was not limited to the elites.[310] Subscription lists carried at their heads the names of county (and national) gentry, such as the Adeanes of Babraham. They progressed through the ranks of the village or town, to contributions of schoolchildren.

THE PATRIOTIC CONCERT.

Members of Committee, Artistes and Workers.

Photo] [*Scott and Wilkinson.*

First Row—Messrs. Jones, Kent, Hancock, Johnson, Duke, Watson, Palmer, Phillips, ——, Litchfield and G. Noble.
Second Row—Messrs. P. Cowell, Parkinson, ——, W. Moule, M. Billon, Messrs. S. Coulson, Peter Neale, D. Asquith, F. Dew, T. G. Briggs.
Third Row—M. Hartonann, Miss Few, Miss K. Coulson, Miss Hetty Gould, Mrs. Adams, Miss Hollis, Miss Saddler, and Mr. Bert Sharp.
Fourth Row—Messrs. Wakeling, P. Nightingale, A. Chapple, C. Parker and E. Darby.

Illustration 85: CIP 23 October 1914

Raising money for war causes offered a useful way of justifying social activities that wartime rendered more morally ambiguous. This use of charitable events to justify

309 *CCDM* November 1914.
310 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 122

entertainment was found by Gower in Wolverhampton.[311] Leisure activities had to fit within a cultural mindset, and public narrative, of sacrifice.[312] Hence the vigorous attack on football as unpatriotic, which could easily have been extended to other entertainments. However, leisure activities apart from football came in for much less contemporary criticism, not least when they were raising money for an apparently endless list of causes. In the space of one week, the *CC* lists no fewer than five entertainments to raise funds for war causes: a Fête des Allies with performers from Allied nations, two concerts in aid of Belgian refugees, a whist drive to raise money for tobacco to give to soldiers of the Sixth Division, and an auction.[313] A particularly large concert ('The Grand Patriotic Concert') was held in the New Theatre on 8 October 1914, with 'a fine array of artistes promised.'[314] It was evidently quite something—Illustration 85 shows the committee, artistes, and workers, while Illustration 86 shows the New Theatre heads of departments who rendered 'valuable help'.[315] The particular prominence of this concert is emphasised by the fact that the *CIP*, a much less lavishly illustrated paper than its conservative rival the *CC*, chose to publish the two large illustrations included here. The concert raised the impressive sum of £120 5s 6d for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Relief Fund, after expenditure.[316] These entertainments were touted as patriotic, raising money for charitable causes connected to the war. By doing so, the organisers were not only tapping into community life, but also into the desire to do something for the war effort, and, as important perhaps, to be seen to do something for the war effort.

311 Gower, 'The Civilian Experience of World War I', 237
312 David Monger, 'Sporting Journalism and the Maintenance of British Serviceman's Ties to Civilian Life in First World War Propaganda' *Sport in History* 30.3 (2010), 378
313 *CC* 27 November 1914.
314 *CIP* 2 October 1914.
315 *CIP* 16 October 1914.
316 *CIP* 16 October 1914.

THE PATRIOTIC CONCERT.

New Theatre Heads of Departments.

Photo: [*Scott and Wilkinson.*

In connection with the Patriotic Concert given at the New Theatre last week in aid of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Families Association, valuable help was rendered by the Directors and Staff. In the above group [illegible] From row: Mr. W. H. Redfern (Managing Director), Mr. E. M. Clark (Chairman of Directors), Mr. H. Hall (Secretary), Mr. H. [illegible] (Company Secretary). Back row: Mr. P. H. Adams (Box Office), Mr. Gilby Briggs (Musical Director), Mr. J. Lindell (Stage Carpenter), and Mr. F. Woolen (Refreshment Department).

Next week we hope to give a photograph of the General Committee responsible for the arrangement of the concert.

Illustration 86: CIP 16 October 1914

Footballers attempted to present themselves as patriotic by raising funds for war-related causes, but were less able to convince the press of their patriotism. Despite a match between Cambridge Town and the 18th Brigade with a large attendance and 'some good football', that the Tommies won 3-1, and which raised the not insubstantial sum of £18 14s for the Red Cross fund, football was more often criticised for holding back eligible young men than praised for patriotism.[317] Thus, the Master of Magdalene wrote an open letter resigning his position as patron of the local team, stating 'The skilful and powerful football

317 *CC* 11 September 1914.

player is just the man we want to get hold of and the crowds of able-bodied young men who watch him play and applaud his prowess must not be encouraged to continue their self-indulgence; we must try to shame them—if they will not yield to persuasion—into offering their personal service to their country in this hour of urgent need.'[318] Two weeks later, the Histon Institute Football Club announced that out of eleven men who won the local cup the year before, seven had now enlisted.[319] Nevertheless, a letter from the front, published the following month, suggested the narrative portraying footballers as unpatriotic had kept its hold. 'I don't like this, I can tell you. It is nothing like playing at football. I see by what you say you still go on playing. Ask --- if they are not going to have a game of football with the Germans.'[320] Part of a graphic narrative of battle, the bitter tone underlying the question about playing football with the Germans shows a continuing perception of footballers as shirkers. This may have been a class issue. Hancock found that in Pembrokeshire, working class team sports were discouraged.[321]The same can be seen in Cambridgeshire. The entertainments deemed acceptable were not such working class pastimes as football—no one kicked up a fuss about cricket or rugby. On the Cam, rowing initially all but ceased, but with the arrival of Cadets, alternative rowing events were organised, and reported in much the same way as pre war rowing.[322]

The endless list of charitable events and charitable causes was not confined to the early months of the war, nor to the town. In fact, the number of charitable events seems to have increased. A comparison with the village news from the *CIP* for 27 November 1914 and 23 November 1917 emphasises this. In 1914, the *CIP* reported: two patriotic concerts; a meeting and concert for Belgian refugees; four villages gave reports of gifts to the Red Cross (one in cash subscriptions, two in kind); one lantern lecture to support a Central African child; a collection for soldiers' Christmas presents; and a slightly ambiguous event,

318 *CIP* 6 November 1914.
319 *CIP* 27 November 1914.
320 *CIP* 25 December 1914.
321 Hancock, 'The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire', 313
322 *Review* 18 October 1918.

where a dance was held and the surplus was promised to a patriotic fund.[323] The *CC* for the same week, as mentioned above, had a somewhat different list—their focus tended to be more on 'town' activities rather than countryside. For comparative purposes, then, the village news of the *CIP* has been used. The contrast with November 1917, however, is stark. There was: a social to raise funds for soldier's Christmas presents; a sale of work, a committee being set up, and three house to house collections for the same cause; children collecting pennies in two villages (one for the YMCA, another for the Sunday School Union National Crusade); a Whist Drive for blind soldiers; gifts of food to the Red Cross; five villages taking part in the national egg collection for the wounded; the recommencement of a working party for the Red Cross; a house to house collection for the National Children's Home; a church collection for the Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Prisoners of War Fund; a house to house collection for the British and Foreign Sailors Society; a cinema showing to raise funds for the VAD; and a committee meeting to arrange a charitable auction the following week.[324] In other words, one week in November 1917 saw twenty-one charitable activities reported. A comparative week in November 1914, saw ten (eleven if the dance is counted). This does not necessarily mean that charitable work doubled during the war. It is, however, suggestive. Grant argued that charitable donations remained at a 'steady state' during the war. His research focussed on urban areas, suggesting that though the middle classes found their incomes squeezed, the working classes enjoyed greater wartime prosperity and increased their giving.[325] In the countryside around Cambridgeshire, it would seem an argument could be made for going even further, suggesting that charitable donations, or at the very least charitable activity, increased.

One popular fundraiser was the selling of flags, either British or Allied. Belgian flags, to raise money for refugees, were common in the early months of the war, though the activity was most often connected with the Red Cross. On 'Our Day' in 1917, flag selling

323 *CIP* 27 November 1914.
324 *CIP* 23 November 1917.
325 Peter Grant, '"An Infinity of Personal Sacrifice": The Scale and Nature of Charitable Work in Britain during the First World War' *War and Society* (2008), 75.

was reported in Barton, Carlton, Harlton, Kingston, Lode, Lolworth and Willingham. This was usually undertaken by schoolgirls, the First World War equivalent of Brownies selling cookies.[326] In Pembrokeshire, Hancock suggests incessant Flag Days attracted ire.[327] There were certainly hints of this in Cambridgeshire. In March 1917, the *CDN* announced that no more Flag Days would be sanctioned by the Mayor for the time being, who explained: 'Cambridge has been very badly hit by the war, and the authorities consider it unfair that residents... should continually be asked to buy flags in support of various causes. Many successful days have been held, but it is considered that if a fresh series were permitted, the public would be unable to respond as generously as heretofore.'[328] There were hints of uneasiness the year before. Although largely positive, a report in the *CIP* that there was to be a Flag Day for local prisoners of war, carried the line 'once more our streets will be invaded by an army of fair highway-women, bidding us "stand and deliver".' While it then urged this cause was particularly worthy, being for 'men of our own town and county', the description of the collectors suggest concerns were appearing about the plethora of Flag Days.[329] It is also interesting that this particularly worthy cause was a local one, for the county community, underlining the importance of the local in charitable giving. By October 1917 Flag Days were appearing again, and there was ongoing concern about their frequency and methods. 'Flag-day raids on our pockets,' suggested the *CDN* 'are, apparently, like aeroplane raids, most effectively dealt with by keeping the raiders otherwise engaged.' Many who were normally involved in selling flags were fully occupied in other war work, and an appeal was made for additional volunteers to sell flags.[330] Once again there is a suggestion of something military in the way Flag Days were organised and carried out, and fatigue with the concept. Nevertheless, Flag Days continued to be successfully organised.

326 *CIP* 26 October 1917.
327 Hancock, 'The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire', 230.
328 *CDN* 23 March 1917.
329 *CIP* 17 March 1916.
330 *CDN* 2 October 1917.

The main wartime charitable effort of the University of Cambridge focussed on Belgian refugees. The university welcomed the University of Louvain into its rooms, offering the Belgian university a temporary wartime home, so that the academic life of the institution could continue. Throughout the war, the *CM* and *Review* carried notices in French, and frequent references to 'our Belgian guests' were made. The *CM* launched a particular appeal for the refugees. One of their main collectors, R H Wyatt, was a conscientious objector and was arrested and imprisoned in 1916. In 1914, he 'devoted a large part of his time to helping our unfortunate guests, the victims of German militarism.' The editor then commented on the English militarism which had seen him imprisoned.[331] In welcoming Belgian refugees, the University was able to illustrate its patriotic credentials; it also opened opportunities for pacifists to engage with the war in a way that did not violate their morals.

Patriotic and wartime causes did not monopolise local giving. Wartime inflation caused difficulties, but many appeals remained successful, a pattern also found by Grant.[332] In Cambridgeshire, at a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sale of work, the local chairman stressed its importance 'in the unprecedented and extraordinary times in which we found ourselves, when Armageddon was actually being fought'.[333] Addenbrookes had difficulties, but a special appeal in 1916, during the annual Friendly Societies' Parade at Cottenham, raised record funds. Emphasising the problems caused by wartime inflation and the urgency of the appeal, Mr E Gautrey called for support—and Mr Thoday added that one thing remained to be done: 'to beat Willingham, for keen rivalry had always existed between the two villages.'[334] The appeal illustrates that people could still be persuaded to give generously to non-war charities. It also shows how local communities might compete or be compared with one another not merely in the matter of recruiting, but also in that of giving. This was not always the case. All Saints' vicar reported that the

331 *CM* 6 May 1916.
332 Grant, 'Charitable Work in Britain during the First World War', 77.
333 *CIP* 27 November 1914.
334 *CIP* 20 October 1916.

progress of the Spire Repair Fund was ‘not what we should have liked to be able to report’, but that he had refrained from asking too vigorously because ‘the present state of so many people’s finances make it wrong to demand anything on them.’ Even in that, however, he went on to note the generous support for war funds and even overseas missions.[335] Perhaps the real issue was more to do with the popularity of the church roof fund compared to other charities.

Illustration 87: Waterbeach Ladies Working Party. During winter 1915 they made 92 shirts, 130 pairs of socks, 66 pairs of mittens and 28 mufflers. Top row: Miss Rayner, Mrs Wallace, Mrs Lambert, Mrs Waddelow, Mrs Saunders, Mrs Brown, Miss Burgess, Mrs Todd, Miss Adams, Miss Simpkin, Mrs Craft. Second row: Miss Buttress, Miss Clay, Miss Sanders, Mrs Webb, Mrs Chapman, Mrs Hazel, Mrs Dimock, Mrs Collins, Miss Swann, Miss Lewis, Miss Asplin. Third row: The Misses Mason, Hill, Bouling, Mullocks and Barton. CWN 12 May 1916

A vast number of women engaged in charitable war work through knitting comforts for soldiers. Batten described this as a form of mobilisation for women, and Ward as a mark of willingness to participate and solidarity with the nation.[336] While far from the only thing women did, it was a particularly feminine and domestic way of engaging with the war. The comforts were of varying quality, but the sheer number of women who were involved in knitting for the war effort underlines the contemporary importance of the

335 *ASPM* February 1916.

336 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 121; P Ward, '”Women of Britain Say Go”: Women's Patriotism in the First World War' *Twentieth Century British History* 12.1 (2001), 31.

activity. It was not entirely unsolicited; the Ladies' Recruiting Committee spoke to the commanding officers of local troops about arranging a Christmas gift for all Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely soldiers. The response was that 'the most useful gifts will be mufflers, mittens and socks', together with a description of precisely what kind.[337] Knitting could be a social as well as solitary activity—there were numerous working parties of knitters, one of which is pictured in Illustration 87, which became part of community life and an example of communal self-mobilisation.[338] Parcels were sent from the majority of villages every Christmas to all the local men who were serving in the Armed Forces (usually with a larger gift for those serving overseas). These acted as physical markers of solidarity.[339] Their importance was not just in the actual comfort they offered soldiers however. Sending gifts from the community to local soldiers, especially when handmade, was a tangible connection between home and front.

At the edge of charitable mobilisation, falling in a half way house between the local and voluntary, and the government and imposed, were War Savings Associations. This can be seen as a form of progressive mobilisation, an alteration in the way in which communities were asked to respond to the war.[340] Though urged by the government, War Savings Associations were set up at a local level, with parishes using them to show their patriotism. A description of the work in March 1916 well illustrates the interconnection. It was six weeks since at 'a meeting convened by the Mayor, a Cambridge Central Committee for War Savings was created to work in conjunction with the National Committee.' An executive was formed, with 'representatives of the Town Council, the University, the Friendly Societies, the Co-operative Society, the Women's Cooperative Guild, the private committee which, at the instigation of the National Union of Women Workers, had been advocating war economy in the Borough, and others.' It is evident that the committee was intended to be inclusive, that it was formed by those long associated

337 *CIP* 13 November 1914.
338 *CWN* 12 May 1916.
339 Hancock, 'The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire', 228.
340 More on this theme can be found in Chapter 4.

with public work, and that it was largely at the instigation of the Government. The report continued 'One is often told that Cambridge, which has suffered in so many ways from the war, is not a good field for war savings propaganda', as most of their population were not receiving large war profits or wages as people in other towns were. But the War Savings Certificate was still 'selling well'.[341] It was not until December 1916, however, that a meeting was called to organise the county as a whole, though it was acknowledged at the meeting where 'representatives from all over the county were present' that various places were doing well already. The conference was addressed by a member of the Central War Savings Association, and 'an influential committee was formed to carry out the work in the county'.[342] The involvement of the national committee even at the stage of formation underlines again the more centralised efforts to push War Savings than were found in most charitable activities.

The outbreak of war thus led to a huge variety of charitable and voluntary responses, from raising money to knitting socks. Charitable and voluntary efforts continued throughout the war, and provided a way to engage with the war effort without leaving the home community.

341 *CIP* 12 May 1916.
342 *CIP* 22 December 1916.

3.2 – Quasi-Military Service

Not everyone was, or considered themselves, eligible for military service. For these, a variety of alternative forms of service, many with a quasi-military character, sprang up. Beckett argues that when these are included, Britain truly was a 'nation in arms'.[343] The most prominent were the Volunteer Training Corps (VTC), service as a Special Constable, Red Cross work at home, and the Friends' Ambulance Unit. Their community context distinguishes them from the forms of service covered in Chapter 2. The VTC was a local defence force; Special Constables were based in their communities; and the local Red Cross hospitals were dependent on the goodwill of local residents. The Friends' Ambulance Unit, while not local in the same sense, was based on a pre-war community of Quakers, many of whom were connected with Cambridge University.

The main options for service in home defence in Cambridgeshire were the VTC and the MA Section of the CUOTC. Osborne described the national VTC movement as 'a patriotism eminently suitable to many middle-class men who did not consider themselves… fitted to army enlistment for foreign service, but who wanted both to serve and be seen to serve the nation in its time of great crisis.'[344] Presenting the conflict over who should be in the VTC and what its purpose was as a conflict of interpretations of patriotism, Osborne's conception holds good for the Cambridgeshire expression of the national movement. The forerunner to Cambridge's branch of the VTC was a Civilian Drill and Rifle Club, which was, according to the *CIP* a 'matter for congratulation' when formed in October 1914. It was emphasised that no one of military age would be taken, and the report noted 'many others, who for business or other reasons are unable to serve, should like to join the club'.[345] These 'business or other reasons' were not considered entirely legitimate by the War Office; when the club was incorporated into the VTC it was not

343 Beckett, 'The Nation in Arms', 16-17.
344 Osborne, 'Defining Their Own Patriotism', 63.
345 *CIP* 23 October 1914.

permitted for men of military age to serve. When the club chairman spoke to the press about the incorporation, his greatest concern was the refusal to allow men who could be in the military to serve in the VTC. He argued that the recent change in the age range (from thirty-five to thirty-eight) affected eighty members of the club, and he was concerned about these men who 'for various good reasons could not join the Regulars or Territorials'. These 'good men', who were 'anxious… to do what they could towards assisting in the defence of their country' would be shut out from military training. Other regulations he took umbrage with were the refusal of the government to grant any public funds towards uniforms, and the fact that they were not allowed to use military ranks and titles. He argued instead that 'the more they could impress on the members that they were doing something to bring themselves into line with the Forces, the more they were inclined to take the work seriously and throw their heart and soul into it.'[346] The VTC, by allowing a degree of service, did mobilise men who would not otherwise have undertaken any military training, either due to ineligibility or perceived ineligibility. It was most certainly an expression of communal self-mobilisation, never entirely welcomed by the War Office or government, and of questionable utility.

Compared to the VTC, which did find more purpose during the conscription period as a way of ensuring some degree of sacrifice from those exempted, and which allowed preliminary training of those with temporary exemptions, the MA Section of the CUOTC was of even less use. It also came in for particular ridicule. The *Review* published a short opera on the subject, modelled on Gilbert and Sullivan, after explaining that the MA Section had now received their uniforms, and so they could say 'not merely "We have donned our uniforms," but "We have uniformed our Dons."' Prominent members of the MA Section came in for pointed ridicule, including Dr Rapson, whose 'solo' included the lines:

'They declare I can't see my belt--

346 *CIP* 27 November 1914.

Never mind! Though unseen, it is felt!

Chorus. O well done, Rapson,

To get all those straps on!'

Thereafter, 'Q' (Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, a popular lecturer on Shakespeare) appeared:

'Good afternoon. A merry drill I wish you,

And recommend you the *Review's* last issue,

Where I, in mentioning the muddy ruts

Leading from Grange Road to the Rifle Butts,

Made *butts* of *you*. I said you were no use;

The only enemy you *might* "reduce"

Was your avoirdupois. Good afternoon.'[347]

This humorous take on the work of the MA Section was at least more light-hearted than some of the criticism of other volunteer bodies, particularly when perceived to be allowing young men to pretend to be patriotic whilst avoiding military service.[348] The MA Section contained men who would not be eligible for service in the Armed Forces, and perhaps because that was so patently the case, it was either mostly ignored (by the local press), or ridiculed (by the University papers).

Of more practical use were the Special Constables. White connects the early enthusiasm of Special Constables to the spy mania that also accompanied the outbreak of the war.[349] Cambridge did not see as intense a spy mania, though there were repeated concerns about 'dangerous electric lights on the Gogs' (the Gog Magog hills). These were, in fact, quite innocent, but fears of enemy spies and Zeppelins made them into quite the story.[350] Despite possible spy hunting indulged in by Special Constables, their role was

347 *Review* 3 March 1916.
348 Osborne, 'Defining Their Own Patriotism', 65; Glenn A Steppler, *Britons, To Arms! The Story of the British Volunteer Soldier and the Volunteer Tradition in Leicestershire and Ruttland* (Stroud, 1992), 123.
349 White, 'War and the Home Front', 63.
350 *CM* 21 November 1914.

much more tied to lighting offences and the defence against aerial attack, a legitimate (although exaggerated) concern in East Anglia. In an appeal for Special Constables published in January 1915, the Mayor wrote that 'The Special Constables are asked for not merely to use as a standby, but for immediate actual service. I fully realise that this means a considerable sacrifice of time and money on the part of this Force, but I feel sure that there are in the Town and University many men who are prepared to "do their bit" at home as our soldiers are doing abroad.'[351] The popular Second World War image of an Air Raid Warden demanding 'put out that light' had its precursor in the First. The majority of lighting prosecutions were brought through the efforts of Special Constables. Special Constable Reverend C M Rico's evidence at one sitting of the Borough Magistrates shows how they operated: about 9pm 'he was examining the backs of the houses and saw no light from No 29. About 9.30, however, from the back window of a house in Oxford-road he saw a bright light from defendant's house. On examining the house more closely he found it came from an incandescent light through a window which was only shielded by a muslin curtain and a very thin blind. He had not seen the window previously because it was very well shielded by the backs of the house, being in an L-shaped recess.'[352] It is evident from this description that Reverend Rico was actively looking for houses in breach of the lighting restrictions, checking from every side and angle. Moreover, it illustrates the way in which Special Constables' duties not only interrupted their sleep, but also required their attendance at police courts.

Although many joined enthusiastically, the 'glamour' of the roll rapidly faded. Volunteering as a Special Constable was not without its risks, especially for men whose physical health prevented them from joining the Armed Forces. John Thomas Moreby, sworn in as a Special Constable early in 1915 contracted a fatal sickness after his night on duty on Thursday 11 November 1915, which was a particularly rough night. He was 38

351 *CIP* 29 January 1915.
352 *CIP* 24 November 1916.

when he died, at that time over the military age. It was also mentioned that he was 'not in a fit state to endure the strenuous work of being out at night'. Despite this, he had done his work 'regularly and efficiently', and a vote of sympathy at the Town Council added that 'he did his duty in helping the town in this way just as much as the soldiers at the Front.'[353] The work of the Special Constables was a practical necessity, and it was easier, perhaps to describe it as 'duty' than the drilling of the VTC or MA Section of the CUOTC. Catching people committing lighting offences, and patrolling the streets at night to watch for bicycles with no lights, cars with too bright a set of lights, or simply being present on the street may not have been the most glamorous of roles, and it was not necessarily that popular with those who were caught by Special Constables, but it was nevertheless necessary, particularly in light of the increased regulation of communities that the war brought about.[354]

For those stationed in villages, the duties could be even more inconvenient, as they included taking messages in the middle of the night, by bicycle. Town duties may also have included taking messages, of course, but the distances involved would have been much less. At 1:15 am, Charles Carter of Linton was ordered to go to Abington with a message about an air raid, a distance of about two and a half miles. Having been woken up in the middle of the night with the summons, he allegedly said 'I went last time, send someone else', though when the case went to Linton Petty Sessions, he claimed that he said they would have to send someone else as his bike had a puncture and the pedal was off. 'The magistrates retired, and on their return the Chairman said that in a case like this discipline must reign--"England expects every man to do his duty," and especially in urgent times like these.' Charles was fined £1, including costs, and promptly resigned his position.[355] This case demonstrates the difficulties that volunteering in the local community could

353 *CIP* 26 November 1915.
354 See Chapter 4 for a discussion of this issue more generally.
355 *CIP* 1 November 1917.

bring. Even where such work was not as demanding as active military service, it was made more difficult by the fact that those undertaking it still had other jobs to do.

Special Constables were nearly all white collar workers. A list of Special Constables in the Borough survives, although it is unclear as to whether it is complete. Of the 112 names, 83 have been identified. The age structure illustrates that the majority of Special Constables fell just outside the voluntary age range, though some may have been conscripted as the war continued (Illustration 89). The occupations show men who were, if not all of the uppermost ranks of society, primarily not from its lower rungs either (Illustration 88). They included University Fellows too, which could lead to amusing incidents—a First World War 'overheard in Cambridge' ran as follows:

'*Special Constable.* You haven't got a rear-light, sir.

Cyclist. Yes, I have. Why, I bought it this very morning—a brand-new Lucas lamp.

S. C. (in ordinary life a Classical Lecturer). Well, I'm afraid it's a Lucas *a non lucendo*, so you'll have to light it up again.'[356]

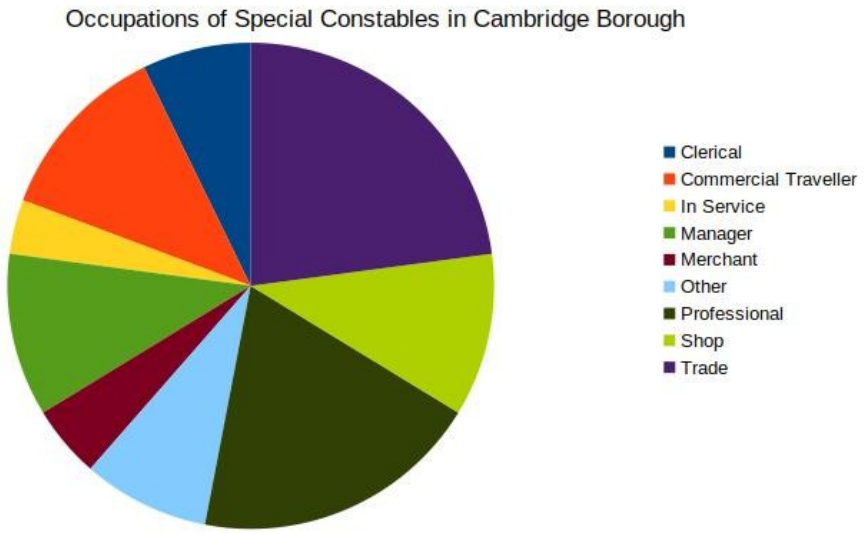


Illustration 88: Occupations of Special Constables in the Borough. Note that 'building trade' has been included in 'trade' due to the small numbers in question.

356 *Review*, 8 November 1916.

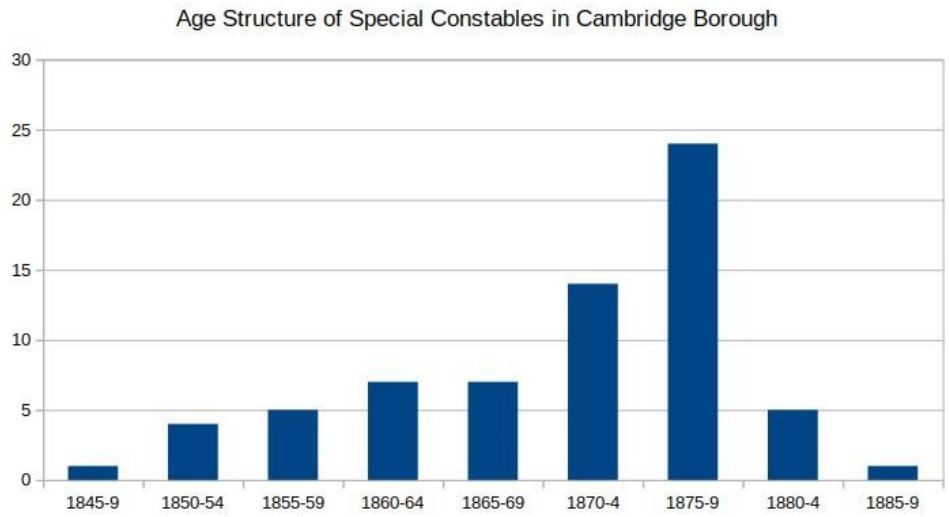


Illustration 89: Age structure of the Borough Special Constables

Both men and women volunteered locally for the Red Cross. Convalescent VAD hospitals sprang up across Cambridgeshire. Few villages were without one nearby; Balsham boasted two. These hospitals gave opportunities for valuable war work without necessarily even leaving the village. Red Cross volunteer records list numerous women like Mrs Ellen Ansell of Balsham who gave up an hour or two a week to do washing.[357] Others cleaned for the hospital, while local men might act as orderlies or porters. Those who had been with the Red Cross longer, or had nursing training, were sometimes 'mobilised' to help with wounded soldiers arriving in Cambridge at the train station for transfer to the First Eastern General Hospital. This hospital was ultimately situated on the site of what is now the University Library, though in September 1914 it was in King's College. Illustration 90 shows a stretcher case being transferred from a train at Cambridge station to a motor ambulance. The Red Cross volunteers are unfortunately not featured in this picture, but an article in the same newspaper praised them, saying: 'The careful and orderly manner in which the wounded were taken from the train and conveyed to the hospital reflected much credit on the men's and women's detachments entrusted with the

357 http://www.redcross.org.uk/About-us/Who-we-are/History-and-origin/First-World-War/Card?hosp=Balsham&id=4607&first=true , accessed 27 January 2018. Note that the website has since suffered technical difficulties, and as at 21 June 2018 the volunteer records are unavailable online.

work, and showed the value of the training they received in times of peace.'[358] Caring for the wounded was presented as a particularly honourable and valuable task, and on occasion military service tribunals gave exemptions on condition of assisting with bandaging or other VAD work (though joining the Volunteers was a more common condition). While doing Red Cross work served a clear military purpose, it was a form of communal self-mobilisation, with local hospitals receiving the voluntary support of local individuals.

Illustration 90: CIP 4 September 1914

Having a VAD hospital in one's home town was not without its difficulties. Cottenham saw a great deal of controversy in 1917 over its VAD hospital, which was initially in the Baptist Schoolroom. For two years 'the hospital had been conducted to the entire satisfaction of all concerned', but notice to quit was given and the hospital was forced to move to the rectory and the Church of England schoolroom. Outrage followed, and the rector was praised not only for handing over his home, but also for allowing the

358 *CIP* 4 September 1914.

soldiers to play cards and whist.[359] Unsurprisingly, three days later the Baptists weighed in with their own account, stressing that they had lent the premises in the early days of the war, when 'they had no idea that they would be required for more than a few months', and imagined it would be a hospital where patients were largely confined to their beds. That it was a convalescent hospital meant considerably more wear and tear was caused than expected. It had also meant 'the entire disorganisation of the work of the church', which was forced to rely on other local churches. So, when the hospital was closed for cleaning, they told the Red Cross notice they would like their church back in three months' time. The Red Cross, it was claimed, failed to make any proper preparations for that occasion.[360] The controversy throws into the open the difficulties that having a local VAD hospital could cause. The convalescent homes were almost invariably located in church school rooms, large houses, or other public buildings. Despite entertainments put on by and for soldiers in the convalescent homes, the disruption to those societies accustomed to make use of them must have been, as it was for the Baptists, considerable.

The Friends' Ambulance Unit, originally described as P J Baker's ambulance, was an alternative to combatant service under the military oath from the start of the war. A number of Cambridge University men were involved from its inception, and their letters home were given equal prominence in the *CM* to those who had enlisted in the Armed Forces proper. Amongst them was Stephen Corder, who described his experiences around Ypres, where he was assisting the wounded close to the front lines. Stephen explained that his 'fresh car' was not quite so fresh any longer: it 'has been hit four or five times; one back wheel was all smashed.'[361] At least one member of the Friends' Ambulance Unit returned to England after the introduction of conscription, to protest against conscription. Their service overseas meant that they received an exemption almost by default, it being considered sufficient illustration of their sacrifice for the war effort.[362]

359 *CDN* 6 October 1917.
360 *CDN* 9 October 1917.
361 *CM* 5 December 1914; see https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/7651584 for more details.
362 See Chapter 6 for more on conscientious objectors.

Throughout the war, therefore, individuals had opportunities to volunteer in support of the war effort through non-military service. This volunteering was expressed in a community context, and was of varying degrees of usefulness.

3.3 – Prayer and the Church

The Vicar of Sawston, on holiday when war broke out, wrote to his parishioners: 'In the first place we must make up our minds to be very brave about the war, whatever it may cost us… let us bear the suspense and anxiety as our part of the burden. In the next place, let us pray for them [those in the Armed Forces] very earnestly, that God will give them strength to do their duty bravely and well, and will bring them back to us in safety and honour, if it is His will.' He continued by adding that on his return, he would like the names of all Sawston men in the Armed Forces, to pray for them individually.[363]

The call to prayer was a crucial part of the Church of England's response to the outbreak war, a response shared across other denominations. Indeed, national days of prayer were used as opportunities to gather all churches together and emphasise that the spirit of national unity, most often referred to in class or political terms, was present in religion too. The cause referred to by the vicar, that soldiers would 'do their duty bravely and well', illustrates the role that the church would play in recruitment and in war work. Pulpits were occasionally used as recruiting platforms, and vicars were active in recruiting work. His call for bravery, for bearing a part of the burden, tied to the pastoral work of the church, and its efforts to emotionally support those whose loved ones were on active service, or who had been killed. Finally, the comment about 'if it is His will' at the end can be seen as more than just a caveat in case those soldiers prayed for did not come safely home. There was a significant strand of thought that the war was in fact God's will, a punishment for the national sin of the English and indeed of the whole world.[364]

Churches—both established and otherwise—were key parts of community networks during the First World War. The church was the site not just for religious but also community activities. Churches ran a multitude of social groups, from Temperance

363 *CCDM* September 1914
364 This is discussed further as part of the section on the National Mission in Chapter 4.

Societies to Sunday Schools, woodworking classes to choirs. The vicar was often one of the leading local figures, and not just in the villages. This extended also to the clergy of nonconformist churches, which were present in most villages.[365] Anglican and Dissenting churches alike were important nexuses of the local community. While many Anglican clergymen were vigorously involved in recruiting, and some launched into blood-curdling speeches on the evils of Germany or the perils of national sin, on the whole English churches were more restrained in interpreting the war than their counterparts in Germany and Russia.[366]

Religion during the Great War is becoming an increasingly important theme in the historiography. Local studies highlight the importance of churches in providing spiritual comfort, either throughout the war or after an initial phase where there was a greater concern with recruiting.[367] An emphasis on the continued conservatism of British society, and the continuities between pre and post war society tends to promote a reappraisal of the role of religion, particularly with the influence of Brown's argument that Christian Britain did not suffer a long term decline but instead died quite suddenly in the 1960s.[368] Beaken argues that Christianity during the war was both important and vibrant, laying particular stress on the efforts of the clergy to meet the needs of the local community.[369] Gregory similarly suggested that religion was 'far more important to individuals in wartime Britain than is generally believed.'[370] Not everyone agrees: Bontrager instead suggests that the Church of England entered the war contending with the effects of secularisation and was not able to use the war to re-establish its influence.[371] Cambridgeshire, though it did see

365 See the introduction for the spread of non-conformity. The majority of Cambridgeshire parishes had a nonconformist church, and those which did not had neighbouring parishes which did.
366 Jenkins, *Great and Holy War*, 73.
367 Beaken, *The Church of England and the Home Front* and Simon Hancock, 'The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire', 286, stress the former; Young, 'Voluntary Recruitment in Scotland', 208 argues that the first role of the clergy was in recruiting, subsequently shifting to consolation
368 Gerald J DeGroot, *Blighty: British Society in the Era of the Great War* (Harlow, 1996) focusses on the continuities of British society; Callum G Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation 1800-2000* (Second Edition) (Abingdon, 2009).
369 Beaken, *The Church of England and the Home Front*, 55
370 Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 183
371 Bontrager, 'The Imagined Crusade', 774

some fierce attacks on both Germany and popular morals, both areas highlighted by Bontrager as illustrative of the church's problems, seems to fit more closely within Beaken's argument for wartime importance and vibrancy. Cambridgeshire's churches were involved in all areas of the war effort, in mobilising men, minds, and charity, and in reassuring and comforting those affected by war.

Prayer was the dominant wartime theme of Cambridgeshire's churchmen. Platt's analysis of parish magazines during the war found that they mostly showed the fervour with which the call to arms was received, though some remained anxious about money, church attendance, and ritualism.[372] In Cambridgeshire however the foremost concern of wartime parish magazines, and of many sermons printed in the local press, was prayer. Prayer was a key factor in community mobilisation, and many parish lists of volunteers were intended to form a guide for prayer. The Mothers' Union in 1914 issued a pamphlet insisting that the two things which British mothers, of any denomination, could do were to pray and to give their sons. Tellingly, prayer is listed even before the recruiting message.[373] The first month of the *CCDM* after the outbreak of the war contained calls to prayer in almost every parish's section. 'Over and above all, let us make constant and earnest prayer to our Heavenly Father', not just generally, but for specific men from the village, urged the magazine.[374] This emphasis on specific local men underlines the communal nature of this form of self-mobilisation. The vicar of All Saints made a similar plea. He had offered to help with the harvest while on holiday but was turned down, whereupon he realised his duty was actually to pray.[375] Many village churches rang their bells at noon throughout the war, as a reminder to people to pause and pray, Canon Thornton writing 'all who hear it are asked to pause in their work and say a few words of prayer on behalf of our soldiers and sailors fighting for us, and also to remember the prisoners of war languishing in the hands

372 Jane Platt, *Subscribing to Faith? The Anglican Parish Magazine 1859-1929* (London, 2015), 167.
373 One of Them, *To British Mothers: How they can help enlistment* (1914).
374 *CCDM* September 1914.
375 *ASPM* September 1914.

of the Germans.'[376] The number of people who did is impossible to estimate, but church bells did make a significant amount of noise—especially in quiet villages. Even in Cambridge, which was busier, the bells were clearly audible (much to the disgust of a number of students, who started a campaign to end the ringing of church bells).[377]

Calls to prayer were not a feature of the early months of the war alone. July 1915 carried the following message from the vicar of Abington: 'The weary months drag on, with little sign of the long-wished for peace. This sore trial to our patience must surely call forth more earnest and sustained prayer. Prayer… is often nearly all that many of our people can offer. Let us do all we can in this way.'[378] His message is noteworthy for the early reference to war-weariness, even before the exceptionally high casualties of the Battle of the Somme. A similar message can be found in the same month's magazine from the vicar of Hinxton, who urged that 'If we cannot do "our bit" in the trenches, there is a more powerful weapon than guns and rifles which, as Christian believers, we can use, the weapon of Prayer and Intercession.'[379] The equation of prayer with fighting was not unique to the First World War, nor to the Church of England—a common thread throughout Christian history has been the idea of spiritual warfare.[380] However, the Church of England made use of those images, and altered them to the modern guns and rifles, rather than the swords and arrows from earlier years. The notion that by praying people were doing their bit can be seen as part of the wider mobilisation of society. Knitting, fund raising, winding bandages, all could be described as doing 'our little bit', and the vicars writing in the *CCDM* tapped into this sentiment.

At times of particular anxiety, additional and more urgent calls were made for prayer. In August 1916, in the wake of the Battle of the Somme, the vicar of All Saint's made reference to the need for 'special prayers… for our friends in this day of battle. These

376 *CCDM* June 1916.
377 *CM* 10 March 1917.
378 *CCDM* July 1915.
379 *CCDM* July 1915.
380 See for instance St Paul's letter calling for Christians to 'put on the whole armour of God' in Ephesians 6.

are anxious days for those at home, but how thankful we are that God has heard our prayers and is granting new success to our arms.'[381] The German Spring Offensives of 1918 had a similar effect, the vicar of Duxford writing 'Our anxiety ought to make us more earnest in our prayers… Surely if, as we all do, we believe in prayer, we must be more regular and constant in our attendance at God's House of Prayer'.[382] Regardless of the particulars of the ebb and flow of battle, as reported in the local newspapers, the parish magazine made special appeals for additional prayer, or calls for continued consistency. The vicar of Duxford's assertion that everyone believed in prayer is impossible to substantiate. Nevertheless, some must have done, including, presumably, the majority of those who made the calls for prayer.

Calls for prayer were not always successful in encouraging attendance at a particular church however. Additional services were put on by the various local churches, as well as special prayers being offered during regular services. But they were not always well attended. Ickleton's vicar wrote that 'The Rogation Services were badly attended. Hardly any adults thought it worthwhile to join in prayer for God's blessing on their own and other's labours in the gardens and fields.'[383] Castle Camps' vicar, who put on a special service of intercession for the war on 4 August 1915, complained that the service was not as well attended as it might have been and 'one wonders how it is that some at least of the relatives [of soldiers] at home do not think it worth while to be present in Church on such an occasion and pray for their well being: what can be the reason of the incredible indifference?'[384] Prayer, he seemed to be saying, was a particular duty of relatives, and shirking it was a demonstration of 'indifference' to the hardships and heroism at the front. Horseheath's vicar likewise noted when the time of the special intercession prayers was

381 *ASPM* August 1916.
382 *CCDM* May 1918.
383 *CCDM* June 1917. Rogation Services involve walking the bounds of a parish and praying for the land within. They helped to pass on the knowledge of the exact boundaries of a parish to the next generation —some local traditions involved 'bumping' children on boundary stones so that they would remember them.
384 *CCDM* September 1915.

changed that 'We should like to see more at these [services of intercession], especially the relatives of men who are actually at the front. A faithful but small band have attended regularly, and we hope they will continue to be present week by week.'[385] Here he too makes the suggestion that relatives had a particular duty of prayer. Earlier in the war, he had given the time of the services and added 'This seems to have escaped the notice of most of the parishioners.'[386] His somewhat sarcastic comment emphasises the assumption that people should want to pray, and should be turning up at the church to do so. However, the Mothers' Union letter referred to above suggested that it was not necessary to pray collectively in a church. Any prayer, they suggested, would do, and private prayer and devotion is all but impossible to uncover evidentially.[387]

More successful than additional services of intercession were the big prayer events, which took place at the start of each year of the war, and on the anniversaries of its commencement. Although the Castle Camps service on 4 August 1915 was not as well attended as the vicar would have liked, other parts of the deanery reported high attendances. In Horseheath, 'the Church was full', Ickleton had nine services and estimated that over a third of the total population was in church at some point that day'.[388] 6 August 1916 saw similar services held. In Linton, the vicar reported that 'Our Non-Conformist Brethren closed their place of worship in the evening in order to attend the Parish Church, which was therefore well filled, and the Service was very hearty and impressive.'[389] The fact that it was a jointly attended service emphasised the impulse towards national unity (in rhetoric, if not necessarily in fact). The fact that it was only with the addition of the Non-Conformists that the church was 'well filled' suggests that the Non-Conformists were particularly strong in Linton. Certainly Linton, and many other villages, were not dominated solely by the Established Church. There were numerous Baptist and Wesleyan

385 *CCDM* October 1917.
386 *CCDM* November 1915.
387 One of Them, *To British Mothers: How they can help enlistment* (1914)
388 *CCDM* September 1915.
389 *CCDM* September 1916.

Chapels, and on occasions like the anniversary of the outbreak of war, they also ran their own special services, and sometimes boasted high attendances. In Colchester, there was only one occasion during the war when dissenters joined with Anglicans, and that was in an open air service.[390] In Cambridgeshire, however, the involvement of dissenting churches and their unity with the Anglicans on wartime issues, seems to have gone further than a single service.

The Church of England played a considerable role in encouraging enlistment, through sermons, through speaking on recruiting platforms, and through speaking against pacifism as the war continued. The Dean of Rochester spoke at Ely Cathedral, and, aiming his message particularly at the young men present, urged the importance of doing their duty and stated that self-sacrifice redeemed war. He also asked (well before the infamous recruiting poster, which was issued in 1915) 'What would they say when… their child asked whether father took part in the greatest of wars?'[391] The Vicar of Soham declared that war was 'a Christian duty', as although it was inconsistent with Christian ideals, the Christian ideal had not yet been realised and therefore it was important to fight to defend the weak.[392] Members of the clergy in Wolverhampton were likewise involved in recruiting.[393] Most of those who were involved were Anglicans, but dissenting churches did also take a roll in recruiting, and at times protested that they had in fact seen high numbers of their members enlist. White found that in Devon most Anglicans supported the war, but there were a few dedicated pacifists; meanwhile few Methodist or Baptist clergymen were involved in recruiting.[394]

Besides encouraging enlistment, the church appropriated stories of heroism in combat to make spiritual points. The Vicar of Sawston, after telling of the bravery of John Churchman who was awarded the Military Medal for rescuing an officer from No Man's

390 Beaken, *The Church of England and the Home Front*, 134
391 *CIP* 25 September 1914.
392 *CIP* 21 May 1915.
393 Gower, 'The Civilian Experience of World War I', 129.
394 White, 'War and the Home Front', 272.

Land, continued: 'It was a fine thing thus to save the life of another, and he has earned not only the Military Medal by this act of sacrifice, but the approval of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the joy which comes to those who sacrifice themselves.'[395] The connection between heroism and Christianity continued a pre-war discourse of 'muscular Christianity', which intimately linked Christian virtues and manliness.[396] The Vicar's letter would not, in 1917, have made much difference to the progress of recruiting which was now carried out under compulsion. However, there remained concerns that people were 'sheltering behind their stars', and in describing the heroism of a local soldier, the vicar may have been simultaneously hoping to shame those who were appealing for exemptions, or whose work meant that they were safe from even appearance before a Tribunal.

The church still played a significant pastoral role during the First World War. This may have been less obvious in the towns and larger villages than it was in small villages, where it was an easy matter for the vicar to know all of the parishioners (including the wayward ones). However, even in the large town of Colchester, Beaken has found evidence that local vicars visited all local families, regardless of church affiliation.[397] In Cambridgeshire, concerns were raised in a Tribunal case about a young man who had just been ordained, and thus no longer eligible for the Armed Forces, despite, otherwise, being a perfect candidate. Rev Evan A L Donaldson, formerly a theological student, was accused of getting his ordination by a trick, as a desperate effort to get out of the Army. The Military Representative continued 'A single man of 23, going visiting the wives of the married men who are in the Army!' and apparently was able to convince the Appeal Tribunal, who allowed the military appeal and refused exemption.[398] The pastoral role of the vicar did not end with his nearby parishioners. Numerous vicars were closely involved in writing to local men at the front, and organised parcels for them. Replies to letters the vicar of Whittlesford had sent were reported in the CCDM in May 1917, reporting how

395 *CCDM* October 1917.
396 DeGroot, *Blighty*, 37.
397 Beaken, *The Church of England and the Home Front*, 76.
398 *CIP* 29 June 1917.

Easter was being celebrated at the front.[399] The Vicar of Balsham caused some controversy by writing to only some of the men at the front. The distinction between those who did and did not receive parcels and letters is unclear, but created a considerable degree of bitterness.[400]

Despite dissenting voices amongst some Christians, especially Quakers, the church as a whole supported the mobilisation of society and emphasised the importance of doing one's duty. Even those churches and Christians which objected to the war engaged in the dialogue of duty and sacrifice, though theirs was a duty to oppose the war. Many within the Anglican church presented the war as national discipline, punishment for sin, and used this 'stick' to help mobilise prayer and morality. However, the church also played a positive role, both pastorally and through prayer and religious organisations which offered emotional support to those whose loved ones were far from home and in danger of never returning.

399 *CCDM* May 1917.

400 This story was shared with me by Tony Beeton, a local historian with several family members who served in the First World War.

3.4 – Women's War Work

In Spring 1917, women's suffrage returned to the political radar, at which point the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies 'decided to break their self-imposed political truce'. Fanny Johnson wrote to the *CDN* to explain: 'Far from disregarding the claims of the absent men, [suffragists] have spent most of their time and energy, not to mention financial support, in co-operating with and seconding the efforts of men in the field by women's war work'. All they now desired was a recognition that women's help was needed in the post-war reconstruction of society, just as it was during the war.[401] Contemporaries and historians alike have, as Fanny did, linked women's war work and the granting of women's suffrage.

The roll of women at home during the First World War expanded dramatically. Their war work did not just lie in the more glamorous and unusual jobs that took women away from their home communities. They took the lead in many of the voluntary efforts referred to earlier in the chapter; they also stepped into other areas of work with less comment. This expansion of opportunity did not begin immediately—many women across the country found themselves out of work where they had previously been employed, particularly within the textile industry.[402] In Cambridgeshire, it was Chivers jam factory, which employed a number of women, which caused the most fears, but a high number of orders from the War Office soon put the workers back on full time.[403] Landladies, on the other hand, were hit hard from the start of the war, and their plight was unrelieved by a subsequent wartime boom in trade. Women's wartime employment must not be seen in solely triumphalist terms, although many of those, excepting landladies, who suffered hardship in the first six months of the war, were beneficiaries by its end.

401 *CDN* 1 March 1917.
402 DeGroot, *Blighty*, 126.
403 *CC* 14 August 1914; 21 August 1914.

Suffrage campaigns were officially suspended during the war, with those normally involved throwing themselves into war work. Thus, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies' summer school of 1915 focussed in a series of lectures on 'the various questions relating to the war, and in particular the various problems that will arise after the war and the connection of the suffrage question with these.' These lectures did touch on politics, but the focus was on the immediate questions of war, and the potential questions of peace.[404] Likewise the Cambridge Women's Suffrage Associations published 'How to help in Cambridge in time of war', a list of organisations and what they needed.[405] Sylvia Pankhurst visited Cambridge in 1916, where she spoke at Queen's Green to 'a few young fellows obviously conscientious objectors, about a dozen young women who looked like Girton or Newnham girls, a similar number of undergraduates, one or two B.A.'s, several labour men, and a few passers-by.' This crowd grew to several hundred, the later arrivals largely hecklers.[406] Her unpopularity in this meeting no doubt came as much from her association with pacifism as from opposition to women's suffrage, if not more so, and her actions were an anomaly in the Cambridgeshire picture. For the most part in the county, the explicit focus on the problems of the war served to emphasise that women were taking an equal part in the political truce.

Illustration 91: CIP 6 November 1914

To focus entirely on the vote, is, however, misleading and gives a distorted view of women's activities in local politics during the war. In 1914 the County and Borough Counties' Qualification Act meant women were eligible for the Town Council on a residential qualification. In October 1914, the *CIP* reported: 'The National Union of

404 *CIP* 13 August 1915.
405 *CIP* 30 October 1914.
406 *CIP* 19 May 1916.

Women Workers think it right to take immediate advantage of its provisions, and are putting forward Mrs J N Keynes, the chairman of the local branch. The ladies are to be congratulated on their prompt action.'[407] Florence Ada Keynes (the initials in the newspaper are those of her husband) was allowed a walkover, the Conservatives, contrary to expectations, deciding not to bring forward a candidate. She had previously served on the board of Guardians, and was described as a 'worthy representative' of the Fitzwilliam Ward.[408] A few months later, Lillian Mellish Clark was successful in standing for the Guardians vacancy. In a criticism of the Conservatives' actions in putting forward a candidate in Petersfield, the editor of the *CIP* accepted the actions of the ladies as 'they stand quite distinct from either political party, and are not so much bound by the truce.' Despite being a Liberal newspaper, the editor referred to Lillian in complimentary terms, even before the contest and despite the fact that she was standing against a Liberal. She was described as a 'strong candidate', and one who had 'been brought closely in touch with poor law work as secretary of the Nursing Association, which provides for the nursing of those in receipt of out-relief', and also as secretary of the Boarding-out Committee, which provided for the boarding out of children into Cambridgeshire villages.[409] It is interesting that reference was made to the charitable work of both Florence and Lillian. The same can be seen in the case of Madeline Adeane, who became an Alderman in August 1917. Her election should, the *CIP* stated 'give general satisfaction.' The editor then proceeded to emphasise that much of the work needed was that where the 'sympathy and judgement of women would be a most important asset.' Madeline was particularly suited due to her involvement in the County Nursing Association, recruiting and troop comforts, and Red Cross Societies.[410]

Although these three women were successful, Miss Constance Cochrane was put forward as a candidate for the County Council, the *CIP* commenting 'There are no lady

407 *CIP* 2 October 1914.
408 *CIP* 9 October 1914.
409 *CIP* 12 March 1915.
410 *CIP* 3 August 1917.

members on the County Council at present, and this would seem an excellent opportunity to repair the omission.'[411] The repair was not made; the following week the *CIP* reported: 'In these days when the help of women is anxiously sought in almost every sphere of labour one hoped that the prejudice against ladies serving on public bodies had died down', but such was not the case for the motion to appoint Constance was defeated twenty-five votes to twenty.[412] For the editor of the *CIP* at least, women's increasing involvement in the sphere of local politics was intimately tied to the question of women's help during the war. This link was posited by many, and was undoubtedly a factor in the decision to grant women the right to vote in 1918, though the exact extent of its influence is a topic of much debate.

With husbands away, many women found themselves running the family business. It is impossible to put a figure on the number of women thus affected; they only appear in the sources when something happened. For instance, an unnamed soldier's wife was summoned to Caxton Petty Sessions for non-payment of rates. Her husband had been a smallholder, and there were issues with the separation allowance. The land, despite her efforts, was falling out of cultivation, as she could get no one to plough it. She expressed her willingness to do the rest of the work, but was unable to plough herself.[413] And, of course, there was Mrs Livermore who ran her husband's hardware shop.[414] Illustrations 92 through 96, which appeared in the *CIP* after the war show a small number of the local women who took on wartime roles to keep businesses running. The bus conductors showing in Illustration 92 both had husbands serving in France; the caption to the photograph commented that while their husbands were away, 'they have been helping to carry on at home.'[415] This theme of carrying on appeared in the captions to all of the photographs, with attendant descriptions of particular branches of women's work. While

411 *CIP* 9 February 1917.
412 *CIP* 16 February 1917.
413 *CIP* 20 October 1916.
414 See the Introduction.
415 *CIP* 2 May 1919.

this war work has left little trace, women were engaged in maintaining local businesses and local services.

Illustration 92: Cambridge Motor 'Bus Conductors: Mrs E Maskell, 112 Argyle-street; Mrs M Palmer, 7a York-terrace. Both employed by the Ortona Motor 'Bus Company. CIP 2 May 1919.

Illustration 93: Cambridge Window Cleaners: Miss Doris Burling, 25 Union-road; Miss Ivy Sadler, 12 Princes-street; Miss Daisy Bird, Fulbourn-road. All employed by the Cambridge Window Cleaning Company. CIP 16 May 1919.

Illustration 94: Dairy Girls: Miss Charlotte Cunningham (Ireland); Miss Gertrude Drink, 8 Occupation-road; Miss Elizabeth Whitmore, 30 Newmarket-road. All employed on dairy rounds by the Sketchworth Dairy. CIP 30 May 1919.

Illustration 95: A Great Eastern Railway Group: Miss E Mace, van driver; Mrs M Fordham, carriage cleaner; Miss G Morley, clerk; Miss G Franklin, ticket collector. CIP 25 April 1919.

Illustration 96: Cambs. County Council Clerks: Mrs L Marsh, Miss L Last, Mrs E Palmer, Miss M S Thurlow, Miss I M Smith, Miss M F Gray, Miss J Mahoney. All County Council clerks. Mrs L Marsh was the Hallkeeper, after her husband left County Council employment to join the Army.

The story of women's employment was not all positive, or uncontentious. Tribunals in Cambridgeshire exhorted employers to take on more women, something Batten found in Devon, though with a focus upon farm labour.[416] In Cambridgeshire, it covered all areas of work, but employers were not always keen to take on women, and even those who did often expressed reservations about the practice. G P Hawkins used sixteen women in his bakery. However, in applying for one of his men he stated that there were heavy duties women could not do, 'although I have one girl who has taken 2,000 loaves an hour off a machine.'[417] Messrs Matthew and Son Ltd, a large grocer which had lost over eighty men, was told to employ women. The manager responded that 'it was impossible to take a

416 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War', 250.
417 *CIP* 17 November 1916.

woman into a shop and make a grocer of her all at once. How could he ask a woman to lift down a side of bacon and cut it up?'[418]In the village, there were fewer opportunities for women to engage in war work than in the Borough. However, although their numbers were generally small, village women did help in the fields. Most of what was written about women on the land was negative, and generally village women were seen as unwilling to help. However, Bottisham's correspondent to the *CIP* suggested that the 'noble response' in that village should be 'recognised in some way', particularly the work of a lady of 74 who went into the fields to help. This suggestion was an explicit response to the negative publicity usually given to village women.[419]

Women were rarely, if ever, paid the same rates as men for the same work. Though generally accepted, in some cases women did protest. A demonstration was held on Parkers' Piece by the National Union of Women Workers' to raise their grievances, particularly in relation to Mr Saint who 'took on a big contract for munition boxes, and up to last June employed men for this work.' The men were paid 7d to 9d per hour. In the place of these men, who were needed in the Army, women were now employed at a rate of 3 ½d to 4 ½d per hour. Arbitration declared that the rate ought to be 6d per hour, Mr Saint refused to give it, and the girls were given notice to leave.[420] The outcome of the protest is unclear, nevertheless it demonstrates that women's rates of pay were matters for public debate. The meeting on Parkers' Piece had a representative from a male union there, and he spoke to emphasise that the women's struggle was everyone's struggle. If women were used as cheap labour, when men returned from fighting they would suffer too. The incident demonstrates not only the way in which women participated in previously male-dominated labour, but also how their working practices could reflect those of men. The National Union of Women Workers may not have been as well-known or influential as its male counterparts, but in this instance was involved the employer-employee relationship. The

418 *CIP* 6 October 1916.
419 *CIP* 7 July 1916; see also the section on women's work away from home in Chapter 2.
420 *CDN* 4 June 1917.

reference to arbitration, more widely expected for the disputes of skilled male labourers with their employers, emphasises this point. Women were, in the workshops of Mr Saint, doing work previously done by men. Their protest that they should receive if not equal pay then at least pay more equitable than that which they were receiving, and the subsequent labour dispute, illuminates a particular case of women's work that would otherwise be invisible. Boxes for munitions were not as interesting as the munitions themselves, and the women working there are unlikely to have moved away from home communities for the employment. It remained, as with the role of women in taking over other areas of previously male employment, an important part not only of the war experience of individuals and communities, but also of the war effort more generally.

Women's engagement on the home front was not limited to charitable works, war work, or politics. Many of the appeals made to women stressed their role at home, and particularly the need for thrift. A report from the Cambridge Branch of the National Union of Women Workers emphasised that not only had they continued their usual activities, but were also doing war work, including efforts to encourage thrift.[421] For many there was a practical as well as a patriotic motive for thrift—Illustration 97 shows a potato queue on Mill Road in 1917. There were 'remarkable scenes' on a Saturday night, after a shop posted up a notice that there would be more potatoes at 7 o'clock. 'People began to assemble nearly an hour before the time stated. The numbers steadily increased until it became necessary for the police to regulate the crowd, and a couple of "specials" and a uniformed policeman, under the direction of Supt. Hargreaves, had their work cut out to preserve a passage for vehicular and pedestrian traffic.' The crowd, and the queue, continued, with the shopkeeper 'serving potatoes as fast as they could go' from seven till closing time.[422] While work at home was rarely reported on (except in cases of neglect), it

421 *CIP* 3 March 1916.
422 *CIP* 20 April 1917.

was nevertheless affected by war conditions, and made women's lives even more difficult than they might otherwise have been.

Illustration 97: CIP 20 April 1917

Women also had a 'job' to do in reproducing. The need for women in factories led to the need, as Grayzel shows, for a 'delicate balancing act'.[423] Women were necessary to produce future generations of soldiers, and the language of the voluntary recruiting period, where questions were asked as to whether mothers were holding back their sons, and women were urged to give their sons, emphasised this role. The 1917 National Baby Week celebrated in Cambridge gives further evidence of the perceived importance of this aspect of women's war work. The celebrations were described as a 'success', and one of the key

423 Susan A Grayzel, *Women's Identities at War: Gender, Motherhood, and Politics in Britain and France during the First World War* (Chapel Hill, 1999), 119.

features of the campaign took place during an open air meeting on Christ's Pieces, when 'an airman flew overhead and dropped showers of "bombs" in the form of cards… The airman's sudden appearance in the middle of the meeting was hailed with delight by both old and young, and his interesting evolutions, performed at high and low altitudes, were keenly watched.' The cards themselves advertised the Cambridge Infant Welfare Committee, requesting subscriptions to the fund. Besides the open air meeting and the air display, prizes were given out for babies, according to 'firmness of flesh and condition of bones, cleanliness and general well-being, suitability of clothing', and points deducted for 'the use of dummy teats'.[424] Although the celebration itself was a significant event in the town's calendar, and took place in conjunction with a national campaign, a number of features can be picked out from it.

The newspaper account gave particular emphasis to the airman and his shower of 'bombs'. Dropping of leaflets in this way was more associated with military work, where pamphlets were sometimes dropped considerable distances over the lines, in the hope of affecting enemy morale. Aeroplanes were still very much a novelty, and stories of airmen were popular in the local press, with portrayals of the (British) airmen as knights, behaving chivalrously. This was often contrasted with the work of German airmen who acted as barbarians by bombing civilian populations. The use of a British airman to drop leaflets was not only a novelty for the population thus 'bombed', but also underlined the connection between the war effort and the baby week. The militarisation implied by the use of an aircraft, and the reference to leaflets as 'bombs' emphasised the role of babies as potential soldiers.

The concern with the health of babies, shown both through the request for subscriptions to the Infant Welfare Committee and the way in which prizes were awarded for the 'best' babies, is also emphasised within the account. The points awarded for 'cleanliness and general well-being', and for 'suitability of clothing' underlined the roll of

424 *CIP* 6 July 1917.

the mother in preparing her child. The work of the Mothers' Schools was also described, 'showing the valuable results obtained by the indefatigable efforts of the ladies interested in the work'. The 'work' was shown as one particularly suited to women, and emphasised weighing and measuring the children, as well as the advice given out to women. Undoubtedly there was a class element to this enterprise; certain mothers, it seemed, needed to receive the 'free advice' from the medical officer, in order to ensure their children grew up healthily. This was far from unique to Cambridgeshire; the Baby Week was opened with an exhibition in Central Hall, Westminster, attended by the Queen, and infant welfare centres were set up across the country.[425] The birth rate was portrayed as a vital national question, and there was a huge increase in concern for infant and child welfare.[426] The intervention of external voluntary bodies underlined the way in which women's work in the home was also a matter for public concern and public scrutiny.

Women engaged with the war effort not only in their workplaces, whether accustomed or unusual, but also in their home lives, in jam-making, knitting, and saving. Their war experience was shaped by the absence, or death, of loved ones on active service. War widows had to come to terms with reduced monetary resources at the same time as overcoming the grief of losing a loved one.

425 J M Winter, 'The Impact of the First World War on Civilian Health in Britain' *Economic History Review* (1977), 497-8.

426 Deborah Dwork, *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children: A history of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898 – 1918* (London, 1987), 208-9

3 – Conclusion

Communities acted throughout the war to self-mobilise in support of the war effort. This was not limited to charitable work, but also encompassed quasi-military service, prayer, and women's war work at home.

During the war, most charitable efforts were focussed around the local, either at a village or a county level. The appetite for flag days declined through the war period, but charitable efforts as a whole do not appear to have declined, and may even have increased. As a halfway house between volunteerism and compulsory mobilisation of society, the War Savings Campaign was similar to the Derby Scheme, combining national mobilisation with local bodies, though its emphasis on self-interest alongside patriotism makes it not, perhaps, entirely charitable.

Volunteering at home occurred in varying ways and with varying degrees of usefulness. Perhaps at the bottom of the 'usefulness' pile was the MA Section of the CUOTC which 'uniformed our dons' but did not do much besides. At the opposite end, Special Constables did play a valuable role in supporting the regular police. These were explicitly organised around the home front community, and were part of the local experience of war and local mobilisation for the war.

Prayer is more difficult to assess. Calls to prayer did not diminish, perhaps even increased, particularly at moments of particular crisis. A much clearer change in wartime patterns can be seen in women's work within the home community. The number of women in non-domestic work unquestionably rose, and the nature of that work grew more varied. The increase, in Cambridge at least, went hand in hand with greater formal involvement in political life.

4 – Wartime Regulations

'At the rate it [the increase of bureaucracy] is proceeding we shall before long be as official-ridden as Germany, and government, both imperial and local, will pass out of the hands of elected representatives, into the control of a bureaucracy.'[427] So warned the editor of the *CIP*, revealing the underlying fear that while certain measures were necessary for the prosecution of the war, such measures might turn Britain into the very thing she fought against.

The extent to which the First World War represented the first 'modern' and/or 'total' war has been a long-running debate, particularly amongst military historians. Much of the debate relates to the weapons and technology of war, and alterations in strategy and tactics.[428] From its heyday in the late 1980s and 1990s, the concept of the 'learning curve' is now being questioned.[429] The debate, however, is a useful one, highlighting the fact that British military strategy, tactics, and weapons were not static during the war.

A similar concept can be applied to the home front, again with the caveat that the 'learning curve' was far from a straight line. By asking how the state, including local government, learned to mobilise the population to support the military, allowance can be

427 *CIP* 20 July 1917.

428 See for example: Jonathan B A Bailey, 'The First World War and the birth of modern warfare' in eds MacGregor Knox and William Murray, *The Dynamics of Military Revolution 1300-2050* (Cambridge, 2001); Shefford Bidwell and Dominick Graham, *Fire-Power: British Army Weapons and Theories of War 1904-1945* (London, 1982); Jonathan Boff, 'Command Culture and Complexity: Third Army during the Hundred Days, August – November 1918' in eds Gary Sheffield and Peter Gray, *Changing War: The British Army, the Hundred Days Campaign and the Birth of the Royal Air Force, 1918* (London, 2013), 19-35; Roger Chickering, 'World War I and the Theory of Total War: Reflections on the British and German Cases, 1914-1915' in eds Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2000), 35-53; Stig Förster, 'Introduction' in eds Roger Chickering and Stig Förster, *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, 2000); Paddy Griffith, *Battle Tactics of the Western Front: The British Army's Art of Attac, 1916-18* (London, 1994); John Lee, 'Some Lessons of the Somme: The British Infantry in 1917' in ed Brian Bond, *'Look to Your Front': Studies in the First World War by the British Commission for Military History* (Staplehurst, 1999); Philpott; Philpott, *Bloody Victory*; Robin Prior and Trevor Wilson, *Command on the Western Front: The Military Career of Sir Henry Rawlinson 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1992); Hew Strachan, 'The War Experienced: Command, Strategy, and Tactics, 1914-18' in ed John Horne, *A Companion to World War I* (Chichester, 2012); Tim Travers, *The Killing Ground: The British Army, the Western Front and the Emergence of Modern Warfare 1900-1918* (London, 1987).

429 https://rusi.org/commentary/beyond-learning-curve-british-armys-military-transformation-first-world-war , accessed 21 June 2018.

made for the differences of timing in different areas of home front policy. A general narrative of chaotic, voluntary effort in the early years of the war, followed by 'remobilisation' (to distinguish from self-mobilisation on the outbreak of war), seems to be popular.[430] The area selected makes a difference in the perceived timing of remobilisation. Politically, and in terms of manpower policy, the Lloyd George coalition marks a departure.[431] In agriculture, Dewey makes a similar argument, suggesting that the December 1916 coalition marked a turning point, with a shift from laissez-faire principles to interventionist ones.[432] A military narrative might instead take 1918 as a turning point, with the development of 'all arms' warfare, or 1916 for the lessons of the Battle of the Somme (while recognising these lessons were poorly applied in late 1917).[433] Within the Cambridgeshire context, however, it is more useful to think in terms of progressive mobilisation. This refers to the increasing mobilisation of human, intellectual, and industrial resource, in both quantitative and qualitative terms, but is not intended to imply a moral judgement of mobilisation. This progressive mobilisation also allows for the incorporation of self-mobilisation through voluntary efforts, and regulatory or compulsory methods to meet those same needs.[434] It must be borne in mind throughout that the 'needs' of the war effort did not remain static—the latter phases of the war required far greater industrial resources than the earlier months.

Although the focus in this chapter is on the control of communities, it must be understood in conjunction with the previous chapter. Voluntary efforts continued throughout the war. And, even in the imposition of regulations, the response of the local community was crucial in their implementation. In Pembrokeshire, Hancock found that the

430 John Horne, 'Remobilizing for 'total war': France and Britain, 1917-1918' in ed John Horne, *State, Society and mobilization in Europe during the First World war* (Cambridge, 1997).
431 Martin Farr, 'A Compelling Case for Volunteerism: Britain's Alternative Strategy, 1915-1916' *War In History* (2002), 293.
432 Peter Dewey, *British Agriculture in the First World War* (Abingdon, 2014), 23.
433 Gary Sheffield, *Forgotten Victory: The First World war: Myths and Realties* (London, 2002), 236; Ian Passingham, *Pillars of Fire: The Battle of Messines Ridge June 1917* (1998); Tony Ashworth, *Trench Warfare 1914-1918: The Live and Let Live System* (Bassingstoke, 1980), 77.
434 See Chapter 3 for the way in which communities self-mobilised for war.

exponential increase in the size of government relied upon the local community.[435] Gregory argues that state interference and intervention were ‘based upon a popular demand for such interference’, though notes that everyone had different ideas about who should be interfered with.[436] In Cambridgeshire, new boards built on existing structures and contained existing officials and prominent local individuals. The Defence Of the Realm Act (DORA) was prosecuted through the existing court system. The Corn Production Act (CPA) built on the County War Agricultural Committees (CWACs). Both, despite being mediated by local individuals (Batten’s ‘provincial patriots’ seems an appropriate description), were substantial extensions of governance and regulation.[437] While delegated to county, and even parish, authority, the new boards and measures very clearly stemmed from the needs of the war.

The control of communities began with the regulations of DORA, and the increasing number of soldiers occupying civilian spaces. Although censorship is the best-known aspect of DORA, lighting restrictions arguably had a greater day to day impact. On the farms, the County War Agricultural Executive Committees (CWAECs) gained enormous powers to dictate what local farmers could grow where. Minimum wages for labourers were set, and, in exchange, a guaranteed minimum price for corn was offered. Crops like Brussels sprouts required special permission, and the committee inspected failed crops before allowing farmers to plough them up. In extreme cases, tenants could be removed from their land.

It was not just the external that was regulated. In the winter of 1916-17 the Church of England embarked on the National Mission of Penitence and Hope. It aimed to revitalise morality and thus secure God’s favour in battle. The event itself was portrayed (afterwards) as only the beginning, and the National Mission absorbed ample prayer, planning, and

435 Hancock, ‘The Social Impact of the First World War in Pembrokeshire’, 23.
436 Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 111.
437 Batten, 'Devon and the First World War'.

person-power. If it was not the success that was hoped for, the very effort and investment in it demands attention.

4.1 – Military Spaces in Cambridgeshire

Almost immediately upon the outbreak of war, Cambridge received an infusion of soldiers, and they remained, in various guises, throughout the war. This was a significant departure from peacetime norms.[438] Though initially billeted in the town, both in schools and on local greens, they gradually moved into the countryside, with a new encampment near Cherry Hinton Hall, and a large contingent based at Wisbech for training. This move into the countryside was continued with the formation of agricultural labour battalions, used to provide substitute and additional labour on the farms. Simultaneously, a number of the Colleges became the homes of Officer Cadet Battalions (OCBs), bringing the military into the University itself.

The stationing of soldiers was eagerly sought by towns across England. In Essex, Hallifax argues that the desire to have soldiers was 'clearly not only based on a desire to witness and support the war effort, but also to make some money from it if possible.'[439] In Cambridgeshire, the concern was to make up for the loss of the student trade. After the departure of the Welsh Division, the Mayor wrote to the War Office to request more troops be billeted in Cambridge, 'for there can be no question that the lodging-house keepers and the tradesmen mainly dependent upon them have been "hit" most by the war.'[440] That lodging-house keepers, who depended on the student trade, had been badly hit by the war was undeniable—in October 1915 over fifty appeared in the Borough Police Court to answer summonses for non-payment of rates.[441] There were thus multiple motives for seeking soldiers. Not least of those was the hope, if not to make profit from it, then at least recover lost income.

438 See Chapter 2 and Appendix 3 for a fuller discussion of Cambridgeshire's local units. Cambridgeshire before the war did not have a garrison town, and the county regiment was purely Territorial.
439 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 86.
440 *CIP* 18 July 1915.
441 *CIP* 1/ October 1915.

Illustration 98: Soldiers on Parker's Piece in 1914. Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library. T.G.K14 21580

Cambridge played host, in the early months of the war, to the Sixth Division, who camped on Parkers' Piece and Jesus Green. Their presence in the town altered the areas available for civilian occupation and recreation, and created an area of overlapping jurisdiction. Thus, soldiers appeared in the civil courts at petty sessions, and civilians who committed offences against the army were likewise tried in civilian courts (the most common was the illicit purchase of uniform from soldiers). However, it was not just soldiers from outside the area who were billeted in Cambridge. By 11 September it was impossible to send more soldiers to the depot at Bury St Edmunds, and so arrangements had to be made to house recruits locally.[442] This led to the use of local schools for billeting, a problematic matter for both the soldiers, and for their usual occupants. W J Senescall recalled that 'We had to sleep on some gallery steps. The chap above me kept rolling on to me. What a night!'[443] The education committee, and others interested in educational issues, grew increasingly concerned, and increasingly vocal, about the loss of educational space to the military. The counter argument accused the supporters of education of being

442 *CIP* 11 September 1914.
443 Papers of W J Senescall, Imperial War Museums, Documents.15087.

unpatriotic. The University stepped in to offer space to the displaced children, but the issue continued to rumble on through September.[444] In the event, somewhere else was found. Land near Cherry Hinton Hall was selected, and hutments constructed in record time. Unfortunately these rapidly built huts were far from weather proof, and the ground itself proved a particularly swampy area.[445]

Illustration 99: 11 Suffolks in training in Cambridge. This may show the hut barracks. Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library. T.G.K14 13348

From 1915, billeting moved largely into the countryside and University. Wisbech was a popular spot amongst the 203rd Royal Engineers thanks to ample strawberries and a sunny summer.[446] Wisbech continued to play host to soldiers throughout the war; on Armistice Day the London Scottish were encamped there and able to add music to the celebrations (Illustration 100). It was also during the First World War that Duxford airfield was first constructed. Meanwhile, several Colleges hosted first the Welsh Division, and then Officer Cadet Battalions. The situation was described thus in the *Review:* 'Cambridge

444 See debates in the *CIP* throughout September 1914, and particularly 25 September 1914.
445 Costin, *The Cambridgeshire Kitcheners*, 43-44.
446 W C Gibbs, *A Record of the 203rd Field Company (Cambs) Royal Engineers 1915-1919* (Cambridge, 1921)

is once more under military occupation... Since the departure of the Sixth Division in September the town has been unusually quiet until the arrival of the Welsh Territorial Division in Christmas week, when the stir and bustle, due to the presence in our midst of large bodies of troops, began again. This time there is a difference. In August and September the men were under canvas on our Commons, now they are billeted right amongst us; public halls and private houses have been opened to them, and there are few neighbourhoods in the town where we do not awake to the reveille at 6.30, if only to turn over and resume our slumber.'[447] The description of military 'occupation' hardly equates with the experiences of civilians in the war zones themselves; nevertheless the large numbers of soldiers present altered the social life of the town, and its soundscape too as the reference to the 'noise' and the reveille which awoke residents and soldiers alike shows.

Illustration 100: Armistice Day in Wisbech, with the band of the London Scottish. Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library. 6575

447 *Review* 20 January 1915.

Illustration 101: King George V talking to the Mayor W. L. Raynes, near Parker's Piece, during visit of 1915 to inspect the troops in training. Cambridgeshire Collection, Cambridge Central Library. S.1915 45706

Parades also appeared within the physical and spatial landscape of the town, and could prove popular attractions for the local population. In December 1914, a 'great number of spectators assembled around the Piece in the expectation of witnessing an imposing military display, the general interest having been heightened by the rumour that had got about that his Majesty the King was coming to inspect the troops. This rumour proved as reliable as its many predecessors.'[448] The following year, however, the King did come to inspect the local troops, and the visit was greeted with enthusiasm.

448 *CIP* 4 December 1914.

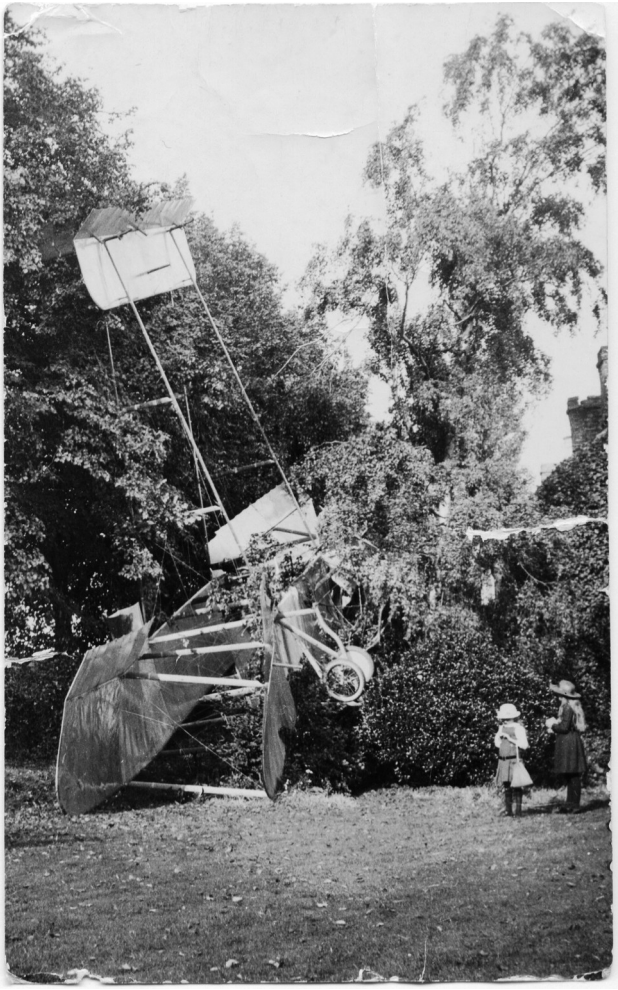


Illustration 102: Norris Knight's plane after crashing in Barnes House, St Ives, September 1917. Cambridgeshire Collection

Soldiers were not only part of the human landscape when they were in training. They also appeared home on leave, something frequently remarked upon in the local news sections of the *CIP*, often with a comment on how well the local soldier was looking. Sometimes visits were more impressive, as in 1917 when Flight Lieutenant W Kirby paid a 'flying visit' to his family in Over. After circling over the village on Saturday, around mid-day, he landed in the village. 'Unfortunately in landing he "bumped" into a hollow in the field, causing damage to the propeller and undercarriage. The visit was consequently prolonged.'[449] In Wyton, a similar flying visit had a more tragic ending, when Lieutenant Wastell crashed into St Ives Church. The spire collapsed, doing considerable damage to the church, and Lieutenant Wastell was killed. This crash was somewhat mysterious, although a local story suggests that the student pilot was dropping off a serjeant for a night out in the town.[450] A few months previously, Norris Knight crashed his aircraft into the garden of Barnes House in St Ives, though he survived.[451] The near constant presence of soldiers, sailors, or airmen not only in the town but in the villages is an important factor in exploring the extent to which the war affected every area of the county.

449 *CIP* 13 July 1917.
450 Chris Dunn, 'Pilot Error', *Cambridge Journal* (March, 2004), 16
451 With thanks to Mary Burgess, of the Cambridgeshire Collection, who shared these stories.

Convalescent hospitals sent wounded soldiers into all corners of the county. A number of villages housed VAD hospitals, and these brought the wounded into close contact with residents. Those recovering in the Whittlesford VAD Hospital decided that they would raise money for 'much-desired' recreation rooms. To that end, they gave concerts in various villages. 'What is being done by the soldiers in this respect is much appreciated, all the more so when it is realised that the soldiers who are providing these concerts will have left by the time the rooms are built.'[452] This was far from the only time wounded soldiers were involved in local life; cricket matches against local residents were also popular. They illustrate the way convalescents could become part of the life of a village, and their inclusion within social events was part of the overlap between military and civilian spaces and events. Wounded soldiers remained under military discipline, and civilians who bought them drinks could find themselves in trouble with the law. The presence of soldiers in this way extended the areas and individuals who were either under or in close contact with military discipline.

Illustration 103: The damage to St Ives Church. Cambridgeshire Collection

452 *CIP* 1 October 1915.

Illustration 104: Postcard from 'Will' to Miss R Andrews of Wandsworth, telling her not to write till he sent his new address, as he expected to move on from the hospital shortly. Posted Cambridge 10 July 1917. Author's Collection

Illustration 105: Postcard from 'Will' to Miss R Andrews of Wandsworth, notifying her that he had moved to Cottenham Convalescent VAD Hospital, posted Cottenham 11 July 1917 (Author's Collection)

The military authorities sought to control soldiers at all times, leading to both local and national restrictions on soldiers' off duty behaviour. Soldiers stationed at Newmarket were excluded from the dancing class at the Memorial Hall. The commanding officer had a reputation 'of being a rigid disciplinarian', and had earlier placed betting rings out of bounds. Contemporaries considered this entirely acceptable. However, the way the order was phrased led to a good deal of 'feeling' (as the *CIP* delicately put it). Colonel Tufnell believed that 'Cadets ought not to mix with shop girls.' The editor of the *CIP* took a deal of umbrage, and pointed out that giving no reason would have been far better in this case. The same section referred to another order in force in Newmarket as a contrast. Soldiers in uniform were not allowed to walk arm-in-arm with their wives in the streets. Nobody suggested that they were not fit company for their husbands, and nobody had any problems with the order.[453] This incident illustrates the way in which the presence of the military in home communities extended the spaces under military discipline, whether those involved were soldiers or the civilians they were mingling with (or being forbidden to mingle with).

On a national level, regulations were passed prohibiting the 'treating' of soldiers, in order to minimise incidences of drunkenness. The *CIP* commented that 'The desire to treat men comes from a most creditable motive, but it is a very bad way when carried beyond the strict limit of sobriety.'[454] It was thus acknowledged that there was a legitimate reason for men to want to treat soldiers, but emphasis was placed upon this being not in the national interest, despite being a nice thing for the individual concerned. There were frequent prosecutions. The magistrate at Newmarket Police Court took advantage of the appearance of a Burwell landlord (the case was adjourned on that occasion) to decry allowing soldiers to get drunk as an unpatriotic act. 'These men are being trained to fight for their lives... We are convinced that a man cannot do a more unpatriotic act than to let these soldiers have a lot of beer.'[455] This prosecution was against a landlord for permitting

453 *CIP* 27 April 1917
454 *CIP* 1 January 1915.
455 *CIP* 19 March 1915.

drunkenness, others focussed on those who bought the soldiers beer. Even when not 'treated', however, soldiers were quite capable of getting drunk on their own. Private George Knight was discovered on top of a petrol tank, with no ladder, and it took the Special Constable who noticed him there some time to get him down. In Court it was observed that they had no idea how he got up there. George couldn't remember. His officer insisted he had a fine military record (he did, if you ignored the penalties for drunkenness). As he had been charged with being on enclosed premises for unlawful purposes and could not remember why he was there, the judge decided to be lenient.[456]

The claims about the lack of patriotism shown in giving alcohol to soldiers were tied to a wider debate about the place of alcohol in society. Various temperance leagues and movements were active during the war, and Cambridge had its own Temperance Hotel. This wider debate was focussed onto the specifics of the war, and the necessity for wartime restraint was stressed by many who would not go so far as to insist on permanent abstinence. There were frequent concerns raised about the issue of drunkenness and lost time. The latter was more relevant to civilian concerns, and more prevalent where munitions were being produced, but nevertheless found its place in Cambridge, and was endorsed by the *CIP*. The *CC*, however, was less supportive. The editor criticised the 'unwarrantable interference with the rights and liberties of the local civilians', and went on to describe the justices as 'panic-y', issuing regulations backed up by 'teetotal cranks'.[457] Regulations on opening hours did grow more stringent as the war continued, and the public house was frequently associated with 'shirkers'. According to William Brand it was the favourite hang out of young men who really ought to have enlisted.[458] Despite the *CC*'s counter-attacks, the public house and alcohol became associated with unpatriotism, but not enough to close them down.

456 *CC* 4 September 1914.
457 *CC* 28 August 1914.
458 Mayo, *The Diary of William John Brand 1914-1918*, 17 April 1915.

Alcohol was not the only area for concern. Fears about the behaviour of visiting soldiers, and their effect on young women, were voiced in Cambridgeshire as well as being part of a national debate.[459] These concerns were not entirely ill-founded. In October 1915, Driver Evan Roderick Davies escaped from the Newmarket Road infections diseases hospital, and assaulted a Cambridge lady when she opened her door, whereupon she screamed. A nearby man intervened, and was commended for his actions when the case came to court. It was initially intended to try it as indecent assault, but this was changed to common assault to allow the magistrates to deal with the case. Evan was sentenced to two months imprisonment with hard labour.[460] Incidents such as these raised considerable tensions in the town, where the civil authorities criticised the laxity of the measures the military took to protect civilians.

Soldiers of lower medical categories were offered to agriculturalists, initially just at key times of the year, and gradually throughout the year. Their first use was in 1915, for bringing in the harvest. This first scheme was not particularly popular, and suffered from a number of problems.[461] The following year's scheme was not significantly more successful. There were 'some hot discussions' at the Cambs and Isle of Ely War Agricultural Committee in November 1916 dealing with the question of substitution. The farmers were reminded that 'soldiers are still available for ploughing, threshing, etc' on application to the Labour Exchange.[462] Spring 1917, however, saw the addition of more soldiers, and the creation of special agricultural companies from Home Defence Troops.[463] Grieves argues that from 1917, the countryside became increasingly militarised, with large numbers of soldiers working in the fields, and farms 'repositioned in a militarised landscape'.[464] These subsequent schemes, and the provision of companies of soldier labourers, do seem to have

459 Stella Moss, '"Wartime Hysterics"?: Alcohol, Women and the Politics of Wartime Social Purity in England' in ed Jessica Meyer, *British Popular Culture and the First World War* (London, 2008), 148
460 *CIP* 15 October 1915.
461 *CIP* 3 September 1915.
462 *CIP* 24 November 1916.
463 P E Dewey, 'Government Provision of Farm Labour in England and Wales, 1914-1918' *The Agricultural History Review* 27.2 (1979), 111.
464 Keith Grieves, 'War Comes to the Fields', 172

had a more useful impact. They were also a much more visible, and visibly still military, presence on the farms.

Soldiers were present in civilian spaces during the First World War to an unprecedented degree. Although this was often on leave, or as convalescents in local hospitals, they were also present in the fields and to train. Their location changed during the war, from being largely based in the big fields and in larger public buildings in Cambridge to occupying parts of the University and being spread across villages to labour on the land. Their presence altered the human geography of the town, giving rise to unfamiliar sights and sounds. The extent to which soldiers from outside the area became part of the local community is difficult to assess, however the involvement of convalescents in particular in village activities suggests that they were at least partially integrated in local communities.

4.2 – DORA and Food Control

DORA aimed to put the whole country on a war footing, and gave sweeping powers to the government. From restricting where enemy aliens could live to laying out penalties for 'statements prejudicial to recruiting', it was intended to protect the British state and enable the effective waging of war—at least in so far as such effectiveness could be assured by attempts to control the home front. Many of its powers were not used to their full extent, particularly the power of censorship, and it was always dependent, as with all laws, upon what the local police, special constables, and courts decided to enforce. There was an overall decrease in the crime rate, but the war produced new types of crimes.[465]

Of all the DORA regulations, it was those concerning lighting which had the greatest day to day impact on Cambridgeshire people. Parish churches were forced to change venues for ones where the lights could be more easily obscured, and/or hold services at an earlier hour during the winter. The University moved afternoon exams to 1pm, so that they would finish before it became necessary to light the halls.[466] Households and businesses were forced to find ways of reducing their lighting or shielding it more effectively. Special Constables patrolled with unpopular vigilance. In 1917, the *CIP* noted that 'there has been some chafing against the continuance of the lighting restrictions', as there had not been Zeppelin raids for several months. However, the raid that week 'should convince grumblers of the necessity of continued strictness.'[467] White's conception of a guiding principle of 'equality of sacrifice' in determining which sacrifices individuals and communities were willing to make can be seen in part through this incident. In Devon, resentment of the lighting restrictions came because of a perceived inequality in their enforcement, with some towns under less severe restrictions than others.[468] In Cambridgeshire, however, the emphasis seems to have been on what might be called the

465 DeGroot, *Blighty*, 141.
466 *Cambridge Recorder* 30 November 1915.
467 *CIP* 25 May 1917.
468 White, 'War and the Home Front', 62

'necessity of sacrifice', with the newspaper supporting the policy by suggesting that it was necessary to comply.

The lighting regulations did not lack teeth. They were enthusiastically enforced by Special Constables, and the need to change times and make other arrangements to comply with the regulations was underlined by a plethora of prosecutions.[469] One in November 1916 was caused by a visiting vicar who preached for longer than was expected at Hinxton Parish Church. Rev Twells protested that 'he could not well interrupt the rev. gentleman by pulling him out of the pulpit by the leg, so he just let him go on.' The magistrates were unsympathetic, and fined the Vicar 15s.[470] Other offenders were shop keepers and people at home, but even the University was not exempt. John Foster, a graduate student at Caius, was fined 10s for failing to screen the window of a bedroom at the college on 20 February 1916.[471] Frequent offenders could expect to be even more stringently punished, with higher fines and stern words of warning from the presiding magistrate. Illustration 85, charting the rise in lighting prosecutions found in the Cambridge Petty Session records, shows the sheer number of cases.[472]

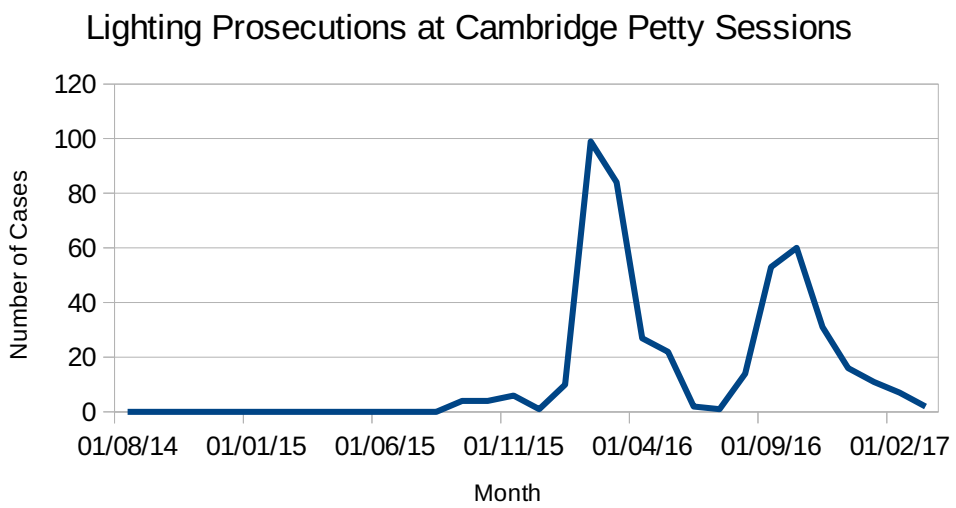


Illustration 106: Lighting Prosecution Cases at Cambridge Petty Sessions, August 1914 to March 1917

469 See Chapter 3 for more on the Special Constables.
470 *CIP* 17 November 1916.
471 *CIP* 10 March 1916.
472 The Cambridge Petty Session Records have only been published up to April 1917; the Cambridgeshire Family History Society withdrew the subsequent volume for privacy reasons.

The lighting restrictions, and their enforcement, underlined fears that Britain was no longer an island, and that Zeppelins might bomb Cambridgeshire. Huge efforts were made to prepare for a possible raid. The Red Cross made arrangements to deal with wounded—every member of the men's detachment had an assembly point, and when bomb sites were found, aid teams would be dispatched, and the wounded taken to Addenbrookes.[473] Arrangements were also made to deal with the risk of fires.[474] These fears were not entirely groundless. Although air raids did not strike Cambridge, Essex was raided, and London was not far away either. A raid in February 1916 saw bombs dropped on the Suffolk border.[475] Several Cambridgeshire people were killed in air raids, though not in Cambridge itself. Amongst them was Amos Savidge of Cottenham, who was stationed on the coast during an air raid. He died only a month after his marriage to May Leete, of Histon.[476] Wolverhampton, which did suffer an air raid in January 1916, saw a subsequent tightening of lighting restrictions.[477] Fears of aerial bombardment were used to justify the expansion of criminal behaviour to include displaying lights. The lighting restrictions were part of a war fought on multiple fronts, which engaged vast swathes of society and left no area of the county untouched.

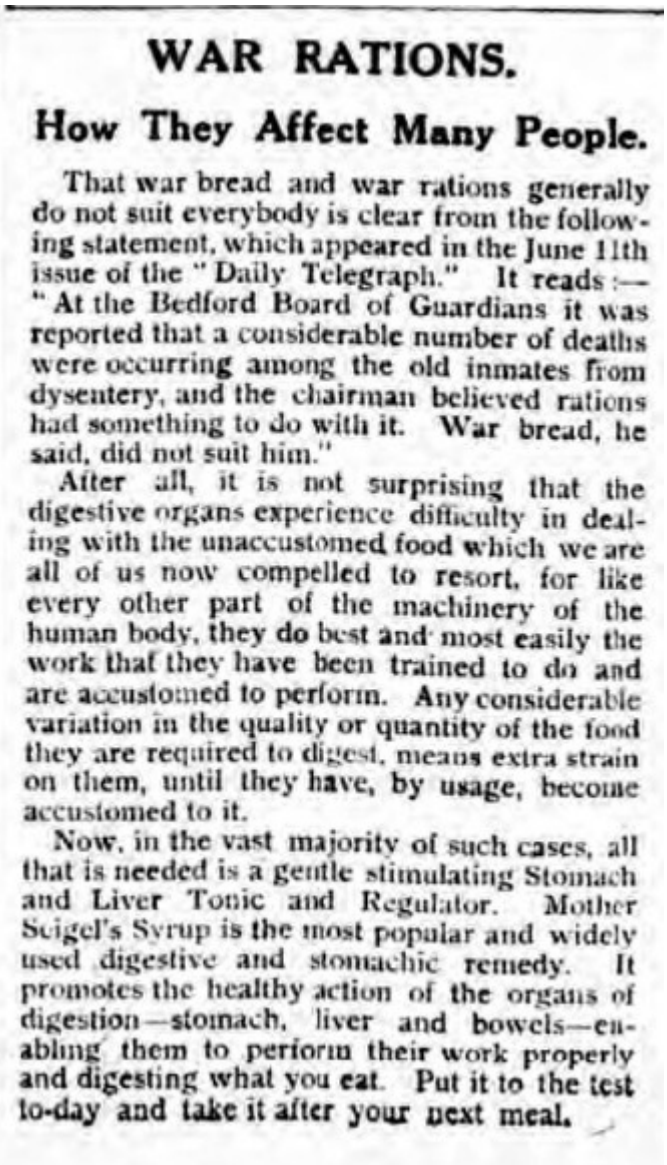
After lighting restrictions—and tied to them—the issue which provoked the most comment was the introduction of daylight saving time. Intended to help production, it prompted criticism in the press. It so upset one don that he used it as a comparative, describing the remission of terms (so that undergraduates on war service did not have to be 'up' at Cambridge as long) as being 'as immoral a proposition as the proposal in Parliament to call the hour of four o'clock in the morning six o'clock, and so on, to alter the time of day for the purpose of what was called daylight saving.'[478] This vigorous criticism, equating daylight saving with other immoral acts and using it as an ultimate negative to

473 *CIP* 5 March 1915.
474 *CIP* 21 May 1915.
475 *CIP* 4 February 1916.
476 *CIP* 12 July 1917.
477 Gower, 'The Civilian Experience of World War I', 255.
478 *Reporter* 25 May 1915.

make a debating point, highlights just how great the uproar (and confusion) was. Nevertheless, that particular don's reaction was on the extreme end of the scale; most people, and most newspapers, simply grumbled about it, or, in the case of the vicar of All Saints', took care to remind parishioners about its imminence.[479] In May 1916 when daylight saving was accepted, the *CIP* noted that it had 'begun amid almost universal ridicule', but suddenly, in the course of a week, Press, Parliament and public capitulated.[480] Though on the face of it a small change, the wartime acceptance of an alteration of time itself illustrates the extent to which the authorities were prepared to go to put the country on a war footing.

More seriously, the Defence of the Realm Act also covered 'making statements detrimental to recruiting'. Interestingly one of the cases reported in Cambridgeshire was that of a Derby canvasser. In Earith,[481] a 'well-known resident', Oliver Parren was alleged to have said that 'the pluckiest man stops at home', and to have been overheard to say to someone intending to enlist that they'd been 'frightened into it'. However, he had 'at various times since the war shown his patriotism', and Parren argued that he could not remember precisely what he said, but he had not meant anything by it. The magistrates were not convinced, and he was fined £2 2s.[482] Besides providing yet more evidence as to why the Derby Scheme was not such a great success as was hoped, the incident illustrates how attempts were made to regulate if not what people thought, then at least what they expressed. The case is notable for its reliance effectively on hear-say.

479 *ASPM* April 1917.
480 *CIP* 12 May 1916.
481 Technically over the county border in Huntingdonshire, but reported in the *CIP* and very much on the border.
482 *CIP* 21 January 1916.



WAR RATIONS.

How They Affect Many People.

That war bread and war rations generally do not suit everybody is clear from the following statement, which appeared in the June 11th issue of the "Daily Telegraph." It reads:—"At the Bedford Board of Guardians it was reported that a considerable number of deaths were occurring among the old inmates from dysentery, and the chairman believed rations had something to do with it. War bread, he said, did not suit him."

After all, it is not surprising that the digestive organs experience difficulty in dealing with the unaccustomed food which we are all of us now compelled to resort, for like every other part of the machinery of the human body, they do best and most easily the work that they have been trained to do and are accustomed to perform. Any considerable variation in the quality or quantity of the food they are required to digest, means extra strain on them, until they have, by usage, become accustomed to it.

Now, in the vast majority of such cases, all that is needed is a gentle stimulating Stomach and Liver Tonic and Regulator. Mother Seigel's Syrup is the most popular and widely used digestive and stomachic remedy. It promotes the healthy action of the organs of digestion—stomach, liver and bowels—enabling them to perform their work properly and digesting what you eat. Put it to the test to-day and take it after your next meal.

Illustration 107: CIP 20 July 1917

The food situation, with the introduction of rationing, tighter control on the sale of foodstuffs, even the introduction of 'war bread' (bad for the digestion, according to Illustration 107), brought the First World War to the table.[483] Food became a key part of winning the battle against the Germans, though many identified enemies closer to home as being to blame for high prices and shortages—hoarders and profiteers.[484] Koning argues that a key reason for the defeat of Germany was food scarcity, while the maintenance of the food supply in Britain preserved the British ability to wage war.[485]

As with other areas of home front mobilisation, the outbreak of war saw appeals to voluntary efforts. Aelfrida Tillyard writing in the *CM* observed that 'My husband says that "economy" is the most odious word in the dictionary. I have always had a fondness for it.... Now, however, there seems to be no doubt; and economy is enthroned as a virtue, at least until the end of the war.' She suggested giving up 'those delightful little trips to town', and

483 *CIP* 20 July 1917.
484 Terry Charman, *The First World War on the Home Front* (London, 2014), 178-9.
485 Nick Koning, *Failure of Agrarian Capitalism: Agrarian Politics in the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands and the USA, 1846-1919* (London, 1994), 158.

noted that butter had entirely disappeared.[486] However, growing concerns about the food supply, even in agricultural counties, led to an escalation in class tension.[487] In 1915, a resolution of the Cambridge Branch of the Independent Labour Party 'protests in disgust against the capitalists using the national crisis to enlarge their profits by increasing the price of food stuffs, and calls upon the Government to take control of the shipping industry and of the food supplies.'[488] Harris argues that after the poor harvest of 1916, 'the demand for a more positive food policy became one of the main spearheads of attack on the Asquith coalition.'[489] By late 1916, this was translated into unease across the country, and a growing feeling that voluntary efforts were not enough.[490] This did not result in immediate rationing, but it is important to note that food policy was demanded from below as much as it was imposed from the top.

November 1916 saw 'a revolution in… food policy'--the appointment of a Food Controller, fixed prices of food, an end to bread made from white flour, and 'extravagance in sweets to be checked'. The measures initially passed were referred to as a 'first instalment', increasing measures due to be taken subsequently.[491] The editor of the *CIP* observed that the war had allowed the 'diet crank' to come into his own. While no particular position amongst these 'diet cranks' was said to have been the winner, society had nevertheless 'adopted what is common to all the diet faddists… Their common feature is an overwhelming interest in what they eat and drink.'[492] This interest appeared time and again in the local newspaper, with a marked increase in interest after late 1916. In part, this was down to the appointment of the local Food Control Committees. The proceedings were reported in detail over the months to follow. Given the frequency of meetings (every week or every fortnight in most cases) this meant a substantial devotion of column inches to the

486 *CM* 6 November 1914.
487 White, 'War and the Home Front', 74
488 *CIP* 5 February 1915.
489 José Harris, 'Bureaucrats and Businessmen in British Food Control, 1916-19' in ed Kathleen Burk, *War and the State: The Transformation of British Government, 1914-1919* (London, 1982), 138
490 Matthew Richardson, *The Hunger War: Food, Rations and Rationing 1914-1918* (Barnsley, 2015), 106.
491 *CIP* 17 November 1916.
492 *CIP* 24 November 1916.

question. Howard's suggestion that while non-military factors are important in assessing why the war took place, but once the war began 'events on the battlefield determined what happened on the home front' seems particularly apt in connection with food control.[493] In February 1917, the *CIP* commented that 'It is the business of the Admiralty now to say "Don't worry" in whatever terms Parliamentary usage may dictate. The Food Controller, on the other hand, has to assure us that every crumb is sacred, and we all remember Mr Prothero's reminder that we are a beleaguered city.'[494] This shows how the perception of military (or naval) realities directly affected life on the home front.

The appointment of a Food Controller and the gradual increase in control over food continued from regulation of prices and types of food to be sold through to rationing, marked the biggest intervention of the state in the lives of its individual citizens.[495] By 1918, 80% of food consumed by civilians was bought and sold through the Ministry of Food.[496] However, as with other areas of intervention, it was not aimed solely at individuals. Rationing, particularly of sugar, was part of a community context. Applications for sugar to make jam were made through village representatives, and the sugar was allotted 'for the sole purpose of making jam from fruit grown in their gardens or allotments.'[497] Arguably it was the town and University which suffered more from the food restrictions than in the countryside. Dorothy Marshall, who came up to Girton in 1918, found the catering a great disappointment, but observed 'perhaps many of my fellow students were more hardened to war time catering having spent the last few years in a boarding school, or in an urban setting where they had less access to a modest black market than I. Rationing in a country village was a less restricting business.'[498] Before coming up, she lived in Old Hutton, in Cumbria, and her memoir suggests that the greater

493 Michael Howard, *The First World War* (Oxford, 2002), v.
494 *CIP* 16 February 1917.
495 Harris, 'British Food Control, 1916-19', 144.
496 Edmund C Penning-Roswell, 'Who 'Betrayed' Whom? Power and Politics in the 1920/1921 Agricultural Crisis' *Agricultural History Review* 45.2 (1997), 177.
497 *CIP* 31 August 1917.
498 Dorothy Marshall, *The Making of a 20th Century Woman: A Memoir*, (London, 2003), 49.

freedom from rationing was as much down to the village context there as greater availability of food.

Communal kitchens were set up too. The proposal for a Cambridge Communal Kitchen was put before the Town Council in May 1917. 'The idea of the promoters was to secure food economy, and at the same time to provide good, hot, well-cooked food at a price within the reach of all.' There was to be a small dining room, but it was anticipated that most would take their food home.[499] In June, the kitchen opened and 'should the popularity that attended it on the first evening continue, there is no doubt as to its ultimate success.' Situated on Fitzroy-street, the kitchen concept had been taken up enthusiastically by a group of ladies. The Executive Committee was entirely female, though the General Committee contained Almeric Paget MP as President, and various local worthies (male and female).[500] The prominence of women within the communal kitchen emphasises that this area of war control and war regulation was one which touched particularly on domestic life, and one in which women were expected to play a leading role.

The drive for increased control over food distribution continued to come from below. The Vicar of All Saints' used Lent to urge 'voluntary self-denial' in response to the national call, while acknowledging that the Church itself was allowing for a more relaxed rule of abstinence 'owing to the strain of the times.'[501] A 'well-attended' meeting in November 1917 resolved in favour of compulsory rationing.[502] In December, the editor of the *CIP* reflected that Sheffield, Chesterfield and Preston were 'following the example of Birmingham, and are busy evolving schemes for more equitable rationing and the abolition of queues… Is it beyond the capacity of the Cambridge Committee to devise some such scheme?'[503] Chesterton determined in February 1918 to adopt the London scheme of rationing for margarine, along with sugar.[504] This decision again highlights that although

499 *CIP* 4 May 1917.
500 *CIP* 22 June 1917.
501 *ASPM* March 1917.
502 *CIP* 2 November 1917.
503 *CIP* 21 November 1917.
504 *CIP* 15 February 1918.

there was some national direction, the bulk of the drive for food control came from local communities. It was a response not only to national concerns about food supply and the submarine menace, but to local concerns about queues, inequitable distribution, and high prices. It was not until March 1918 that Cambridge Borough adopted a rationing scheme for meat and margarine, alongside sugar. The regulations were complicated, with certain restrictions on how much meat of a particular type could be bought as well as on the purchase of meat more generally.[505] A few weeks later, the *CIP* reflected on the scheme, noting that on the whole it worked well, but there were concerns over bones and brawn. 'Both… were discussed by the Cambridge Food Control Committee last Monday, but—as might have been expected—no decision was arrived at.'[506] The continued criticism of food control in the local newspapers underlines not only the importance of the food question to local people, but also that the interest and concern was not restricted to official figures looking at the national picture. Food concerns affected all households, bringing the war into the home and kitchen.

Although communities mobilised voluntarily, it seemed necessary right from the start to have additional coercive powers at the beck and call of local authorities. These were exercised at local discretion, and although there were complaints about the lighting restrictions, and about the introduction of daylight saving time, occasional incidents of Zeppelin bombing raids or spy scares led to acceptance of the regulations. In the case of food control, pressure for food regulations came from the local press, expressing the concerns of local people about its inequitable or inefficient distribution. The local community was thus involved at every step in the progressive mobilisation of society to meet the needs of the war.

505 *CIP* 29 March 1918.
506 *CIP* 28 April 1916.

4.3 – The Corn Production Act

'Lord Milner has written a letter stating that there is likely next year to be a serious shortage of wheat… He therefore urges British farmers... to cultivate an increased area for the production of wheat, and thus save the country from an immediate catastrophe.'[507] This is an early example of appeals that persisted throughout the war, gradually gaining enforcement through DORA and the CPA. Relying initially on the patriotism of farmers, the government simultaneously issued appeals to the patriotism of farm workers in a diametrically opposite direction. It was impossible, as farmers, commentators, and common sense argued, to increase the amount of land under wheat while simultaneously allowing farm labourers to enlist in great numbers. The deficit in labour had to be met somehow, and women, children, old age pensioners, prisoners of war, conscientious objectors, and men fit for home service only were encouraged into working on the land, with varying degrees of success and effectiveness. Until late 1916, British food supply had been 'left in the hands of individual farmers, who were guided as much by self-interest as they were by national interests.'[508] Without a minimum price guarantee, farmers were reluctant to plough up marginal land, which had been converted to more profitable (and less labour intensive) pasture during the agricultural depression before the war.

Although initial efforts to increase production were undertaken on a voluntary basis, these proved insufficient, and increasing demands were made for the regulation of food production. In essence, the story of the DORA regulations pertaining to agriculture and the CPA which built on those is the counterpart to the demands for greater control over food distribution. The regulations of the CPA built on voluntary efforts, with CWACs becoming County War Agricultural Executive Committees (CWAECs), with various powers to seize and improve land, and to interfere in the supply of men to the armed forces. Grieves

507 *CC* 4 September 1914.
508 White, 'War and the Home Front', 107.

describes 1917 as the year when 'all hands to the plough' acquired a similar resonance to the calls for increased production of shells in 1915.[509] The primary purpose of the CPA was to increase food production, but it included measures to benefit all those who worked or made their living from the land. Guaranteed minimum prices for farmers were framed hand in hand with minimum wages for agricultural workers, something that had long been resisted, and which remained unpopular. The policy added 970,000 acres to the cultivated area in 1917, but plans for additional ploughing up lapsed in early 1918 due to the German Spring Offensive and alterations in manpower policy.[510] The mobilisation of the agricultural sector (as distinct from agricultural workers) can thus be seen as going in phases, from voluntary maintenance of existing supplies, through a period of crisis, greater state regulation, and into a more controlled decision to pull labour from farming in response to military crisis. The fortunes of agriculture, and agricultural policy, were tied throughout to issues of manpower.

Contemporary concerns about agriculture were expressed and explored on a local level. In Devon, White argues that the formation of Executive Committees 'demonstrated the government's awareness of the regional variations that afflicted Britain's agricultural industry and showed a willingness on the part of policy makers to make the necessary changes.'[511] Even in Cambridgeshire, there was a vast difference between the agriculture practised in different districts. Wisbech was largely a fruit growing area; the Linton district had some large pasture farms but was primarily agrarian; meanwhile the areas around Chesterton contained large numbers of market gardeners and smallholders. Each area thus had its own particular problems and labour requirements. Local devolution of decisions meant that in 1918 county committees were told how many men to supply from agriculture, and left to make the decisions themselves.[512] However, it must be remembered that the local bodies were to a large extent driven by national (and international) priorities.

509 Grieves, 'War Comes to the Fields', 160.
510 Koning, *Failure of Agrarian Capitalism*, 158-9.
511 White, 'War and the Home Front', 138
512 CWAEC Minutes 27 May 1918.

The NATS series of documents record constant interest in and concern over the supply of agricultural labour at the national level.[513] The submarine menace was a critical underlying factor in debates about food production.[514]

County committees were first urged at a local level in January 1915, and were largely a response to the labour shortage. These were to gather 'actual facts' as to the labour situation.[515] There is no doubt that by January 1915 there was a shortage of labour in Cambridgeshire, and that this shortage, whether or not it was exaggerated by farmers to stress their patriotism and that of their industry, caused significant difficulties. The actual set up of County Committees was then largely ignored until it was urged again, with more urgency, in October 1915.[516] On this occasion action was taken; by December the nucleus of a committee had been formed, and the County Council added a few additional members.[517] By January 1916, the members for local districts had also been appointed—these formed subsidiary committees that reported up to the main county committee, and which helped to direct labour and answer farmers questions in their individual districts.[518]

Concerns about labour remained at the forefront of discussions. The problem appeared again in 1916, this time with particular reference to 'starring'. The Cambridgeshire Chamber of Agriculture weighed in on the question, with a resolution demanding that all farms were left with at least two men per hundred acres, plus stockmen and shepherds. Their argument was that general farm labourers were no less essential to running a farm than the skilled men, for they assisted with all the skilled jobs, and did all the little jobs that would otherwise be neglected.[519] The CWAEC minutes also reveal this obsession, though unfortunately the minutes only survive from May 1918 onwards. The

513 NATS 1/10, NATS 1/15, NATS 1/215, NATS 1/216, NATS 1/220, NATS 1/225, NATS 1/227, NATS 1/241, NATS 1/242, NATS 1/329, NATS 1/427, NATS 1/474, NATS 1/475, NATS 1/476.
514 NATS 1/225.
515 *CIP* 29 January 1915; see Chapter 1 for more on the statistics of agricultural recruiting.
516 *CIP* 8 October 1915.
517 *CIP* 3 December 1915.
518 *CIP* 28 January 1916.
519 *CIP* 4 February 1916.

detail into which the committee went extended to considerations of particular individuals, as this minute shows:

'(a) Release. A telegram was received form the Board asking whether the Committee recommend the application for the permanent release of Lt. Chivers.

RESOLVED:- That this be strongly recommended.'[520]

Lieutenant Chivers was far from the only person mentioned by name in the committee's deliberations, and steps were taken to secure other men, either for harvest leave or release in order to continue working on the land.

The CWAC and CWAEC also acted to try and prevent men ending up in the army. The extent to which the agricultural committees interfered with Tribunal decisions was commented upon unfavourably by members on several occasions. At the Chesterton Rural Tribunal, an agricultural worker who was meant to have been called up was found to have been left. Mr Rowley, a member of the tribunal, declaimed 'What is the use of our deciding these cases? There sits our master (pointing to Mr Few).' Mr Few, the agricultural representative, protested that it was not really him that decided it, but probably didn't help his argument by pointing out that it was actually two other agricultural representatives who had overall authority.[521] However, the agricultural committees naturally saw things in a different light. In November 1916, the tribunals were described as being 'in a fog', with conflicting instructions being given to military representatives and the tribunals themselves.[522] Matters did not improve with time; the following month, the CWAC agreed to write a letter to the Local Government Board, protesting the actions of the Appeal Tribunal where the scale of labour agreed between the military and agricultural representatives had been ignored.[523] From early 1918, men on agricultural work were put under the authority of the CWAEC rather than the Tribunal—this did not entirely resolve the problem as some cases still ended up before Tribunals, but these were generally

520 *CWAEC* Minutes 27 May 1918
521 *CIP* 25 May 1917.
522 *CIP* 3 November 1916.
523 *CIP* 15 December 1916.

adjourned pending consideration of the CWAEC, or handed over entirely to the CWAEC. The actions of the CWAC and CWAEC in protecting certain men from conscription highlight their broad definition of their authority, and underline that although people's lives were subject to greater control, the agents of that control were far from united.

Manpower did not merely involve preventing the call up of men. Much of the early work of the committees related, somewhat unsuccessfully, to encouraging women to work on the land.[524] They also sought to increase the employment of other categories of marginal labour, and worked with the military authorities to direct soldier labour. Soldier labour was, according to Dewey, a particularly expensive source of labour.[525] Comments in the local press about the utter uselessness of anyone not accustomed to working on the land suggest that in Cambridgeshire it was problematic for its poor quality too. At Newmarket Tribunal, upon being told by the military representative that he could have 'any amount of soldiers' to help with the harvest, one farmer responded 'The soldiers will be very little use… Mr Edwards [a member of the Tribunal] said that he met a soldier who was dealing with horses, and seemed frightened, so he asked him what he was before the war, and the man said he had been a tailor in London.'[526] This claim was not an isolated one, and replacement labour, whether as gangs of soldiers or substitutes, was never popular with farmers. For the soldiers themselves, working on the land was not necessarily a cushy job, safe from the trenches. Oliver Owen Maskell, a soldier helping with the harvest, fell from the top of a threshing platform onto the floor of a barn. He gradually sank into unconsciousness, having fractured the base of his skull, and died.[527]

524 See Chapter 2 for a discussion of women on the land, and Chapter 5 for children on the land.
525 Dewey, 'Government Provision of Farm Labour', 112.
526 *CIP* 9 June 1916.
527 *CIP* 17 November 1916.

Illustration 108: Soldiers working on the land. Cambridgeshire Collection W22.K1 9401

Efforts were made to address the problems. A 1918 report noted that the soldiers being sent out were ‘a more useful lot than was previously the case’. It did, however, note continuing problems with billeting.[528] Soldiers were still, on the whole, not considered a good substitute for skilled labour, but were more useful in 1918 than earlier in the war. Substitution was no more effective in Northamptonshire, though here again there was an improvement by 1918.[529]

Another source of alternative manpower was POW camps. Unfortunately, the CWAEC fell out with the commandant of the Linton camp. Minutes such as ‘RESOLVED:-That he be informed that the War Office must supply their own stationery’ reveal just how petty this conflict became.[530] There were a number of difficulties, besides the falling out, with the POW labour. Not all of the prisoners had much in the way of experience, and there were various conditions relating to guarding the men, although these were gradually dispensed with. Dewey suggests that this was the least efficient category of replacement labour, particularly as many were not properly fed or housed.[531] On the whole,

528 NATS 1/241.
529 McDermott, 'Military Service Tribunals in Northamptonshire', 143.
530 CWAEC Minutes 13 May 1918.
531 Dewey, ‘Government Provision of Farm Labour’, 114.

the CAWAEC minutes suggest that they were useful on larger projects, particularly ditching, but the supply of labour was limited and far from ideal.

The CPA not only set a minimum price for corn, as an inducement to farmers to plough up land, it also set minimum wages for agricultural labourers. The *CIP* highlighted this as the most important part of the new measures. The main argument that farmers made was that not all labour was worth 25s a week (the new minimum wage). Alderman S G Howard argued that 'There must be some easy means of judging the men, in deciding which is the able-bodied agricultural labourer who shall receive the standard rate of wages and which shall receive smaller wages according to their smaller earnings'.[532] C F Ryder, an East Anglian landowner wrote an angry pamphlet, published in June 1917. He too insisted that not all labour was worth 25/- a week, observing that 'the lusty young fellows who were with us three years ago have gone or are going to the shambles of France or of Macedonia or of Mesopotamia, but the weaklings always remain.'[533] There is a hint of eugenics in his protests, the idea that the weakest were being allowed to reproduce because the strongest were being killed off in the war. The debate continued over the next few weeks. An address to the Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Agricultural Association made the point that 'The community could not afford to let the farmers go bankrupt… The farmer must have a living wage and interest on his capital'. The speaker continued that the CPA represented a 'great economic recantation', by acknowledging that buying food as cheaply as possible had proven short-sighted, and instead that measures had to be taken for the good of the community (which to him meant providing for the farmer).[534]

CWAEC's authority did not end with manpower. Instead, after the CPA, they were given sweeping powers in relation to the actual production of food, and authority to order inefficient farmers to either improve their ways or give up their tenancies to other farmers. These powers were a continuation of those previously exercised under DORA, but were

532 *CIP* 2 March 1917.
533 C F Ryder, *The New Agriculture and the Coming Chaos* (1917), 3.
534 *CIP* 11 May 1917.

now explicitly framed within the context of food production and the national urgency of increasing home grown supplies.[535] Removals do not seem to have happened often locally, but the threat was there, and so were inspections, and the necessity to get special permits to grow particular crops. This interference with private property meant a huge intrusion of the local committees into the affairs of ordinary farmers. A few examples from the surviving minutes make the point clearly: in Balsham it was resolved that 'all land in the occupation of Mr Hanslip Long… be inspected and reported on', 'a permit to grow 5 acres of Brussels Sprouts was granted to Mr W Brockett of Guilden Morden', 'the EO reported that he had inspected 6 acres of oats which have failed, owing to wire worm.'[536] With the latter two examples in particular, what is most striking is the small quantity of land concerned. The committee really did look into and report on areas of only a few acres, and consider cases where there were only a dozen cows concerned. The minutes are full of investigations into what seem trivial amounts of land.

The reason for the extension of the CWAC's powers were continuing fears about the state of the land and the potential shortage of food. In January 1917, a land survey was ordered, 'to ascertain whether it is possible to maintain the existing arable area in cultivation, and, if so to ascertain the quantity and situation of land which… can be put to a more profitable use for the spring production of essential food.' There were particular concerns about derelict land, which had fallen entirely out of cultivation owing to loss of labour.[537] The fears about whether there would be sufficient food grown at home to meet the need were tightly bound up with fears about submarine warfare; the two were generally reported hand in hand. And with the increase of the submarine menace came an increasing demand for action to be taken. A meeting of the CWAEC in April 1917 described the agricultural outlook as 'very grave. Not even the oldest farmer in the county ever saw the

535 Edmund C Penning-Roswell, 'Who 'Betrayed' Whom? Power and Politics in the 1920/1921 Agricultural Crisis' *Agricultural History Review* 45.2 (1997), 178.
536 CWAEC Minutes 13 May 1918; 27 May 1918; 1 July 1918.
537 *CDN* 1 January 1917.

country in such a state as it was at present.'[538] War conditions had combined with poor weather to render the situation particularly unpromising.

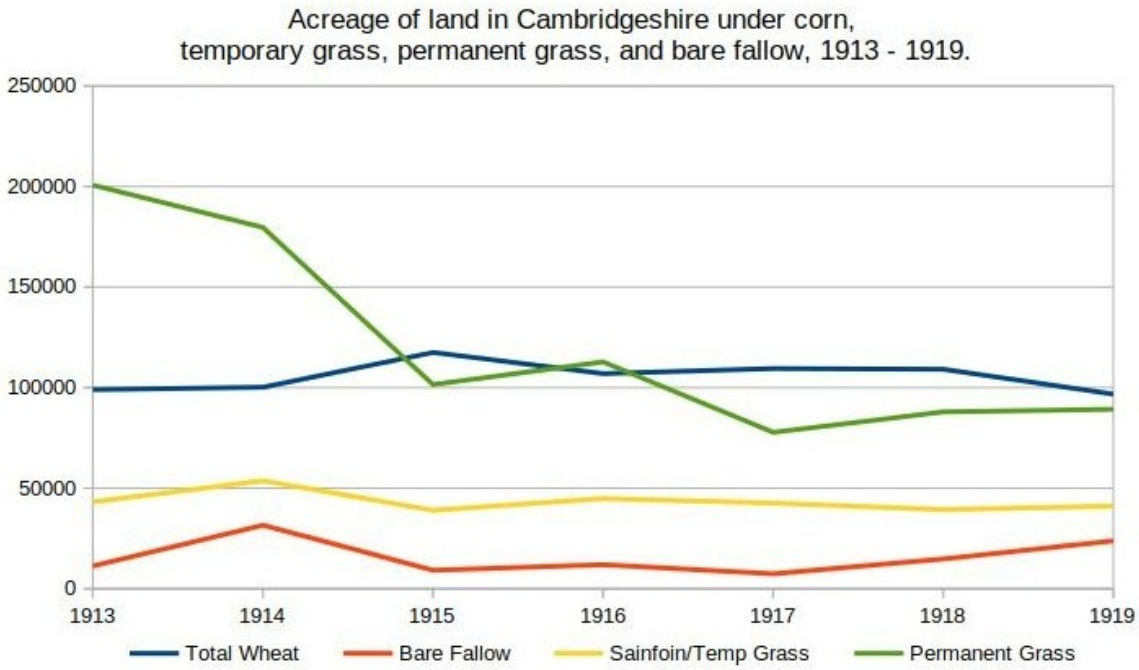


Illustration 109: Comparison of what was sown in Cambridgeshire throughout the war period, based on the Agricultural Returns for the County

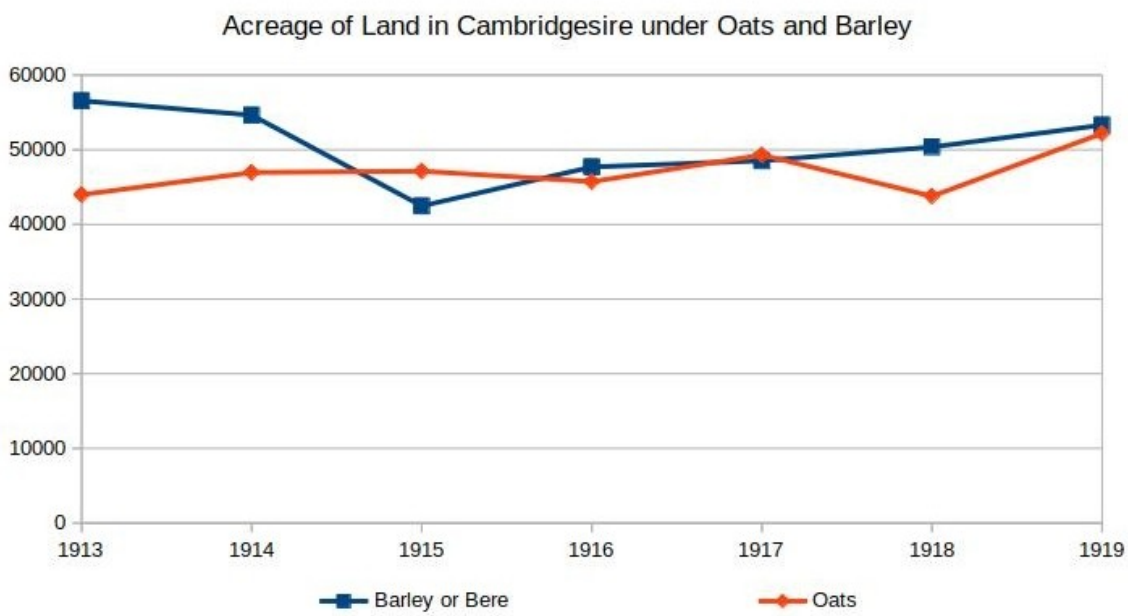


Illustration 110: Acreage of land under oats and barley through the war period, information from the Agricultural Returns for Cambridgeshire

538 *CDN* 23 April 1917.

The actual results of the CPA and the efforts of the CWAECs are hard to determine. So much, with farming, depends upon the weather conditions. However, the long-running Board of Agriculture reports on the amount of land planted with what (these were not special war time surveys) suggest that there was some wartime change. Illustration 109 uses these returns to compare the acreage of land in the whole of Cambridgeshire planted with wheat (both spring sown and winter sown), that which was under temporary grasses, that under permanent grass and the amount of ground which was 'bare fallow'. Land noted as 'bare fallow' was particularly troubling as it meant that nothing at all had been sown, and that it was not being used as pasture. The graph actually shows that most of the decrease in permanent grass took place in 1914-15, and that the land under wheat peaked in 1915, thereafter declining slightly. Bare fallow and temporary grass were also at their heights in 1914, and also declined afterwards. Illustration 110 shows the acreage of land in Cambridgeshire planted with oats and barley; a sharp decrease in barley can be seen in 1914 – 1915, climbing again thereafter. On this evidence, it would seem that the CPA had a minimal impact in forcing farmers to plough up grassland or to use nominal land for growing wheat.

Although the CPA increased the regulation of agricultural land and agricultural workers, and provided sweeping powers to local committees, it did not, on the whole, actually increase the amount of wheat sown, at least in Cambridgeshire. Its overall effectiveness is likewise suspect, especially as the promises made of guaranteed prices and a minimum wage for agricultural workers, had been dropped by 1922. The rise in the price of wheat seems to have been more effective in encouraging farmers to plough up land than the demands of the CWAEC, and shortages of labour meant that even where farmers were ordered to plough up additional land, the means to do so were frequently lacking.

4.4 – The National Mission

Alongside attempts to mobilise individuals and communities through controlling their behaviour was the work of the National Mission of Penitence and Hope. The National Mission was announced by the Archbishops in the spring of 1916, and called for repentance from national sins and a revival of morality. Although launched by the Archbishops, much of the detail was left to individuals. The Church of England was far from united on theology, and this led to some differences in the details of the mission. On the whole, however, the mission was conceived as a national event, to take place in October and November 1916, though its afterlife reached beyond the end of the year.

The temporal position of the mission is an interesting one. It lies between the two great mobilisations in the countryside context—the MSA and the CPA. Although Horne argues that until the crisis of home-front morale in 1917 the mobilisation of the nation state relied on 'self-mobilisation', the increasing control over civilian lives through the MSA and the CPA suggests that this process actually began earlier.[539] The process of mobilisation was a progressive one, with alternating foci on different areas of wartime society. The National Mission was one not of repentance alone but also 'hope', and formed a social and moral mobilisation of the home front in order to better fight the war.

The National Mission was driven by a significant strand of Anglican thought that insisted the war should call forth an improved moral position amongst the English. The vicar of Abington at the start of 1916 called upon his parishioners to 'resolve that whether the year brings weal or woe we more than ever in the past, by earnest prayer and constant devotion, will show that our trust is in the God of Battles, and that we will try to prove ourselves worthy of God's Providential care of us both as individuals and as a nation.'[540] This particular call does not suggest that 'God's Providential care' was in danger of being

539 Horne, 'Remobilizing for 'total war'', 195
540 *CCDM* January 1916

withdrawn—instead earnest prayer and devotion was presented as a response to the 'Providential care' already in place. However, others went a step further. Professor Bonney, for instance, preached that 'We must confess, reluctant as we may be to do it, that we have done amiss and deserved this sore judgement', though he continued that despite the dangerous increase of 'invertebrate sensibility at home', there were still many who were ready to do their duty. His sermon, in the early months of the war, made particular reference to recruiting, as well as suggesting that although Britain had entered the war with 'clean hands', it might not have been necessary at all had there not been so much national sin.[541] Thus while some expressed merely as a hope that the war would lead people back to God; others made the link more explicit and insisted the war was a punishment for sin. Platt argues that the National Mission marked a shift from in focus from German atrocities and evils to the godlessness of the British people, which led in turn to British military failures.[542] However, a sermon to University freshmen at Great St Mary's (the University Church) in 1914 already took a similar line, describing the war as 'Fatherly discipline', and urging the importance of prayer.[543] Brown argued that it was the war as a whole which 'introduced considerable reflection on male piety and man's culpability for sin.' Though also making a point about gender relations within the Church, it is notable that there was a growing emphasis on the individual's personal responsibility and relationship to and with God.[544] The National Mission was not, therefore, without rhetorical precedent.

The National Mission, whilst part of a wider discourse, was also a specific response to a perceived moral failing on the part of the English as a whole. The Vicar of Sawston declared that there was to be a great effort to 'revive spiritual life and to fight sin', necessary because 'Immorality and drunkenness are dreadfully prevalent, and there is a grievous carelessness about the claims of God; prayer is forgotten, Church-going is passed over and the sacraments neglected, and Sunday is spent in amusement by a great number of

541 *CIP* 18 September 1914.
542 Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?*, 172.
543 *CIP* 23 October 1914.
544 Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, 104.

English people'.[545] If prayer was an essential component of duty, to the nation and not just to God, then it followed that neglecting proper morality was a national danger.[546] The vicar's presentation of the state of England may well have been exaggerated, but it spoke to that same strand of thought which presented the war as a punishment for sin. Bontrager suggested that there was a progression in the way in which the war was presented by the Church of England, from justifying participation by attacking Germany, through to an attack on the secularisation of society in 1915-16, to an end point of asserting its conservative influence.[547] To an extent this can be seen in the sermons printed in Cambridgeshire and through the National Mission. However, the efforts to root out sin, and the connection between national sin and the war appear throughout the war. They were most prominently expressed by a small number of vicars, whose sermons were frequently printed in the local press, amongst them Reverend Adams and Professor Bonney.[548]

The National Mission was launched by the Archbishops in April 1916; over the following months calls were made for prayer and preparation. The vicar of Horseheath emphasised both the importance and the magnitude of the task. 'It is doubtful whether the Church of England has ever been called to a task so great as that which we are now summoned by the Archbishops… The times require such an effort, the horizon of men's thoughts has been suddenly and immensely expanded; we are conscious, as most of us were not two years ago, of our membership in the nation, and of the responsibility of our nation in the world.'[549] His words not only stressed the scope and import of the National Mission, but placed it firmly within the national community. The local church was not just a local institution; it was firmly located within a structure of parishes, deaneries, bishoprics, and archbishoprics. The hierarchical structure of the Church of England meant that despite the significant variations that could be found between professing Anglicans,

545 *CCDM* April 1916
546 See Chapter 3 for a discussion of prayer.
547 Bontrager, 'The Imagined Crusade', 775-6.
548 *CIP* 16 October 1914, 8 January 1915, 22 January 1915, 4 June 1915, 2 June 1916, 23 February 1917.
549 *CCDM* May 1916.

there was always a national element to the local church. The vicar of All Saints' emphasised the National Mission's uniqueness as a 'movement of the whole Church, a call to discharge that mission to a nation, as a nation, with which it is entrusted. The times require such an effort; the horizon of men's thoughts has been suddenly and immensely expanded; we are conscious, as most of us were not two years ago, of our membership of the nation, and of the responsibility of our nation in the world.'[550] Thus, the National Mission not only played a part in attempting to regulate and control the morality of the local community, it also firmly linked that community to the wider church.

Pre-prayer and preparation were an integral part of the character of the mission. The vicar of Abington wrote to his parishioners 'During these summer months let us prepare ourselves… This Mission is not merely for the clergy and churchmen, but it is a Mission of the Church to the Nation'. He, along with others, gave suggested prayers for the work of the National Mission, including the words 'direct and strengthen us all to take our part'. Both his call to the parish and the prayer emphasised the roll of all within the church, laity and clergy, in preparing for and participating in the National Mission.[551] The duty of all involved in the Church of England had expanded, stretching from the duty of prayer which was made so much of in the early months of the war, and throughout, to encompass the moral revival of the nation. The calls to prayer were echoed in special services—both quiet afternoons to pray and guided prayer services with Bible studies. The attendance at these is impossible to quantify. Where there are records of Church participation, they cover communicants only, and so at services where no communion was taken, there is no record of how many attended. And for those who attended communion services and did not take communion, there is again no record. However, Illustration 111 shows the number of communicants each year at Balsham parish church. A significant rise (approximately two hundred additional communicants) can be seen from 1913 to 1916, but this is followed by

550 *ASPM* May 1916
551 *CCDM* June 1916.

a sharp drop after the war. The data is problematic—this is one parish church, and may reflect additional dedication in communicating amongst a small number of parishioners, rather than an increased number in attendance and communicating—but it is suggestive. All Saints Parish, in Cambridge itself, also saw a significant rise in wartime communicants, though the information only runs from 1913 to 1916. Interestingly the peak in this town church is much earlier, probably a reflection of the daily services held to pray for the war and which initially involved a daily communion. The Church does appear, in the war period to have seen an increase in its active members, despite frequent comments in the parish magazines that large numbers of regular attendees (such as those in the choir, or bell ringers) were absent on war service.

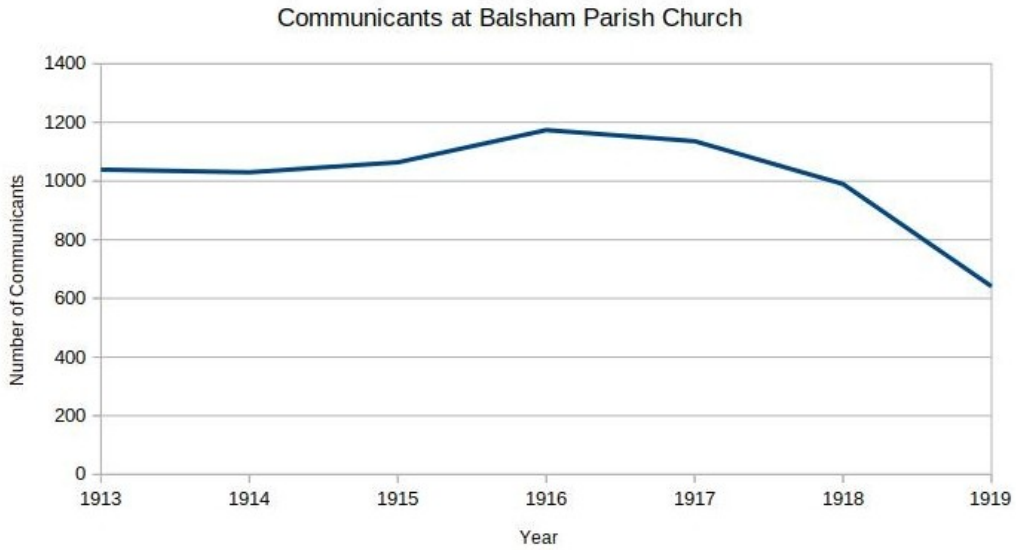


Illustration 111: Communicants at Balsham Parish Church, information collated from the Register of Services

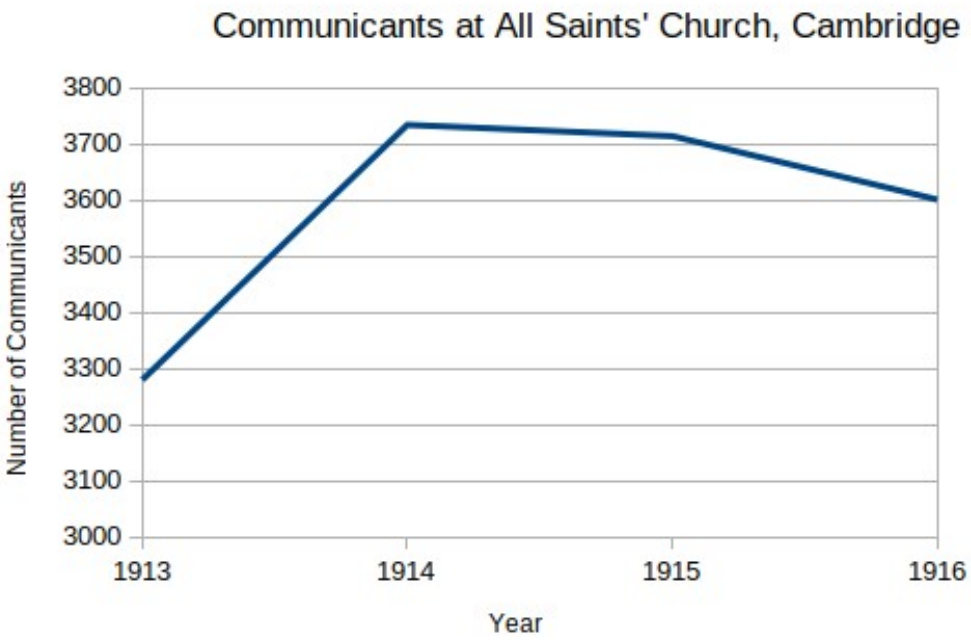


Illustration 112: Communicants at All Saints' Parish Church, Cambridge, information from the ASPM

Not everyone was convinced about the timing of the National Mission. In July, the vicar of Castle Camps acknowledged that 'It is quite true that grave doubts have arisen as to the wisdom of the selection of the time, but surely no serious thinking Christian will incur the responsibility of standing aloof from this great enterprise'.[552] This particular vicar was not averse to expressing doubts about almost anything (he was especially concerned about rural depopulation and small families). However, the fact that he expressed doubts about the National Mission in a parish magazine, even in a way couched so as to suggest that doubters should join in, is telling.

The aim of the National Mission, besides combatting evil, was to bring people back into the Church of England's fold. It was placed explicitly within the wartime narrative of return to God, and was expounded as a solution to the problem that despite initially promising signs, 'it soon became apparent that its [the war's] horrors and anxieties were not producing the desired effect upon the minds of the great masses of this land'. Here,

552 *CCDM* July 1916.

although the war is not explicitly being dubbed a punishment for national sin, the implication is there. The war was intended, it suggests, to be a wake up call, and there is an implicit suggestion that even if the war was not God's judgement, God certainly allowed it in order to bring people back to Him.[553] However, others did take these ideas to their logical conclusion. As far as the vicar of Duxford was concerned, 'this Great War cannot be accounted for only on the grounds of German ambition… it must also be regarded as a call from God to consider our ways'.[554] The escalation of the conflict, and the failure of the British to win a quick victory, meant that a religious explanation which relied upon the notion that Germany was entirely evil and must be fought and punished could no longer entirely hold weight. Instead, it was necessary to include the concept that Britain was not blameless either, and therefore the war would last until moral revival had taken place.[555]

The presentation of the connection between moral behaviour and war experience could also be phrased the other way. 'The recent successes vouchsafed to our Armies have made the holding of the Mission more real. Surely, never as before, we are asked to make ourselves, individually, and as the Nation as a whole, more worthy of God's blessing to our Country and Empire.'[556] The successes referred to were those of the Battle of the Somme, reported in the local press as the 'Great Advance', with an emphasis on prisoners captured and villages reached. Rather than using the prolongation of the war as evidence that Britain was morally failing, this report used recent events to argue the opposite, and to suggest that as the National Mission grew more and more successful, there would be greater and greater successes for the armies in the field.

On the whole, however, the National Mission did not succeed in its aims of bringing about a revival in national morality. Perhaps people were too busy fighting the war. On a national level, calling all parishioners sinners, perhaps unsurprisingly, did not go down

553 *CCDM* September 1916.
554 *CCDM* October 1916.
555 Bontrager, 'The Imagined Crusade', 785.
556 *CCDM* October 1916.

well.[557] In May 1917, the Deanery of Quy met, amongst other things, to discuss 'What elements of failure in the work of the Church have been revealed by the war and the National Mission?' The question led to a spirited protest, an energetic denial that 'the results of the National Mission could be characterised as other than successful'.[558] This rather enthusiastic, and perhaps frantic, denial that there were any elements of failure in the National Mission insists almost as frantically that there were. Certainly the Church of England as a whole did not experience a great revival, nor was there a significant upwards trend in church attendance. The experience of Pampisford seems to have been typical. The services of the National Mission itself were 'well attended' but the following week the church was once again quiet.[559] Its interest lay in the novelty, and the attendees were there to see a different vicar, gain some relief from the winter (it was noted that in Whittlesford that the 'terrible weather did not lessen the large congregation'), perhaps to see what all the fuss was about. In All Saints', the Women's Service 'was very well attended, though the same cannot be said, alas, for the Men's Service.' The vicar also acknowledged that while there was much to thank God for, 'the Mission did not arouse universal interest in our Parish… very few joined in our services who are not already at our Church.'[560] In the town, with a multitude of churches, Anglican and other, the novelty factor did not perhaps play so great a part. There were, however, some changes within All Saints' as a result of the National Mission—additional meetings, and 'more "popular" hymns on Sundays'.[561] Nationally too, there was a similar picture—the majority of those who participated in the National Mission were already churchgoers.[562] The after effects are difficult to quantify, but in Cambridgeshire the medium term impact was negligible.

People in Cambridgeshire resisted the efforts of the local clergy in attempts to transform moral behaviour. They were much more involved, although not always as

557 Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?*, 173.
558 *CIP* 18 May 1917.
559 *CCDM* December 1916.
560 *ASPM* December 1916.
561 *ASPM* January 1917.
562 Platt, *Subscribing to Faith?*, 173.

involved as their religious leaders would have liked, in self-mobilisation for prayer. The National Mission with its emphasis on morality and more difficult relationship with the local Non-Conformist Churches (it was, throughout, an Anglican-only event) was much less successful than days of prayer in conjunction with local Non-Conformists. It stands as evidence that efforts to control local communities were not always successful, that local communities had their own agendas and interests, and that regulation was not always as successful as self-mobilisation.

4 – Conclusion

The First World War saw unprecedented regulation of communities, as part of the progressive mobilisation of wartime society. Taken together, the regulations altered the soundscape (through reveille), the human geography (through the presence of soldiers), the physical appearance of towns at night (through lighting restrictions), the boundaries between criminal and non-criminal behaviour, and attempted to regulate the human soul. Expressed on a local level, they were nevertheless part of the national response to war.

Soldiers under military discipline appeared even in the villages of Cambridgeshire, on leave, in training, working on the land, or as convalescents. Their presence not only underlined the fact that Britain was fighting a war on a previously unimagined scale, but also brought civilians into direct contact with military discipline. Meanwhile DORA, food control acts, and the CPA increasingly regulated civilian society. These were not entirely driven from above, but, particularly with regard to food, were part of a continued negotiation as to the appropriate way of responding to war, and must be understood not only in the national context, but also in the community context.

The Church of England—the national church—attempted to regulate the human soul through the National Mission. This attempt was not as successful as the church hoped; nevertheless the attempt raises interesting points. The National Mission was explicitly framed in a national context, in response to the crisis of the war, with the details worked out at the local level. Some variation seems to have been seen between the experiences in the villages, where novelty may have been a greater pull, than in the town.

5 – Community Bonds

The war deeply affected relationships between and amongst individuals, and between members of communities. Understanding the war through the lens of local communities does not ignore the role of individuals within those communities; far from it. The relationships between individuals were what made up the local community, from deep friendships, through to casual acquaintances. The physical absence of men from their home communities required an extension, seen to a certain extent before the war, in the mental boundaries of geographical communities. The men at the front were still 'our boys' as far as writers in village columns were concerned. Funds were raised for 'our boys' to have Christmas presents, or other comforts. Men were 'gone' from the village, and yet their doings continued to appear under village headings. For the University, the extension of the boundaries of community through association rather than physical location was not a new thing. Men were members of their College even when no longer resident; the two main University magazines were intended for alumni not just resident members. Madigan described the relationship between home and front as 'fraught' but 'nevertheless mutually supportive'.[563] This description seems apt; particularly when it is remembered that by no means everyone in a community would get on with one another even outside the additional pressures of war.

Local war news, printed in local or university papers, was a crucial connection between the home front and the fighting front. The use of letters from local men to describe the war, often in quite graphic terms, gave those at home a connection with not just their immediate relatives or friends at the front, but with those from the wider community who had gone. Letters from local men, printed in local papers, effectively formed, and continue to form, an archive of personal war experience, articulated in a communal context. With

563 Edward Madigan, '"Sticking to a Hateful Task": Resilience, Humour and British Understandings of Combatant Courage, 1914-1918' *War in History* 20.1 (2013), 77

the University magazines, matters were even more interconnected. The *CM* printed letters from readers at the front explicitly responding to debates in the magazine or the letters of others.

Although in popular opinion, and some scholarly works, the belief persists that civilians knew nothing of the nature of the war, local studies, and studies using local papers, show a significantly different picture. Thus, while Winter in 1988 argued that the British press used euphemisms to obscure the reality of battle, and Fussell in 1975 that troops were estranged from their families in a 'severe and uncompromising division' that left civilians unaware, unable to be aware, of military realities, Good's study of local newspapers on the outbreak of war found graphic descriptions of battle, and Gregory in 2008 claimed that 'it is difficult to find a contemporary civilian account that doesn't demonstrate a fairly high level of knowledge about conditions at the front.'[564] The distinction can be found between official reports of battle and those by local men. In Wolverhampton, Gower found that newspapers generally presented a positive view of the war, but in the detail, 'the guard slipped', particularly in reports from local men.[565] Fussell described the speed and efficiency of the postal service as 'a further satire on the misery of the troops in this close exile.'[566] However, the interconnectedness of home and front via letters was a force for their continued closeness, in imagination if not in fact. Reports could come from any front, from any branch of service, and about any battle (though the experiences of infantrymen on the Western Front were most common), and were unified and categorised by their local connection.

At a family level, the war had a deep impact upon relationships, and these were not merely the relationships between individuals. Concerns about the war's impact on morality, children, or the enjoyment of a good (true) romantic story about local people brought the domestic into the public sphere. The war opened up new opportunities for finding marriage

564 J M Winter, *The Experience of World War I* (London, 1988), 186; Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 86-7; Good, 'England Goes to War', 112; Gregory, *The Last Great War*, 18-19.
565 Gower, 'The Civilian Experience of World War I', 49.
566 Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 65.

partners. Local women married soldiers stationed in the area at the outbreak of the war, and there were some local instances of that classic romance story: soldiers marrying the women who nursed them. Children's lives were changed by wartime conditions, through interrupted schooling, absent family members, and war work and volunteering. The men who fought and died for their country came not only from home communities, but from home families.

Finally, the relationship with war dead must be considered. Although village war memorials were primarily erected after the war and are thus outside the scope of this thesis, communities were giving thought to the proper form a memorial should take long before the end of the war, and some memorials were erected. Men who died overseas were buried there, but the dead were symbolically brought home and returned to their home communities through the holding of memorial services and the inscription of the names of the dead on family graves.

5.1 – The Home – Front Connection

'Corporal A. G. Pointer, of the 1st Buffs (East Kent Regiment)… writing to his wife… says: I thought a lot about South Africa, but one at home does not realise what we are having to put up with here. I have seen more this last three months than I ever saw in South Africa; in fact it is only murder, and not fighting. The sights are enough for one to see—some of the poor fellows blown to pieces. May God spare me to come back. The fellows pray of a night. No doubt you think I am telling you wrong, but to see shells bursting only a few yards away makes your blood go cold. We know no fear, but our thoughts are for the ones we have left behind.'[567]

This letter, surprisingly graphic, appeared in the *CC* in November 1914. Immediately below was an appeal for more recruits. The newspaper was not anti-war, and this letter was one of dozens printed in the local press in the early months of the war which exposed the horrors of modern warfare. By mid-1915, these had significantly reduced in number as letters about the war, but news and letters from local casualties increased and filled the gap. Those reporting death tended to be less graphic, but those from the wounded continued to give information about conditions. In the winter of 1917-18 the government allowed a mixture of reporters from local newspapers and trade union representatives to visit the front on War Office organised tours. Taken together these largely print avenues of communication from home to front, and back again with the sending of local papers to local men in the trenches, form powerful evidence as to the continuing connection of local men with their home communities even while away on military service.

Although the value of the local press has long been recognised by local historians, its importance is also being accepted amongst the academic community. Pals unit histories typically rely on a combination of the local press, oral history interviews, and unit war diaries. The sheer amount of information that can be gleaned from the local press shows

567 *CC* 13 November 1914.

how important it was to contemporaries—and suggests that they had a good idea as to frontline conditions. Home and front were not as diametrically opposed as has been suggested. Hanna described letter writing as 'the invisible thread that bound together the home front and military front of every combatant nation', an enterprise 'essential to the well-being of all war-time families,' while Rollet referred to the post as 'a way of ensuring the continuity of family presence'.[568] Likewise Grieves calls the news, from whatever source, the 'social glue' connecting home and front.[569] It was an essential tie not just for families but also wider communities, where local war news not only had columns of its own, but also appeared under village headings. Anderson's *Imagined Communities* emphasises the roll of the press in the creation of a national identity.[570] Local newspapers had a similar role in creating and maintaining the local community—Cambridgeshire was too large for face to face relations, except amongst specific streets, villages, or workplaces. The local press thus acted as a connection across the county, emphasising that there was a county community. This appeared not least in the page of local news, under village headings but most often arranged either alphabetically or for best fit on the page, rather than by geographical proximity.

Letters from the front appeared in every local newspaper studied. The local Cambridgeshire papers were sent to the front, and advertisements encouraged people to subscribe on behalf of soldier friends and family. Requests were also published for letters from local men. The *CM* before the war had already conceptualised its audience as not necessarily physically resident in Cambridge. This became much more explicit during the war, and letters from soldiers responded to other letters and articles printed in the *CM*. A particular appeal for responses was made by the *CM* in December 1914, requesting serving officers to write in to give their approval for their decision to print an article by Gilbert

568 Hanna, 'Private Lives', 10; Catherine Rollet, 'The Home and Family Life', in eds Winter, Jay and Robert, Jean-Louis, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919: Volume 2: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2007), 329.

569 Grieves, *Sussex in the First World War*, xi.

570 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism Revised Edition* (London, 2006), 35.

Cannan the previous week. This article was distinctly pacifist, accusing the older generation of sacrificing young lives, and describing modern warfare thus: 'With the most terrible engines of destruction there is no fighting, no bravery, no courage, but the fortitude of a savage fatalism'.[571] One reader took umbrage, and the *CM*, rather than printing an apology, offered a challenge. They would close their columns to Gilbert Cannan if a dozen serving officers did not write in in support.[572] In January, they were able to gleefully report that they had received those dozen responses and more besides, and Gilbert Cannan continued his controversial contributions.[573] The incident shows the relationship between the local/university press and its readership both in Cambridge and in uniform. Meanwhile, the *Review*, the other major University paper, published only a handful of letters by comparison, and instead its war reports were focussed on obituaries. The use of war news to underline the continued connection between alumni and their university was not unique to Cambridge—Moody found a similar picture in Arcadia University in Canada.[574] These connections were different in some respects to those of the town or village communities, as men would not normally expect to remain physically within that community after graduation, but they used war news and letters in the same way.

Local war news was desperately sought. The amount of space devoted to it, whether that be letters, reports of casualties, or news of medals or promotions generally at least equalled and often exceeded that given to general war news. This is even without counting the considerable amount included within village news—next to announcements of fêtes, working parties, weddings and local controversies appear local Rolls of Honour and lists of those home on leave. The argument for its importance is not merely from the column inches it demanded. In Linton, it was reported that 'the war fever has been noticeable. Particularly with regard to the obtaining of news. Every train bringing

571 *CM* 28 November 1914.
572 *CM* 5 December 1914.
573 *CM* 23 January 1915.
574 Barry M Moody, 'Educating for War and Peace at Arcadia University: The Great War Generation' in eds Paul Stortz and E Lisa Panayotides, *Cultures, Communities and Conflict: Histories of Canadian Universities and War* (Toronto, 2012), 40.

newspapers into the village has been met at the station by a crowd of people anxious for the latest intelligence, and at times so impatient have people been to secure the papers that the parcels have been seized inside the railway and torn open before the newsagents could get at them. Papers are now brought into the village by almost every train'.[575] 'War fever' may have settled down, but the shortage of paper which meant all newspapers had to either put their prices up to cut circulation or reduce their length meant newspapers continued to sell out and readers were exhorted to order their copies with their local newsagent, as a supply could not otherwise be guaranteed.[576]

Most letters in the local newspapers describing trench warfare were sent by privates and occasionally NCOs. Those in the *CM* were more varied: there were a high proportion from infantry officers, but the most extensive were a series from Corporal 'Bim' Hodder DCM (who also had different letters published in the *CIP*), a motor cycle despatch rider.[577] There were also a considerable number from medics attached to P J Baker's Ambulance, which became the Friends' Ambulance Unit, and from Lady Paget's Relief Hospital in Serbia. The majority of letters in the local papers were sent to family members and then passed on to the press; the *CM* has a roughly fifty-fifty split between those and letters sent directly to the *CM*. The handful in the *Review* were all from officers, but one was from a naval rather than infantry officer.

The local newspapers and the University magazines had different, though occasionally overlapping, readerships. The letters published in them differ significantly in tone. Those in the *CIP* and *CC* are largely descriptive, snapshots of battle or incidents, and are often extracts. Those in the *CM* are almost invariably longer and many form continuous narratives across several sets of letters. Most read with a degree of breathless excitement, tales of a grand adventure. J K Stevens, another motor cycle despatch rider, wrote 'The roads alone were quite enough to provide a tolerable "joy ride," but with the added

575 *CIP* 14 August 1914.
576 CIP 1917
577 All his letters have been uploaded here: https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/1907268 .

prospect of running into barricades or German patrols, for we had no lamps, our nerves were strained to concert pitch. The first time I was under fire my feelings were, I think, a commingled sensation of "funk" and excitement.'[578] This account differs significantly in style to those found in the *CIP* or *CC*.

Typical of the local, rather than University, press, are letters like that of Trooper R A Taylor: 'Just a line to let you know where I am. We have been out here about five weeks, and I am having a good time. The people about here will give us almost everything. We are getting very nice weather, but it is a bit cold at nights. We had two German aeroplanes fly over here on Sunday. We had a pop at them, but they were too high up to hit. I am pleased to say that I am in the best of health, as I hope you are.'[579] Taylor's sentences are shorter and simpler, and his letter almost contains the archetypical line of an ordinary soldier's letter home. According to Captain Isaac Alexander Mack, 11 Suffolks and Jesus College, the format was 'Hoping this finds you well as it leaves me well' followed by an address which had to be censored, and vague news of travelling across the countryside.[580]

Similar letters can be found outside the local press. Oliver Hopkins wrote home 'Dear Mother Father Brother and Sisters; i now fine time to rite you a few lines hopeing it will find you qute well [as it leaves – crossed out] and i am sorry to tell you that i have been wounded no dought you have herd about it before now well i got wounded on the first of July if you look in the papers you will see what happened on that day'.[581] Sidney Beeton sent a large number of letters and postcards, largely relating to personal matters like forgotten towels.[582] Those of Charles Press, initially an infantry soldier but transferred to the canteen, are similarly concerned with the domestic. In one letter he told his wife to kiss the boys for him, and she could have one herself. He also comments on parcels received,

578 *CM* 10 October 1914.
579 *CC* 20 November 1914.
580 Isaac Alexander Mack, *Letters from France*, privately published by his family and now available on Project Gutenberg http://www.gutenberg.org/files/19521/19521-h/19521-h.htm , accessed 22 June 2018.
581 16336 L/Cpl Oliver Hopkins 11 Suffolk Regiment Letters, Bury St Edmunds Archive, GB554/Y1/140a.
582 Private Collection. With thanks to Tony Beeton for allowing me to view these letters.

requests socks, and gives instructions on when to prune the roses.[583] These surviving letters show many similarities with those printed in the local press, but cover much more personal news than was seen in the extracts in the newspapers. While only a few series of letters survive for Cambridgeshire (and rarely show the letters from home to front, though references are made in those of Charles Press to things in his wife's letters), they show the extent of wartime correspondence. The local press can thus be seen as an alternative archive of letters from the front, showing what the extent of the information about the war in public circulation via the local press.

The precise content of a letter naturally depended upon individual experiences. Thus in the pages of the *CM*, while 'Bim' and J K Stevens narrated night time motorbike adventures, R W Jackson described the pitiful state of Serbian wounded in the Balkans. In the *CIP* Flight Sergeant F N Slingsby gave a surprisingly matter-of-fact account of aerial warfare: 'In the combat which ensued, I fired about 140 rounds at him. My pilot collapsed in his seat, as I thought at the time, badly wounded. The German machine was driven off and after a bit of a scramble I managed to get hold of the controls of our 'bus', so that we only fell 2,000 feet instead of all the seven. Although I landed as soon as I could on our side of the lines, I found that the pilot was dead, poor chap. Really, it is a miracle how I escaped.'[584] The majority of men, however, gave accounts from an infantryman's perspective.

As the war continued, news about the fighting came more and more frequently within casualty notifications. These can be divided into two forms—the self-reporting wounded, and the casualty letters sent by officers, chaplains or nurses.

Self-reporting wounded often framed their tale in a narrative of good fortune in the midst of terrible events. These letters can be quite graphic. Lance Corporal L J Brown, of Teversham, wrote home 'just as we started to go over the top of the trench, the Bosches

583 Letters of Charles Press, Museum of Cambridge.
584 *CIP* 15 March 1917.

started straffing us, and they gave us hell too. It was the worst engagement I have been in after being here for seven months. I think they dropped a shell every yard in our front trench, and we expected to go sky high every minute. Then just after the first line were over and we were waiting for an order I got mine; at first I thought it had taken my arm clean off, as it went in my forearm, smashing the bone, and came out under my wrist, so you may guess I have a nasty hit... Well, I handed my gun to a comrade and crept round to another lad, and he put my field dressing on, but, of course, he could not stop the flow of blood. Then came the worst job, which was to get to the dressing station, as they were shelling us heavily, but I managed it somehow.'[585] This description of one man's experience of the 1 July 1916 came in the midst of numerous other letters, and these letters and notifications ran from the first issue of the paper after the battle through into November 1916, such were the numbers of casualties, and such were the difficulties in getting accurate reports as to the battle.

A few weeks previously, describing the same battle, another wounded member of the Suffolk Regiment wrote home 'What do the people of Cambs. think of Kitchener's boys now? When the word came for our men to be over into No Man's Land they went forward as if on parade, singing and cheering, and then onward through the greatest and most terrible hell that our boys can ever know; but, thank God, it was through hell to victory.'[586] This letter seems to have been directed more towards the newspaper audience than a family one, with explicit reference to the county, and is interesting for its use of the phrase 'as if on parade'. That particular phrase crops up time and again in descriptions of battles throughout the First World War, and across the country.[587] It has been used to castigate generals for sending men marching slowly to their deaths, and while there may well have been instances where that happened, the 11 Suffolks' War Diary makes it clear that the 'waves' were meant to advance in rushes. Tactical booklets made similar points. A

585 *CC* 30 August 1916.
586 *CIP* 14 July 1916.
587 The Accrington Pals also, according to local newspapers, advanced 'as if on parade' on 1 July 1916.

description of men advancing 'as if on parade' seems to have been used as a marker of particular bravery and devotion to duty, showing no fear, rather than necessarily a description of the tactics used in a particular advance. That this was used as a way of describing heroism emphasises the discipline and courage shown by men in violent battles, stressing unit cohesion and devotion to duty, even at the risk of their lives. The experiences of the 1/7th King's Liverpool Regiment, recruited from Southport, were reported in a similar way. There extensive newspaper coverage, 'and especially the prominence of individual soldiers' experience in that coverage, shows that the home community had extensive opportunity to read about what was going on in France.'[588] The same can be seen in Cambridgeshire.

Officers' letters to mothers, fathers, or wives, on the other hand, tended to frame death within a narrative of duty. Rarely were deaths reported as anything but clean and quick (although there were exceptions, such as Albert Bradnam, who was said to have died after 'extreme agony'[589]), unless the soldier was anonymised in a broader account of battle. Thus, William Saxby from Madingley 'died painlessly, and bravely too, because he was killed at his post, just where he stood… I can tell you we miss him very much, for we are all friends in our platoon. But we realise that he died a glorious death, the best death a man can die, giving his life for his country.'[590] Similarly, Victor Sayer of Duxford, also killed by a shell, 'suffered no pain… We shall all miss him, especially myself, as he was the only one left in the platoon from the village I know. I thought it my duty to write and inform you and let you know what really happened to him'. This was sent by a friend; his officer's letter was also printed, and said much the same: 'I am glad to be able to assure you that there was no suffering, but that it was all instantaneous… whilst on duty with his gun a shell burst… No doubt the knowledge that your brave son died doing his duty manfully, and sacrificed himself for his country, will compensate in a small measure.'[591] Both

588 Gregson, 'The experience of a Territorial Battalion and its Home Towns', 77.
589 *CIP* 4 August 1916.
590 *CC* 21 June 1916.
591 *CIP* 22 September 1916.

accounts emphasise duty—William was ‘killed at his post’, Victor ‘whilst on duty with his gun’, and Victor’s officer hoped that this would offer some sort of compensation or solace. Such a hope is frequently expressed; how much solace it did offer surely depended on the individual. This framing within a narrative of duty and service to one’s country continued the narrative of earlier recruiting appeals. Moreover, though conscripts were killed in the war, including men who had appealed for exemption, this never appears in the casualty accounts. After conscription, it is not uncommon to see some reference to a man who died being a volunteer, or to how long he had served, but this does not appear in all cases. Bet-El describes the volunteer narrative as the dominant one, hiding conscript experience; the reporting of casualties seems to bear this out.[592] As well as stressing a painless death and that the men were doing their duty, notifications of death tend to include words along the lines ‘we shall all miss him’. Regardless of fact, the implication generally seems to be that the men who died were not only doing their duty, but did it willingly and cheerfully, and were a boon to their comrades.

As the term ‘Roll of Honour’ began to mean casualties rather than volunteers,[593] reports of casualties were almost invariably separated out from the rest of the local news, and the ‘Roll of Honour’ or ‘Local Casualties’ section largely replaced local war news. This was in part, perhaps, a reflection of the concept described in the *CM* that battles could only be described a certain number of ways, but probably reflects more the increasing number of local casualties to be reported and the constraints of space. A letter from a self-reporting wounded man gave both an account of the battle, and fulfilled the expectation that the local press would report on those killed, wounded, and missing. A good example is Lance-Corporal Arthur Gauge’s description of the British advance on Easter Monday: ‘Of course you know by the papers that we had some sport on Easter Monday… We copped 'Fritz' fairly on the hop. At half-past five the artillery opened, and we went over the top.

592 Bet-El, *Conscripts*, 2.
593 See Chapter 1.

Got to his first line and found only dead bodies; went to his second line, and found the same there; and then on to his third line. Then we saw some get out of the trench and run like rabbits… We stopped there for an hour, and that was where I got hit, but I was too excited to notice it much. Then we went on to his fourth line… Well, we got down there and couldn't see a soul. All at once I saw one put his head out of a hole in the bank. I pointed my rifle at him and said, 'Come out.' He came out with his hands up. Then another came, and another, until we got 85 and an officer, all out of one dug-out.'[594] The full letter gives even more detail. It also ties very closely with the account from the Battalion War Diary, a personal view of the battle which supplemented official report. And although those official reports were not available to the public in 1917, there were, as Arthur noted, newspaper accounts of the same fighting. His letter not only gave news of his wound, it was also intentionally placed within the same battle narrative as the official despatches and other sources that his wife had access to. So although this letter is a self-reporting casualty letter, it fulfils the same functions as earlier battle letters.

The continued importance of the local community in how local newspapers reported casualties is perhaps shown best by the way casualty reports were organised. For Bourne, casualty lists, accompanied by photographs and obituaries, which appeared in the local press all over the country, personalised war deaths, allowing each to 'assume its individual tragic significance.'[595] Local casualties in the *CIP* and *CC* were invariably organised by location, regardless of unit or whether a man had been killed, wounded, or taken prisoner. In the *CM*, casualties were reported by College, emphasising that level of community above the military. The *Review* took a slightly different approach. Separating out killed from the wounded and the missing, the *Review* gave short obituaries for the majority of casualties during the war, arranged alphabetically. However, the format of description ran thus: SURNAME, Initials, College, Unit, Rank. The organisation of the

594 *CIP* 20 April 1917.
595 J M Bourne, *Britain in the Great War 1914-1918* (London, 1989), 206.

information in the *Review* emphasised the University contribution as a whole, but nevertheless the name of the man's college was given before his unit and rank. These principles show that in the local reporting of casualties, men were presented as possessing their local, civilian identities first.

In the winter of 1917/18, the government allowed (encouraged, even) reporters and trade union officials to visit the front on War Office tours. Carefully guided, members of the press were permitted to interview officers from their area. Prior to this, local newspapers had not had official correspondents (and even this was hardly the same as a long-term official war correspondent), and had been largely ignored as irrelevant.[596] The *CIP* representative spoke to Captain Tuck, and was given details of previous battles the 11 Suffolks had been in.[597] Officers from numerous other East Anglian regiments were also spoken to, and the accounts published over a series of weeks. Meanwhile the trade union representatives were expected to give talks and describe the conditions—emphasising the excellent work the military authorities were doing for the welfare of British soldiers, of course. Describing his activities, the *CIP* reporter described his 'mission' to France—he was 'to visit East Anglian regiments and describe their doings… The English county regiments, which form the backbone of the British Army, have been sadly—if necessarily—neglected, and in order that justice might be done to their splendid achievements, the War Office are arranging that journalists representing various areas should visit in turn their local regiments at the front.' He continued his description by stating that their movements were 'practically unrestricted', and although he was not permitted to report everything he saw during his fortnight in France, the reports printed in the *CIP* do give a remarkable amount of detail.[598] The decision to allow reporters from local newspapers to the front, and give them such extensive access, demonstrates how important local news was perceived as being to morale and made the local press a key part of efforts to

596 Stephen Badsey, *The British Army in Battle and Its Image 1914-1918* (London, 2009), 18.
597 Captain Tuck is not named in the source, but references within the account make the identification possible. See Costin, *Cambridgeshire Kitcheners*, 301.
598 *CIP* 1 March 1918.

remobilise and revitalise popular opinion during the difficult period of the winter of 1917/18.

It was not just through the medium of the local press that families could gain news of loved ones. Instances of leave are reported under the local news headings, and clearly meant a great deal to the families who saw loved ones again. Visits home were not just private, family matters. The death of Corporal G Bolton was described in a letter from his officer as having taken place 'while carrying out some very important work'. The same account in the local press continued with news that a stretcher-bearer of the same battalion, home on leave 'called on the bereaved parents and gave them what news he could. He had helped to bury their son, and very kindly took back with him a small token of the parents' love to place on the dead soldier's grave.'[599] This particular incident emphasises not only the letters that connected the trenches with the home front, but also the personal connections. Men home on leave, as this account shows, could bring news that might not be committed to censored letters. They could also answer the questions of the bereaved. A difficult task to undertake, but nevertheless one clearly appreciated by the family members, else it would not have been reported in the local newspaper. Another incidental piece of evidence of a visit from a fellow soldier to the family of a casualty is found in the service record of James Hollingworth Toolis, an officer in the Lincolnshire Regiment who studied at Clare College. He was reported missing on 1 July 1916, and his father went to considerable effort to try and trace what happened. In March 1917, he wrote to the War Office with evidence received from the widow of Captain Needham, an officer in the same company. This widow had received a visit from her husband's servant, 'who told me that he buried him and also your son' near La Boiselle.[600] This letter shows how news might travel not merely from those who saw a casualty occur, but also through other members of the battalion. There is no suggestion that the Toolis and Needham families had known one

599 *CC* 7 June 1916.
600 WO 339/2447

another before the war. It seems likely that these sorts of visits and connections occurred on other occasions, without necessarily leaving written evidence.

Taken as a whole, the local press acted as a vehicle for two-way communication between communities and their men at the front. In the central period of the war, from early 1916 through to early 1918, this news largely took the form of casualty and other announcements, but these contained a great deal of additional information that contemporaries could piece together into a coherent narratives. These were supplemented by verbal reports and the circulation of news from letters not printed publicly. The organisation of letters and local war news tended to follow village headings, and in the reporting of casualties, men were members of their home communities first. Through the publication of letters, the wider community shared knowledge of wartime experiences, and engaged in a two-way conversation, albeit one moderated by censorship and self-censorship.

5.2 – Wartime Romance

Despite its devastating effects through the death and wounding of millions of husbands and sweethearts, the war's impact on romance was not entirely negative. Soldiers moving around the country created opportunities for romance, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse. Marriages between wounded soldiers and the women who nursed them were not merely the stuff of story books. Other couples met through a man being stationed outside his home town. Of course, the absence of men from their home communities opened up opportunities for adultery, bigamy, and illegitimate children. Although military authorities were more concerned with the moral behaviour of soldiers' wives, and would stop allowances if unfaithfulness was proven, the press reported primarily on soldiers themselves committing offences. Interlinked with issues of romance were those of sexually transmitted diseases, and the war saw greater efforts to improve the prevention and treatment of these diseases—not least because of the impact it had on fighting efficiency.

War weddings were not merely personal events, but also part of village social life—and in some cases the social lives of wounded soldiers. In July 1915, Pte Charles Forward, of the Highland Light Infantry, married Rose Anne Adams. He had been wounded in the fighting near Ypres, and after a spell in the First Eastern General Hospital, arrived in the Histon VAD hospital. When fully recovered, he briefly went home to Eastbourne, before returning to Histon. The wedding took place in Histon Feast Week, and the church 'was crowded with well-wishers', including the entire staff of nurses from the Histon VAD hospital, and the soldier patients. On leaving the church, the bride and groom passed through an arch of 'crutches, croquet mallets, and broomsticks and staves', formed by the wounded, and then their carriage was drawn by more of the wounded who 'judging by their broad smiles, were thoroughly enjoying the event'. The wedding party then became

part of a procession, featuring a noisy band (including a 'vigorous' drummer), and a pair of additional carriages, one representing the couple as babies, and one representing them sixty years on. After the procession had wound round the village, another wounded soldier, to 'roars of laughter from the crowd', apologised that he was not Lord Kitchener and presented Pte Forward 'with an iron cross for his bravery that day'.[601] Although this wedding was one of the most exuberantly and amply attended, it was not uncommon for friends and local people to take a close interest in war weddings. Tragically, Pte Forward was killed in action in Iraq on 25 May 1918. This vibrant celebration illustrates the connection between civilian and military life during the war, and the part that the community had in the celebration of marriage.

For some couples, however, the war cast a pall over what would otherwise be a happy day. Edward Hurst and Constance Freeman, both of Hildersham, and likely therefore intending to have married with or without the influence of war, celebrated a 'quiet war wedding' on Whit Monday. The day was a traditional one for weddings; it is possible that Edward was granted leave in order to get married, although as he was mentioned to be home on ten days' leave after suffering trench fever, it may instead have been opportunistic. Constance was described as wearing 'a grey coat and skirt and a black hat trimmed with orange blossom. She also wore a rosary, a gift from the bridegroom while at the front, and a diamond brooch, the gift of her only brother.' The black hat was explained, along with the quietness of the wedding, by the fact that Edward's brother and Constance's cousin had both been killed in action. The description of the wedding as 'quiet' emphasised the undertones of sorrow, illustrated in the black hat, that must have been present. The orange blossom was a symbol of fertility, and appears frequently in descriptions of local weddings.[602]

601 *CIP* 9 July 1915.
602 *CIP* 8 June 1917.

Other weddings were even less obviously 'war weddings', although described as such. The definition appears to be a wedding where one or both parties were members of the Armed Forces or nurses. These included the marriage of Madeline Adeane, daughter of Charles Adeane, Lord Lieutenant of the County, and a prominent local landowner. Denis Grey Wigan returned home on leave to marry Madeline. Archdeacon Campbell gave an address, and a hymn was written specially for the occasion by C W D Whetham of Trinity College. In his address, Archdeacon Campbell spoke of the lighting of a candle, as a symbol of marriage, and continued 'Surely marriage never before meant to so many what it means to-day! The mutual help and comfort is put to the test at once.'[603] It is unclear whether the war inspired this marriage (or others) to take place sooner than was otherwise the case.

The addition of 'war' to the description of a wedding demonstrates the way in which the war touched all aspects of ordinary life. Weddings not explicitly war-related (i.e. those where the groom was not a soldier) tend to be described as, variously, 'interesting', 'pretty', or 'quiet'. Those adjectives were also added to some war weddings. Not only did the adjective 'war' emphasise the patriotism of the groom, and indirectly his home community, it also spoke to the wider narrative of the conflict of home and patriotic duties. Men who left families were seen as showing greater sacrifice and patriotism than young, single men. It also served to highlight them as being of particular notice, and unify the weddings of the upper classes like the Adeanes, with the ordinary, like Edward and Constance. This categorisation emphasised that the war was a national war, not a class affair, and highlighted the principle of equality of sacrifice and service. Not every wedding involving a soldier was described as a 'war' or 'military' wedding—there is no apparent pattern to those which were not, but they do tend to appear later in the war. Perhaps, as with the 'Roll of Honour', which initially meant anyone who enlisted, and came to mean

603 *CIP* 22 October 1915.

anyone who was a casualty, a 'war wedding' had now become something much more specific.

A further descriptor that appears with 'war' in a number of the cases is 'romantic'. These are almost invariably weddings that would not have taken place without the war, particularly the marriages of wounded soldiers and nurses. For instance, it is difficult to see how, in peacetime, Sapper Reginald H J Parker, of Bath, and Frances Ann Hudson, of Eden Street, Cambridge, could have met. However: 'The bride was formerly a nurse at St. Chad's Hospital, and first met the bridegroom as a patient at the hospital. The bridegroom has been out in France for two years, and will rejoin his unit for foreign service on Saturday.'[604] No honeymoon for the happy couple, but Reginald did survive the war, so it ended well. The newspaper picked described it as a 'romantic war wedding', lending a little glamour and excitement to what might otherwise have been a very ordinary wedding.

The presence of the Sixth Division in Cambridge led to a degree of moral panic amongst certain quarters. One baptist preacher warned against the dangers of having soldiers near at hand, thinking particularly of the immorality young women might be tempted into. However, for Lance Corporal Thomas Bowness and Bertha Heffer, the temptation was channelled into officially approved ends. The *CIP* approvingly reported: 'Among the Durhams [of the Sixth Division] was Lance-Corpl. Thomas Bowness, of Darlington, who while in the Brigade remained in Cambridge, fell in love and became engaged to Miss Bertha Heffer, of Burwell.' The story continued with the wounding (twice) of Thomas, first on the Aisne, then the Marne. 'He was sent home again, and after a spell of hospital, was classed as convalescent and allowed a week's leave before rejoining his unit. The corporal decided to use the week's leave to get married, and the wedding took place last Monday at St. Luke's Church, Chesterton, a special licence having been obtained.'[605] The story had all the elements of a classic, and happy, romance, and, reported

604 *CIP* 15 June 1917.
605 *CIP* 10 November 1916.

in November 1916 when casualties from the Battle of the Somme were still steadily appearing in the lists, would have added a dash of romance and optimism to the day's news. The gallant hero, a romantic affection made possible by the war, and, for the moment at least, a happy ending. It gets better—Thomas was released from the Army in April 1918 on account of his wounds.[606]

Moral concerns about men and women 'living in sin' were raised in Cambridgeshire, as particular wartime concerns. The vicar of Sawston warned of the approaching danger: 'a wave of impurity of all kinds'. His concern seems to have been for those who were likely to get married in the future more than for prostitution or unfaithfulness, for he continued 'a man who degrades his future wife has disgraced his manhood and renounced his Christianity; and a woman who allows it has disgraced herself and forsaken God'.[607] These concerns around bastardy were not entirely unfounded. It does not seem to have been uncommon for women to marry while pregnant before the war, but if a man was called up or killed the anticipated wedding might not take place until afterwards, if at all. This would make the situation far more apparent, hence the vicar of Sawston's concern. Some soldiers do appear to have acted based on either this concern, or over fears about separation allowances. Sergeant-Major B Matthews, of the Cambridgeshires, married Isabel Chapman (Illustration 113). Both were Cambridge residents, so the marriage itself does not appear to have been down to the war, but the wedding itself was undoubtedly influenced by it. It is quite possible, too, that some of the


A CAMBRIDGE WAR WEDDING.

Sergt.-Major B. Matthews (1st Cambs), of Lady Margaret-road, Cambridge, and his bride, Miss Isabel Chapman, of St. Tibbs-row. Sergt.-Major Matthews left the trenches in France at midnight on Saturday, and was married at St. Andrew's-the-Great, Cambridge, on Monday.

Illustration 113: CIP 23 July 1915

606 Silver War Badge, accessed via Lives of the First World War. Thomas Bowness page is: https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/443486 , accessed 22 June 2018.
607 *CCDM* March 1917.

weddings of soldiers and sweethearts, especially in the earlier parts of the war, were motivated by a desire to formalise things, so that the separation allowance (and, more morbidly, pension) would be paid.[608]

Of course, the war did not merely open up opportunities for romance. It also created opportunities for unfaithfulness. Most of these remain obscure, at least as far as the actions of particular individuals are concerned. However, there were two types of unfaithfulness which could result in court appearances, which in turn appeared in the local newspaper. These were instances of bigamy and of breach of promise.

Only two military breach of promise cases appear to have reached the court in Cambridgeshire during the war, though there may have been others settled out of court. One was that of Charles Woodley, and the write up of the case explains that when Charles and Alice Billett first started courting, he was working on a farm, and she was a domestic servant. The war broke out, and they got engaged (at the time, Charles was a corporal). 'Affectionate letters passed until defendant obtained a cadetship this year, when he wrote indicating that his position had very much changed for the better, and if plaintiff wanted to get married straight away it was up to her to get someone else.' Charles' conduct was described as being 'of the most callous description', and that his breaking off the engagement had been done ' in a most dishonourable and shameful manner'. Charles had been the first man in Duxford to receive a commission, and the village had held a celebration. Now, he was being described as acting callously and dishonourably. The jury ultimately determined on £75 damages, in light of the money that Alice had spent preparing for marriage, and hoped ' that she would find a worthier man and that those things would not have been bought in vain'.[609] The other case which went to trial was that of Alice Maud Newman against John Richard Metcalfe. There was a possible third that did not go to trial, with reports that there was a case of breach of promise in the process of

608 Jay Winter, 'Families', in ed Jay Winter, *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume III: Civil Society* (Cambridge, 2014), 50
609 *CIP* 29 October 1917.

being settled roughly a month before Alice and John's case appeared before the court. No names, however, are given in the pre-trial reports, and the details are so similar that it seems beyond coincidence.[610] In September 1914, while the 6th Division was encamped in Cambridge, Alice and John met at the introduction of a friend. After John went to France, they continued a correspondence 'in the most endearing and friendly terms', and when John was wounded he visited Cambridge and stayed with Alice. In January 1917 they had a disagreement about an opal ring, but all was resolved and fixed a date to marry in late 1917 or early 1918. But all was not well. 'Although defendant had made every arrangement to marry this young lady in a serious, proper, solemn way, yet he had the impudence to be carrying on with another woman at the same time: more than that, at the end of 1917 he got married to her.' The news arrived on the eve of the marriage, and was a fearful blow which affected Alice's health. John claimed that he had 'wronged' the other girl, and had been forced to marry her.[611]

Although there are differences between them, both cases focus on the expected conduct of the men involved, and the sympathy lies firmly with the two women. The implication in the latter is that John got the second woman pregnant, and honour demanded that he marry her—simultaneously honour demanded that he keep up his promise of marriage to Alice. Charles' case equally presents a conflict between different versions of honour. Charles' explanation of his conduct was that he was unsure what would happen now that he had received a commission, and felt it better to break things off. Both cases include considerations of how much the men could realistically be expected to pay, and the assertion that it was not just the financial aspect that had to be considered, but also the emotional effect on the women involved. With the portrayal of the war as being in defence of women and children—particularly those at home—such actions by soldiers could raise wider questions. However, the cases were far from common, and there was little comment

610 *CDN* 12 January 1918.
611 *CDN* 11 February 1918.

on them in the press, other than the reporting of the cases themselves. That said, the Duxford case in particular took place in a community where both parties would have been well known, and it is not difficult to imagine a degree of local acrimony arising.

Bigamy raised similar questions. Again, the number of cases was small, but it seems clear that the war helped to facilitate at least one of the cases reported. Pte William Armshaw, alias William Ernest Balfour, of the Cambridgeshire Regiment, was charged with marrying Ellen Cutler bigamously at the Aylesbury Magistrates Court. He had previously married Elizabeth Dann Young at Cambridge, and she was receiving his separation allowance. Ellen Cutler was a Cambridge woman who went to Aston Clinton to marry.[612] William and Elizabeth had lived together until the outbreak of war, and had two children, one of whom had died.[613] William was convicted at the Assizes, and sentenced to five months, the judge remarking that bigamy 'seemed very much on the increase', and emphasised that it was a crime which affected the community.[614]

War weddings were often important social events for local communities, not just personal commitments. A similar thread can be seen in the reactions to bigamy and breach of promise, which, although formal cases were few, illustrate the community context of these broken relationships. War weddings did have the potential to create war widows, and additional orphans, but others created lasting marriages between people who would otherwise never have met.

612 *CIP* 1 December 1916.
613 *CIP* 8 December 1916.
614 *CIP* 19 January 1917.

5.3 - Children

'From Clare Bridge in May

1913

By the riverside in King's,

Weary students take their ease:

Others—in their flannels white—

Float along beneath the trees.

Lazy voices blend together

In a lifeless, drowsy drone,

And in some cool, rustic arbor

Sounds a cheery gramophone

1917

Academic times are past

(Softly sighs the gentle breeze),

Officers in khaki tunics

Punt along beneath the trees

No more shines the coloured blazer,

Black and red or white and green,

Khaki is the ruling colour

On the banks and on the stream'[615]

Born in 1900, and a horror writer in later life, Frederick Cowles had several of his poems, which explored the war's impact on those at home, published in local newspapers. The poem above illustrates the changes wrought by the war on Cambridge's life, from the

615 *CDN* 15 May 1917.

perspective of a man too young to fight. The difference between 1913 and 1917 is amply illustrated by the contrast of ‘weary students’, at ‘ease’, and ‘officers in khaki tunics’, who actively ‘punt along’. The activities were the same; the participants differed, as did the sense of agency. In 1913, the view from Clare Bridge was tranquil, serene, even ‘lazy’. By 1917, this time was past, and ‘khaki’, emblematic of the changes wrought by the war, and both a literal change in what people wore and saw on the streets and a metaphorical one in the town’s character, was ‘ruling’.

Although Frederick was at the older end of being a ‘child’ during the war, he was nevertheless too young to serve. As the poem shows, the war had a deep impact on his everyday life.

Education was deeply affected by the war. Teachers left to fight, and were replaced by those who were deemed ineligible—either by reason of gender, age, or conscientious objection. The latter, however, were not always able to keep their posts. Clemens Palme Dutt, of Mill Road, had been teaching at the Perse as well as pursuing research in Queen’s College. When he appeared before the Tribunal, he brought as prove of his genuineness a letter from the head of the Perse, which stated: ‘I consider it discreditable to the Perse School to have our name brought in, and I can't promise to renew the engagement.’[616] Dismissed from his work amidst fears that he would bring the school into disrepute, and, perhaps, that he might corrupt the young men he was teaching, Clemens’ story illustrates the way in which fears about the young, and their future, interacted with the present needs of the war. Other conscientious objectors were forbidden from taking on teaching work as their alternative service, for the same reasons as Clemens was dismissed.[617] The *Cambridge and County School Magazine (CCSM)* after the war assessed the presence and influence of female teachers on the school. The first lady teachers arrived in September

616 *CIP* 21 April 1916.
617 See Chapter 6.

1915, and ‘in time we grew quite accustomed to them’. They led, apparently, to a more cordial atmosphere, and also a significant deterioration in the teaching of games.[618] Knox Inn, in Haddington, East Lothian, was if anything even less impressed by female teachers than the Cambridge and County Boys School, where poor results in the Higher Leaving Certificates were blamed on a lack of male teachers and the unsuitability of female replacements.[619] It was not secondary schools alone that were affected, and the loss of one teacher could have knock on effects. In Balsham, Miss Whittaker left for Fulbourn, where the Master had been called up.[620]

Schools remembered those of their former pupils who died during the war, and this knowledge was shared with the children. The war was brought even more closely home to the children in Orwell. ‘An enlarged photograph of Herbert Dash, a former pupil, who went down in the Battle of Jutland Bank [sic] in the Black Prince on May 31st, was hung upon one of the walls by the head boy, Lawrence Merry, and a chaplet of laurel leaves placed above it by one of the girls, Lydia Goodjohn. After the fixing of the photograph in its place, the children, headed by the Rector, who gave a short address, marched by in single file, saluting as they went past. The singing of the National Anthem brought a memorable little ceremony to a close.’ Described as ‘a little ceremony that witnessed to the stern realities of war’, this brought the war into the classroom and the school day.[621] The *CCSM* with an audience that included alumni and current parents as well as students, carried news on which alumni were where and on casualties. Lent 1915 saw a significant amount of news from soldiers; the subsequent comment ‘Turning now to Old Boys who, for one reason or another—I hope always a *good* reason—have not joined the Forces’ amply illustrates the martial expectations of the school.

It was not just the lack of teachers that disrupted schooling—wartime conditions disrupted both the physical schools and placed alternative demands on children’s time. The

618 *CCSM* Lent 1919.
619 Cranstoun, 'The Impact of the Great War on a Local Community’, 185.
620 Balsham School Managers’ Minute Book 22 March 1916.
621 *CIP* 27 October 1916.

'military occupation' of Cambridge schools in 1914 caused considerable controversy.[622] Most problematic was the occupation of the East Road Schools, displacing 800 children, and causing a complete cessation in their education. The East Road Schools had, in general, children who would leave as early as possible, and so the disruption was particularly concerning.[623] The lack of spaces for children to play and study was raised on a national as well as a local level, and was connected with concerns about the lack of parental supervision. What might be called the first 'after school clubs' were opened in London during the war, to give children space and supervision.[624]

The same concerns were brought to light in the debate about whether children should be released from school to work on the farms. The scheme of temporarily releasing boys for farm work left them 'changed through the language they had heard, the habits and manners they had acquired, and otherwise objectionable and difficult to manage.'[625] Teachers, and others involved in education, feared that farmers were using war conditions to get cheap labour, and were seizing the opportunity of the war to alter local by-laws in their favour.[626] These concerns were probably not helped by an ambiguous record of prosecutions. Hanslip Long, of Balsham, summoned for employing boys, admitted that he had done so, from extreme necessity. He also acknowledged that it 'had saved him a great deal of money', though he claimed he had not used them for that purpose. Fined costs of £1, he was nevertheless not convicted.[627] It was not just farmers who used boy labour—Alfred Playle, a butcher of Arrington, was summoned for not sending his boy to school on Friday mornings. He retorted that 'he would not send his boy to school while football was being played instead of the children being educated.'[628] The use of child labour was prosecuted at times, though there is evidence that the local authorities did not always bring

622 See Chapter 4 for more on the occupation of civilian spaces by the military.
623 *CIP* 15 January 1915.
624 Fraser Brown, *Foundations of Playwork* (London, 2008), 17.
625 *CDN* 16 January 1917.
626 *CIP* 30 April 1915.
627 *CIP* 27 September 1915.
628 *CIP* 3 March 1916.

cases. Illustration 114 shows the number of cases of absenteeism brought to the Cambridge Petty Sessions. It is clear at once that the prosecutions were much higher in 1913-14 than in 1914-15 and 1915-16, though interestingly it looks as though 1916-17 would have been higher than the two previous years had the data series not ended. This probably reflects a lower incidence of prosecution rather than a decline in absenteeism.

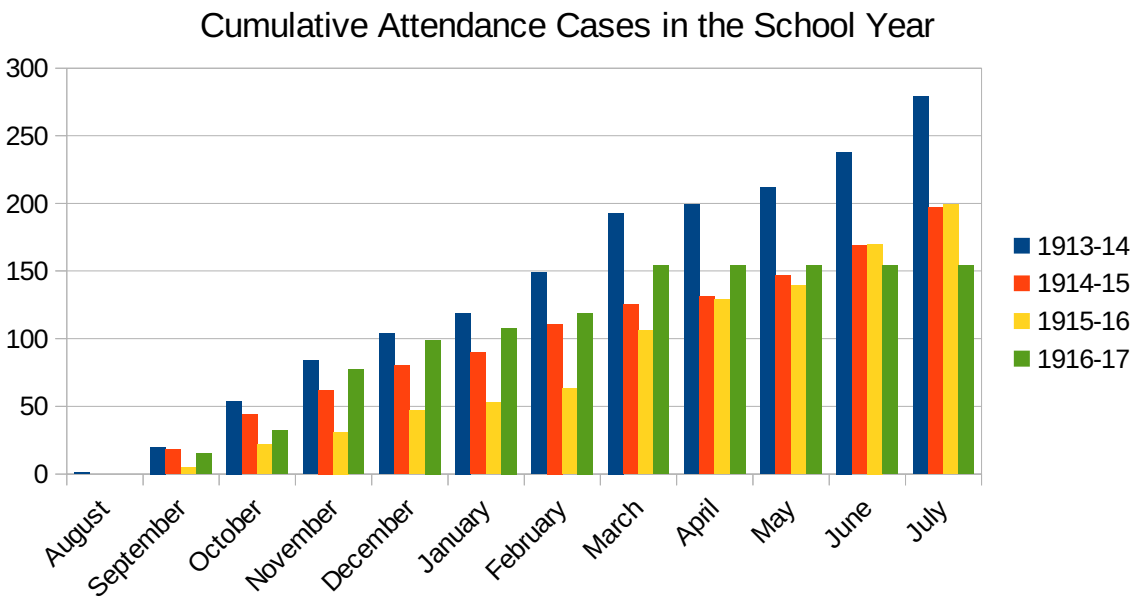


Illustration 114: Attendance cases brought before the Cambridge Petty Sessions, 1913 - 1917

During the holidays, however, children were encouraged to work on work of national importance. The most common was agriculture. This temporary labour was at times transported out en masse, schoolchildren camping or staying together under the supervision of their teachers in much the same way as they might go on an OTC or Scout camp.[629] The boys of the Cambridge and County School had a busy holiday in 1915 —'Munitions work of a simple character was carried out in the workshop by a number of senior boys under the supervision of Mr Thornton and Mr Zeigler; others were busy farming or assisting in the work of national registration.'[630] As many of these boys were from agricultural villages, they may have been more than usually useful.

629 NATS 1/225.
630 *CCSM* Michaelmas 1915.

Even before conscription, married men—fathers—joined the armed forces. Illustration 115 shows the children of George Griffiths, of Duxford, who had joined the Hussars with a challenge to young men to enlist.[631] The fact that these men were doing their patriotic duty did not make their absence easy to bear. Although letters and stories were used to connect fathers with their children, and paradoxically these may have led to greater emotion and affection being expressed, the physical absence of a father could throw a heavy burden on the rest of the family.

Illustration 115: CIP 29 January 1915

Absence of fathers and family members on active service led to a decline in the supervision of children. Besides the stories of children being scalded to death by hot water, or falling on a pocket knife to die in agony, were specific wartime dangers, several being injured by mock bombs which were left on the Gog Magog Hills.[632] More telling, however, was the increase in the number of cases of neglect prosecuted in the Borough Petty Sessions, from two in August 1913 to July 1914 to six in 1914-15 and seven in 1915-16. The increase in the number of cases tried suggests that there were other, less serious cases under the surface. Beatrice Ayres, twenty-three years old, was left by her widowed father in charge of her younger brother and sister, Harry (12) and Hilda (14). In receipt of her father's 30s a week separation allowance, she found that 'the children were too much for me', and was brought up before the Borough Court charged with child neglect.[633] The report shows a good deal of sympathy for the young woman. Another local case was that of three of Jacob Langford's

631 *CIP* 29 January 1915.
632 *CIP* 20 April 1917.
633 *CDN* 29 April 1917.

children, George Russell (13), Joseph (7), and Dorothy Violet (10) who were 'found wandering & having a parent who does not exercise proper guardianship'. The children were 'committed to the care of the Church of England Incorporated Society for providing Homes for Waifs & Strays', until their father was discharged from the Army or they attained the age of 16.[634] Dorothy in 1911 was living with her maternal grandmother; Joseph was living with his father, along with another son Sidney. Born around 1900, Sidney would have been 16 in 1916, explaining why he does not also appear in the court record. Their father, Jacob, was a bricklayer and enlisted in August or September 1914 in the Suffolk Regiment.[635] He subsequently transferring to the Labour Corps.[636] The case was reported in the local newspaper under the heading 'Homeless Children: Mother Dead: Father at the Front', and evidence was given that 'the children had been at 35, Occupation-road, since he went to the front, with no proper supervision at night, and only an aged grandmother coming in during the day to cook for them and so forth. For the last month she had been ill and unable to do this, so that the children had been under no supervision whatever.'[637] The fact that this case had been monitored by the NSPCC for 'about 15 months' is strong evidence that there were others which never reached the court. The number of cases remained small, but the war did see an increase in the number of cases of child neglect and abusive behaviour towards children.

Concerns about the effect the war, and war conditions, were having on boys were not limited to the debate about whether they should be allowed to work, and what work they should be allowed to do. Although overall crime rates dropped, those committed by juveniles increased. Five boys, aged from eight to thirteen, were ordered to be flogged after a Juvenile Court meeting in March 1917.[638] This was not a Cambridgeshire concern alone, but can be seen across combatant nations. It was linked by contemporaries to the decline in

634 Cambridge Petty Sessions, 12 February 1916.
635 *CIP* 4 September 1914.
636 https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/2310197 , accessed 22 June 2018.
637 *CIP* 18 February 1916.
638 *CDN* 12 March 1917.

parental supervision caused by absent fathers and working mothers.[639] Crime statistics are problematic; alterations in the number of prosecutions may reflect different priorities on the part of the police and magistrates, rather than an actual change in the number of cases. Nevertheless, cases concerning juveniles rose dramatically during the war, as can be seen in illustration 116.

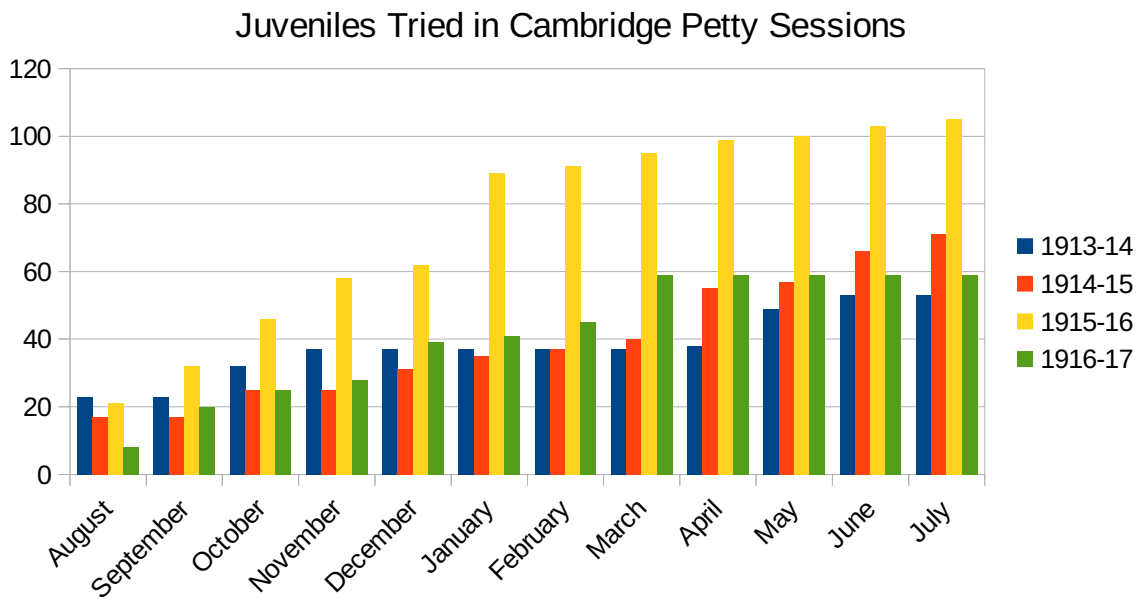


Illustration 116: Number of Juveniles tried in the Cambridge Petty Sessions, 1913 - 1917

A decline in supervision and concomitant increase in criminality, neglect, and, possibly, in accidents, was not the whole picture. Winter found that civilian health improved during the First World War. This was particularly true in terms of infant mortality rates, driven by a rise in standards of care for pregnant women and for infants, as well as a general improvement in standards of living.[640] This can be seen in Cambridgeshire too, with a report from the Cambridgeshire Schools Medical Officer stating that 'it is interesting to note that an improvement in the nutrition of elementary school children in the rural districts has been observed.' The report overall commented on the good, and

639 Manon Pignot, 'Children', in ed Jay Winter, *The Cambridge History of the First World War, Volume III: Civil Society* (Cambridge, 2014), 38-9.
640 Winter, 'Civilian Health in Britain', 489 and 496.

improving, health of local children.[641] This is particularly interesting as Winter's hypothesis dealt primarily with the health of working class men, and while it is hardly conclusive it does suggest that his findings for urban working men may have held good across agricultural labourers too.

On a social level, organisations like the Boy Scouts did not disappear during the war. The Boy Scouts and Boys Brigade are most often referred to as pre-war instruments of 'social control' and as evidence in the debate about the militarisation of society.[642] However, they continued during the war, and offered social activities to boys who were no doubt anxious about family members or friends away on active service. In July 1917, the Balsham boy scouts in camp had a 'night surprise', when they were raided by boys from the Cambridge Higher Grade School Scouts. They were 'roused by fierce yells and the sound of orders shouted in some foreign language. Feeling little doubt that the Germans were upon them, they determined to sell their lives dearly.' The foreign language turned out to be from a group of Serbian refugees who were part of the Cambridge scouts.[643] The following week the Balsham scoutmaster complained at the partisan reporting, claiming that the Balsham scouts had in fact fought back and 'one boy, I know, found that the Granta was both wet and muddy.'[644] This incident shows how, despite their more serious engagement in war work, the Boy Scouts continued to have fun. The publication of both reports shows the importance attached to wartime scouting, while the presence of the Serbian refugees illustrates how children who might, in other circumstances, never meet a child from another country came into contact with refugees.

Similarly the Junior Division of the OTC attempted to keep a balance between traditional fun and a sense of increased wartime importance. The *CCSM* carried frequent reports on the doings of the OTC, and shows an initial surge of interest. Lent 1915's OTC notes admitted that there had been some difficulties with the withdrawal of rifles and the

641 *CIP* 20 July 1917.
642 DeGroot, *Blighty*, 40.
643 *CIP* 27 July 1917.
644 *CIP* 3 August 1917.

suspension of joint field days with the CUOTC owing to the war. It continued 'The membership of the corps has now reached 130, and this increase in numbers has been more than equalled by the increased keenness shown by the Cadets in general.'[645] This keenness did not last. Michaelmas 1916 admitted only 'quiet, steady progress', and the decision of the headmaster to forbid the playing of football during drill time. 'We hope that this measure will go a long way towards the "rounding-up" of some of the "slackers!"'[646] A year later, there was a further note that many senior boys were hanging back, and the following summer a call for 'recruits and more recruits', admitting that the corps was 'visibly diminishing.'[647] While the changing popularity of the OTC in one school does not necessarily mean shifting attitudes amongst children to the war in general, when combined with the research of Pignot on an international level which suggested that despite initial enthusiasm there was a decline in children's support for the war effort, it is suggestive.[648]

Not every child was in the Boy Scouts or OTC; far from it. But there were other social activities for children which continued throughout the war, though some practices were modified by it. School treats and Sunday School treats were severely curtailed in 1917 due to concerns about food supplies. The Food Controller ordered that if any entertainments were given, no extra food should be consumed, 'unless the food served is in substitution of a similar meal that would be served elsewhere.'[649] This did not stop treats going ahead; many simply focussed on games, or other activities. Empire Day was celebrated in 1917 with 'great enthusiasm', the school children of Cambridge being given addresses in the morning, before attending the civic demonstrations held on Market Hill. The civic demonstrations 'in accordance with the wishes of the National War Savings Committee' were devoted to 'urging further the necessity of food economy.'[650] This celebration, altered from pre-war norms by the necessity of saving food, nevertheless

645 *CCSM* Lent 1915.
646 *CCSM* Michaelmas 1916.
647 *CCSM* Michaelmas 1917 and Summer 1918.
648 Pignot, 'Children', 36.
649 *CIP* 8 June 1917.
650 *CIP* 25 May 1917.

seems to have been enjoyed by the children—perhaps if only because they got out of school for the afternoon.

Children were engaged in wartime charity across the country. Grant argues that charitable activities appear to have involved practically every child.[651] These activities varied significantly in scope and scale. One of the more unusual ideas was 'woolgathering'. The *CIP* explained: 'Woolgathering is generally regarded as anything but a complementary term… But we are using the word now in another, and far more acceptable, sense to describe a little bit of war work in which the children of Cambridgeshire can have a share.' Wool collected from hedges and thorns was sent to London, to be spun into wool and used to knit comforts for soldiers.[652] Behind the amusement of a whole room having to be set aside for the collections of scraps of wool, lies a deeper point about the message, and absorption, of wartime economy. Everything mattered, the gathering of wool scraps suggested, and taken together, those insignificant things could make a difference. The fact that the scheme merited an editorial paragraph in the local news is telling. Children were also involved in making sandbags, knitting, and raising funds, especially through the sale of flags. In Histon, schoolchildren who worked in the fields picking through through an (extended) summer holiday put at least some of their money into the local War Savings Associations', whose takings were described as 'benefiting considerably by the youngsters "toil"'.[653]

Children's engagement in the war was part of the community engagement. Their lives were altered by the absence of family and teachers on active service. The lack of effective supervision led to an increase in juvenile crime, and an increased number of cases of neglect. There were more positive changes too, particularly in health, and children were an important part of the home community. Their involvement in war work, both on the land and through charity, made them valuable members of the home front labour force,

651 Grant, 'Charitable Work in Britain during the First World War', 79.
652 *CIP* 15 June 1917.
653 *CIP* 20 July 1917.

especially those lads between compulsory school age and the age of compulsory military service.

5.4 – War Dead

The First World War created a vast army of the dead. Whether they were killed in action, died of wounds, or from some other cause while on active service, something had to be done about the dead, both physically and emotionally. The Imperial War Graves Commission (now Commonwealth War Graves Commission or CWGC), born in 1917 buried as many as possible in uniform graves; those whose bodies were never found, or never identified, were commemorated on memorials overseas.[654] This commemoration, and the practice of leaving the dead as close to where they died as possible, meant that many families could not go to the grave or other memorial. The matter was further complicated for families who lost members earlier in the war, for whom there was little chance of going overseas to the site of the burial. A small percentage of soldiers were buried in the United Kingdom, often in their home community, but this was only the case when the soldier in question had died in the United Kingdom. The majority of families had no nearby grave, and for many there was not even a grave overseas. From the very beginning of the war, therefore, local practices and commemorations were used to provide a local focus for mourning. Winter argued that 'The need to bring the dead home, to put the dead to rest, symbolically or physically, was pervasive.'[655] However, the matter of memorials and memorialisation was even more bound up with the local community than he suggests. The names on the war memorial were not strangers, but the sons of local families, the fathers of local children, the husbands of local widows.

Most war memorials were erected after the war, but there were earlier versions of some. Cheveley War Shrine was dedicated in March 1917, and recorded the names of the fourteen men from the parish who have fallen. The newspaper report added: 'These occupy about one-sixth of the space, so that there is room for many more names yet, should it be

654 https://www.cwgc.org/about-us , accessed 21 June 2018.
655 Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 28.

the fate of more Cheveley men to lay down their lives in this great world struggle.'[656] This somewhat disturbing comment underlines the risks of creating a communal memorial before the end of the war—space had to be left for further casualties. Babraham's memorial, too, was erected before the end of the war, in mid 1918. Both these memorials, however, were given to their respective villages, the former by Winifred McCalmont of Cheveley Park, the latter by the Adeane family. The fact that they were given by wealthy local people places them in a somewhat different category to the majority of war memorials, which were erected through subscriptions from local people. These two villages were (and are) amongst the smaller ones, where the local landowning family played a more prominent role in the local community, and where there were arguably greater ties of paternalism and patronage than there might be in larger villages.

The parish was not the only community which had a war memorial. Individual churches often had memorials for their members, particularly amongst Non-Conformists. Employers also followed suit. The Gas Works had a memorial for their men, Cambridge University Press printed a memorial book (which included the names of all who served, not just those who died). The Colleges, too, erected war memorials of varying nature. Clare College created a whole new court, Memorial Court. Most of these efforts, however, took place after the war. Although ideas and subscriptions were, in some cases, taken before the end of the war, they were largely a post war phenomena.

656 *CIP* 30 March 1917.

Illustration 117: Clare College War Memorial - this wooden memorial board can be found in the College Chapel. There is another board in Memorial Court. Photo from Clare College Archives

During the war itself, however, a number of memorials were erected. These war time memorials tend to commemorate individuals, or, in some cases, members of the same family. In Great Shelford, a reredos screen was donated to the parish church by the family of Captain R E Sendall, of the Cambridgeshire Regiment, killed in action on 1 July 1915. Designed by the architect C G Hare of Gray's Inn Square, the reredos was of white stone enriched with gold, the design presenting the scene of the crucifixion. At each end, a kneeling angel, bearing the coat of arms of the Cambridgeshire Regiment, and flanking those, a pair of oak panels. The primary inscription was to Captain R E Sendall, but the monument continued 'in grateful memory of the men of this parish in the same Regiment who have laid down their lives for their King and Country.' The other panel asked readers to 'Pray for the souls of the gallant dead whose names are written here though their bodies lie in other lands. They gave their lives for their King and Country.' The expense in erecting this memorial must have been considerable, and illustrates the importance that the family attached to it. The reredos was dedicated by Archdeacon Cunningham, who spoke to a crowded service and observed that the Easter time was an

appropriate time for a war memorial, linking the sorrows and privations of the family with those of Jesus.[657] Essex, too, saw a small number of early war memorials, to help honour the dead and cope with increasing local losses.[658] Numerous churches across Cambridgeshire—and across the country—have, besides a war memorial, additional plaques on the wall, commemorating particular individuals. Generally, these individuals are the more wealthy of a parish. That in Great Shelford is at the more lavish end of the scale, but the impulse to commemorate the dead in the place where they had lived, and not just in the place where they died, was considerable.

Illustration 118: Monument in Mill Road Cemetery commemorating Harry James Bennett. http://millroadcemetery.org.uk/bennett-harry-james/

Symbolically returning the dead to their home communities did not necessarily involve the significant expenditure represented by a large, dedicated memorial. Those who died overseas could have their names added to existing family graves, which required a much less significant financial outlay. There are over a hundred examples of this in Mill Road Cemetery alone.[659] The practice was not born in the First World War; there are several pre-war headstones that carry the names of those not buried in the cemetery, where family members died at sea, or a long way from home. However, it seems to have been at its height during the war. It is impossible to know exactly when the names were added, whether it was done

657 *CIP* 6 April 1917.
658 Hallifax, 'Citizens at War', 205.
659 http://millroadcemetery.org.uk/war-graves/ww1-graves/ , accessed 23 June 2018.

when another family member was buried there, or whether they were added separately. But the presence of the names on those family graves, of quite ordinary people, shows the importance that families attached to it. The grave of the Bennet family, for instance, includes a large headstone in the shape of a shield to commemorate Harry James Bennett, a pilot in the Royal Air Force who 'died on active service September 24th 1918, aged 28 years'. Interestingly his name appears to have been the first, with the names on the kerbstones being those of his parents, who died in 1930 and 1940.[660] Other families appear to have added the names to an existing grave, as with Arthur Frank Lister, whose name appears after that of his mother and prefaced with 'also' and which states that he 'died of wounds in France'. Although the wording on the monument suggests Arthur was buried in the same grave as his mother, he was buried in Contay British Cemetery in France.[661]

The fact that people were still commemorated as individuals, and the inscription of names on war memorials, emphasises the personal nature of war memorials. Cambridgeshire's county war memorial, commemorating (in theory) the dead of the county, borough, and university, bears no names at first glance. However, the memorial near the train station, a soldier returning home, is only one part of the original three part war memorial. The names can all be found at Ely Cathedral, in a separate chapel, inscribed on wooden boards and arranged by parish.[662] Few memorials in the country bear no names, and many, as recorded by the Imperial War Museums Project, commemorate just one or two men (or more infrequently, women).

It was not just through physical memorials that members of the local community were symbolically returned home after their death. There are frequent accounts in the local newspapers of memorial services, sometimes in significant detail. Though many commemorated specific individuals, they were often used as moments to commemorate wider losses. Thus, a Castle Camps memorial service was specifically for Walter Burrell,

660 http://millroadcemetery.org.uk/bennett-harry-james/ , accessed 22 June 2018.
661 http://millroadcemetery.org.uk/lister-arthur-frank-2/ , accessed 22 June 2018.
662 K S Inglis, 'The Homecoming: The War Memorial Movement in Cambridge, England', *Journal of Contemporary History* (1992), 585.

but also remembered the sixteen others from Castle Camps who had fallen during the war. 'The church was crowded, many being unable to obtain admission.' The service itself was described as 'impressive', and as with the majority of similar services, the Dead March from Saul was played at the end.[663] The holding of these memorials offered a focus for grief, in much the same way that a funeral would, and were the temporal equivalent of the addition of local war dead to local memorials and family graves. The services generally commemorated the specific individual, and were opportunities for familial and communal grief to be experienced and expressed collectively.

Even when not officially commemorating communal as well as specific lives lost in the war, services could be used as expressions of local mourning. The burial of Private H T Royston, an eighteen-year-old member of the Suffolk Regiment, wounded on the first day of the Battle of the Somme, took place in Ely after he died of his wounds. The report stated that this was 'the first interment of a war hero at Ely', but that it was not generally known in the city. It was, nevertheless, 'numerously attended'. As part of the tribute, the Rev A G Bradford said that although it was a time for sympathy for the family, it was also a time to honour H T Royston, and mentioned the millions of others who 'believed the life of the nation was worth purchasing at the sacrifice of their own life'.[664] Some of those who attended seem to have been those for whom his funeral served as a commemoration of their own war dead, a moment of local commemoration which placed the sacrifice of one individual in the narrative of wider sacrifice. A similar attitude can be seen in the funeral of King William Johnson, also of the Suffolks, also wounded on 1 July 1916 before dying in England. His funeral took place in Bottisham, and again it was well attended, with 'practically the entire grown-up population of the village' present.[665]

Although churches and parishes did hold collective memorial services, it was the University where this practice seems to have been most prevalent, perhaps because there

663 *CIP* 25 May 1917.
664 *CIP* 11 August 1916.
665 *CIP* 21 July 1916.

were no individual University memorial services. These were tied to All Saints' Day, that in 1915 having close on 500 names being read out, and with 'a very large congregation assembled to do honour to the dead.'[666] The *CM* commented on the impulse to commemorate collectively with approval. The duration of the war, they observed, meant that the erection of war memorials was being postponed to a time when there could be greater consideration given. Besides prosaic reasons of cost and practicality, a collective memorial would reflect the collective efforts of the war, 'the expression of a corporate body, and if we can allow ourselves to forget for a moment the strife of parties, the struggle of classes, and the sordid commercial greed which not even all its heroism and idealism have been able to destroy, yet we can still see that it has intensified to a very remarkable extent the sense of communal feeling, if mainly within the limits of sectional communities.'[667] The Colleges (and it was these which undertook the construction of physical memorials, even if the University held memorial services) were in a somewhat different position to the parishes. Generally speaking, men would not expect to be buried in their College. The College memorials, which were constructed after the war, were much less a symbolic returning of the dead to their homes, and more in the nature of a record of war service. A similar idea can be seen in company memorials. They were more about the College or company as a body than about the dead as individuals. This does not deny the grief felt amongst College communities, both by the dons and those left behind and amongst those who survived the war. However, the impulse within the Colleges was subtly different to that which motivated local communities.

The decision of the University to use All Saints' Day for its memorial was echoed in other churches. The *CIP* observed that observation of All Saints Day was growing. 'Never was the appeal of All Saints' Day as strong as it is this year. Ever since the beginning of the war the departed have taken a growing place in our thoughts.'[668] This

666 *CM* 6 November 1915.
667 *CM* 10 March 1917.
668 *CIP* 3 November 1916.

1916 observation came at a time when casualties from 1 July were still being reported, and when many were still uncertain about the fate of loved ones. The use of All Saints' Day, observed in King's College Chapel, by the University, continued throughout the war. The names of the dead for that year, brought together as members of the wider University community, were read out as part of the service. In 1917, the *Review* observed: 'The University is singularly fortunate in having within its precincts a building so admirably adapted for such corporate solemnities, and it owes much to the Provost and Fellows of King's for their readiness to place once more at the disposal of the larger body to which they belong the means they control of commemorating with dignity the sacrifice that Cambridge has made of her sons.'[669] The emphasis on 'commemorating with dignity' and on 'sacrifice' marks a contrast with ones in villages and in the town, where the focus was often more on the individual, and on supporting the bereaved relatives. At the end of the war, 12 November was used for an immediate service of thanksgiving, the initial exuberance over. Dorothy Marshall described the service at Great St Mary's as packed. 'To be there was an unforgettable experience, not a joyful celebration of victory but a memorial to the price of young lives with which it had been bought. To me the hymn '*For All The Saints Who From Their Labours Rest'* still brings back that poignant memory. It was their ghosts that were with us in St Mary's that day. To them we paid the tribute of our thanks.'[670] The University's tribute to the war dead was thus subtly different to that of the villages, with a more collective focus.

Although war dead formed, in one sense, their own community, and were commemorated collectively, they also remained part of their home communities. Although not necessarily physically buried in their home community, men were symbolically returned, and often had memorial services which were effectively funerals without the body. Death overseas should have been the ultimate expression of a man's separation from

669 *Review* 8 November 1917.
670 Marshall, *The Making of a Twentieth Century Woman*, 65.

his community and his home, but even in death, it was possible to still perceive them as part of their pre-war community. The vast majority of war memorials were erected after the period covered by this thesis; nevertheless people were thinking about appropriate ways to commemorate the fallen long before the war finished.

5 – Conclusion

Although a large number of men were physically absent during the war, efforts were made by the civilian population, and reciprocated by those on active service, to maintain community bonds. Letters were sent and read not merely by individuals, but by other members of the community, and war news was so organised as to stress the home connection above the military. Commemoration of the dead symbolically returned men to the communities they had left. This symbolic, communal emphasis, was arguably even greater in the University, where students and alumni would not normally be buried or commemorated. In the villages and the town, commemoration and memorialisation was much more familial in nature, though the community was involved.

On an individual level, the war facilitated as well as broke marriages. Romantic war weddings were reported in the local news, perhaps to provide a ‘good news’ alternative to the other wartime news. For children, the lack of supervision led to an increase in petty criminality, and there were a higher number of cases of neglect and abuse during the war. Their war was not all negative; organisations like the Scouts continued to do good work, and children had opportunities to engage in war work on a level that they could appreciate, but the war did disrupt both schooling and familial relationships.

6 – Community Breakdown

'The case is reported this morning of a German in England who, ordered to be repatriated, committed suicide rather than "run the risk of having to support… a system which I detest and abhor."… This carrying of a conscientious objection to a really logical issue I commend to the long-haired frat who used to figure so frequently at the Tribunals. It would at least settle the doubts that exist as to the genuineness of their scruples.'[671]

This comment in 'Table Talk' exposes some of the fractures within Cambridgeshire during the course of the war. His reference to 'the long-haired frat' who was also a conscientious objector raises simultaneously the twin problems the University brought and suffered. The University, initially containing a high number of men who were by age ideal military recruits, and by education ideal officers, shrank during the course of the war. The numbers of undergraduates in residence halved in the academic year 1914-15, and halved again in 1915-16. By the start of 1917, a total of 398 were reported to be in residence. This climbed at the start of the year 1918-19 through the addition of those whose names bore 'the unaccustomed prefixes of "Capt" and "Lieut"', men discharged from the Armed Forces.[672] This loss of students did not merely affect the University itself. Those in the town whose livelihoods depended upon student trade were also hit, foremost amongst them lodging house keepers.

University and College histories make only limited reference to wartime experiences. In part this is a function of the space available within them and the timespan they have to cover—Darwall-Smith's history of University College Oxford, for instance, allows three pages in a 528 page history. That history, however, covers seven and a half centuries.[673] Trevor-Roper's history of Christ Church Oxford mentions the First World War purely in connection with the war memorial, recording nothing under the 'history' section

671 *CDN* 8 September 1917.
672 *Review* 25 October 1918.
673 Robin Darwall-Smith, *A History of University College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2008), 440-3.

of the volume.[674] Where the war is mentioned, it is generally in connection with its effect on university finances, a reference to the number of war dead, and the post-war increase in the numbers of students. In an institutional history, such concerns fit with the broader picture, and also lead to the treatment of the war as a brief aberration.[675] Some go into more detail, including Supple's chapter in Reynolds' history of Christ's College and the 1929 history of King's College London by Hearnshaw.[676] However, some work has been done outside these institutional histories, notably Fordham's comparative chapter in the second volume of *Capital Cities at War* which examines universities as a site of culture, not merely in producing propaganda but as institutions faced with great challenges. She notes the dramatic diminution in student numbers, but also examines the continuation of university culture through women students and professors, who she argues were 'deeply engaged, both emotionally and physically, in the national war effort'.[677] Similarly, a volume of essays has been published on the wartime experiences of Canadian Universities, and a good comparative exists in Graham's history of Oxford which, unlike Wynn's of Durham, incorporates the University in the history of the town.[678]

The presence of the University—and in particular the presence of students who chose not to join the Armed Forces—altered the experience and presentation of conscientious objection in Cambridgeshire. When men directly connected with the University are excluded, there were very few cases of conscientious objectors heard in

674 Hugh Trevor-Roper, *Christ Church Oxford: The Portrait of a College: Second Edition* (Oxford, 1973), 30.

675 *Clare College, 1326-1926 Volume I* (Cambridge, 1928); *Clare College, 1326-1926 Volume II* (Cambridge, 1930); Brock, W R, and Cooper, P H M, *Selywn College: A History* (Durham, 1994); Gray, Arthur, and Brittain, Frederick, *A History of Jesus College Cambridge* (London, 1960); Hird, Marilyn, *Doves and Dons: A History of St Mary's College Durham: An Account of the Women's Hostel 1899-1920 and Some Impressions of Later College Life* (Durham, 1982); Huelin, Gordon, *King's College London 1828-1978* (London, 1978); Jones, Edgar, *University College Durham: A Social History* (Aberystwyth, 1996); Jones, John, *Balliol College Oxford: A Brief History and Guide* (Oxford, 1982); Trevelyan, G. M., *Trinity College: An Historical Sketch* (Cambridge, 1972).

676 Barry Supple, 'The Two World Wars' in ed David Reynolds, *Christ's: A Cambridge College Over Five Centuries (*Basingstoke, 2004), 143-175; F J C Hearnshaw, *The Centenary History of King's College London 1828-1928* (London, 1929).

677 Fordham, Elizabeth, 'Universities' in eds Winter, Jay and Robert, Jean-Louis, *Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914-1919: Volume 2: A Cultural History* (Cambridge, 2007), 253.

678 eds Stortz, Paul and Panayotides, E Lisa, *Cultures, Communities and Conflict: Histories of Canadian Universities and War* (Toronto, 2012); Graham, Malcolm, *Oxford in the Great War* (Barnsley, 2014); Wynn, Stephen, *Durham City in the Great War* (Barnsley, 2017).

local tribunals. Pearce argues that conscientious objection cannot be understood outside the local context.[679] He places Huddersfield conscientious objectors firmly within the local trade union and labour movement, describing the shift in the core of the anti-war movement from radical Liberals to labour and socialist groups.[680] In Leicester, which also had a strong socialist tradition, there was less sympathy for objectors than in Huddersfield —despite low initial levels of recruitment, public opinion adapted to the prevailing mood.[681] Hyde, too, had a strong body of socialists, and an active Socialist Church which was addressed in the early months of the war by anti-war speakers.[682] Although many Cambridgeshire objectors were socialists, the context was significantly different to that of industrialised northern towns. Religious objectors tended to be treated with more sympathy. Quakers, in particular, received an almost default exemption, though Rae argues that they were not all as doctrinally pacifist as contemporaries believed, and suggests that other bodies in fact had larger numbers of objectors.[683]

The tale in 'Table Talk' of the German who committed suicide (unnamed, perhaps unreal) exposes a further wartime issue, rarely discussed amongst contemporaries save in coroner's reports. Suicides directly attributable to the war are small in number, nor were all cases of suicide during the war directly related to it. Nevertheless they expose the tensions and pressures that individuals were put under, and an analysis of some of the local cases illustrate fear of military service, concern for loved ones, and the additional tensions that the war brought.

679 Cyril Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience: The Story of an English Community's Opposition to the Great War, Revised Edition* (Lonson, 2014), 20.
680 Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, 83.
681 Malcolm Elliott, 'Opposition to the First World War: The Fate of Conscientious Objectors in Leicester' *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions* (2003), 84.
682 Christine Clayton, 'Pacifism and Socialism in Hyde during the Great War' *North West Labour History* (2010-11), 10.
683 Rae, John, *Conscience and Politics: The British Government and the Conscientious Objector to Military Service 1916 – 1919* (London, 1970), 73-77.

6.1 – The University

'We follow the precedent of 1915 in devoting the first number of the *Review* to a Roll of Honour. The list of those who have laid down their lives is a measure of our loss since the end of last Term. The University, like the nation and the Empire, is contributing its best: the price it pays is high… Meanwhile the University, with its able-bodied students absent, with so many of its staff serving as soldiers or helping in the administration of the country, leads a maimed existence… The work that awaits those who are left is to carry on the traditions of the past and to prepare for the re-construction and adaptation to changed conditions after the war, in order that the University in the future may not fail in its duty to the great causes it has served in the long years of its history.'[684] In its opening comments for the academic year 1916/17, the *Review* focussed upon the losses of the war, the 'maimed existence' left to the University as it stood in Cambridge. The focus on casualties amongst those on active service—and outside the first issues of the year on those awarded decorations too—illustrates amply the broad conception of Cambridge members. It is also an early prefiguring of the concern of most college and university histories, whose comments on the war are generally limited to the number who died during it.[685] The University community throughout the war was understood in its journals to include alumni, and those who had interrupted their studies to fight, not merely those in residence.

Despite the *Review's* pessimism, the University during the War did not entirely shut down, and academic work was not discontinued. Nevertheless, student numbers dropped dramatically, with a consequent impact upon both University finances and the livelihoods of those who depended upon students for their businesses. Particularly hard hit were local landladies. A debate on county rates in November 1916 highlighted the plight of lodging-

684 *Review*, 11 October 1916.

685 *Clare College, 1326-1926*; *Clare College, 1326-1926 Volume II;* Brock and Cooper, *Selywn College*; Dawnall-Smith, *University College, Oxford* (Oxford, 2008); Gray and Brittain, *Jesus College Cambridge*; Hird, *Doves and Dons*; Huelin, *King's College London*; Jones, *University College Durham*; Jones, *Balliol College Oxford*; Trevelyan, *Trinity College*; Trevor-Roper, *Christ Church Oxford*.

house keepers, Mr Papworth raising the case of a woman 'who paid £250 just before the war who had not got a single lodger—and the owner of the house depended on the rent. That could be multiplied by scores of instances where smaller sums had been paid to go in.'[686] Despite his arguments, the asked for reduction in county rates was not agreed. Oxford's landladies suffered a similar plight.[687]

The two main University magazines took different approaches to the changed circumstances. The *Review*'s pages became dominated by the Roll of Honour, mixed in with some letters from the front, the University sermon, and book reviews, including in some weeks a dedicated review of war books. The *CM*, in contrast, determined to continue its debates and controversies, some related to the war, others on religion or education. It carried far more letters from the front than the *Review*, along with a number of war poems, including those of Siegfried Sassoon, and engaged with the question of conscientious objection (the *Review* had a single paragraph during the whole war on conscientious objectors, while the *CM* printed as much as it could get away with).[688]

The veneration of the dead found in the *Review* through obituaries—claiming the whole magazine at the start of the academic year in 1915, 1916 and 1917, and forming a special supplement in 1918—was not absent from the *CM*. It was just that the latter believed it more fitting to the memory of the fallen to continue its controversies and remain as normal as possible. That some who were overseas agreed is alluded to not only in the letters the *CM* printed praising its work but also more obliquely in a letter printed in the *Review*. Archibald Don concluded his letter: 'to all who have received them the coming of the *Review* and *Magazine* has been a weekly stimulus, and especially when there is evidence that things are, some of them, more or less, as formerly they were… to realise that lectures by Professor Q. continue to be as femininely crowded-out as ever... to read another contribution on New Cambridge Buildings… all this helps to make war possible,

686 *CIP* 10 November 1916.
687 Graham, *Oxford in the Great War*, 45. Concern about lodging house keepers was raised in the
688 Conscientious objectors are dealt with more fully later in this chapter.

and links us to a Cambridge that we know. Were Cambridge half so dead as you who struggle nobly there to keep it living may imagine, the 'Varsity at the Front would find their struggle twice as hard. Therefore keep the *Review* as academic as you can; tell us, occasionally, that the willows on the backs are green again, and that the Orchard is once more a mass of bloom. Remind us of the hideousness of—well, certain buildings (unless you can tell us they have been Zepped successfully!). But don't go publishing too many letters from the front, especially if they come from Salonika.'[689] As well as underlining the continuing connection between home and front, this letter illustrates an equal longing at the front for news of home. It was not just the *Review* and the *Magazine* which constructed from the home front a continued community of Cambridge alumni; the alumni themselves actively participated in it through the consumption of Cambridge magazines and their interest in Cambridge news.

The war also proved a subject for debate. The *Review*, although publishing an article from Bertrand Russell, gave far less space to wartime controversy. The *CM* had no such reticence. It printed an appeal from Romain Rolland for men to stand above the storms of war, and subsequent letters within the debate, refusing to allow views to be censored. Nicholas Bagenal, commissioned in the 11 Suffolks, wrote in support of this approach: 'if while we young men are fighting in the belief that we are preparing the way for the new democracy, Rolland's city of God, there are not others at home who can rise above the tempest in the spirit of Rolland's great appeal—what will be the use of it all?'[690] The decision did not prove popular elsewhere—the *Athenaeum* wrote 'The few who remain may justly be described as the offscouring of the University, and among these are some with a certain amount of perverted intelligence, and a few with perhaps enough grace to be ashamed of themselves,' and the criticism was printed (with, naturally a justification for their approach) in the *CM*.[691] Debate on war and its nature also proved controversial at

689 *Review*, 24 May 1915.
690 *CM* 28 November 1914.
691 *CM* 16 October 1916.

the young University of Saskatchewan in Canada, where the Professor English's lecture glorifying war sparked a strong protest.[692]

There was, however, a limit to how much those on active service wanted to see academic debate continue. The controversy around 'compulsory Greek' was a case in point.

'**THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR.**

(FOR CAMBRIDGE)

Blind for nonce to the Taube soaring
Far in the blue, whom the "Archies" seek:
Deaf to what poets (mis)call the roaring
Guns: forgetting—almost—the reek
Eclectic launched by the Incinerator,
My thoughts return to thee, Alma Mater,
Engrossed—even now!--by the rather boring
Question of non-compulsory Greek!

How it takes one back ere the Hun went dotty!
Broadsheets couched in the time-worn strain?
The claims of "Stinks" and the rights of στι—
"Vested interests"—"knowledge's gain"?
Nationally, no doubt, important
To know how one ought to vote and oughtn't—
Yet somehow it strikes one as rather *potty*;
Hearing those guns and watching that 'plane.'[693]

692 James M Pitsula, 'Manly Heroes: The University of Saskatchewa and the First World War' in eds Paul Stortz and E Lisa Panayotides, *Cultures, Communities and Conflict: Histories of Canadian Universities and War* (Toronto, 2012), 129.
693 *Review*, 25 April 1917.

Written in 1917 by Captain William Walter Wallace, of the Wiltshire Regiment (and Clare College), the poem illustrates that some academic questions seemed to have diminished relevance in time of war. The debate over compulsory Greek was a three-sided one, with its supporters and detractors joined by a 'make no decision till after the war' contingent. The *Magazine* reported in October 1916 that 'the latest developments in relation to Compulsory Greek' had to be held over 'to make room for the appalling list of casualties which occupies a proportionately large space in our thoughts.' In contrast to the *Review* the *Magazine* did not publish short obituaries for all the casualties; nevertheless merely listing all the names took up a substantial amount of space.[694] In 1917, it was decided to take no action until after the war. Even this decision, however, did not settle matters, for a memorial to the Senate and a counter-memorial were both set up.[695] However, a further decision was taken to take no decision on Compulsory Greek, and there the matter rested uneasily.[696] Although the matter of Compulsory Greek was portrayed as irrelevant, other academic debates and articles of academic interest did continue to be published and well received.

The most obvious alteration the war brought to University life was the rapid dwindling of the numbers in residence. Illustrations 119 and 120 show the decline in the numbers in residence across the university. The absence of so many, either from joining up after starting at University, or who never came into residence at all due to the war, led to huge alterations in the social life of the University. Although some societies, such as the Cambridge University Musical Society, tried to continue, the Union gave up debates from the end of the academic year 1915-16, and 'University sport [was] practically non-existent'.[697]

694 *CM* 14 October 1916.
695 *Review* 21 February 1917.
696 *Review* 25 April 1917.
697 *Review* 27 January 1915.

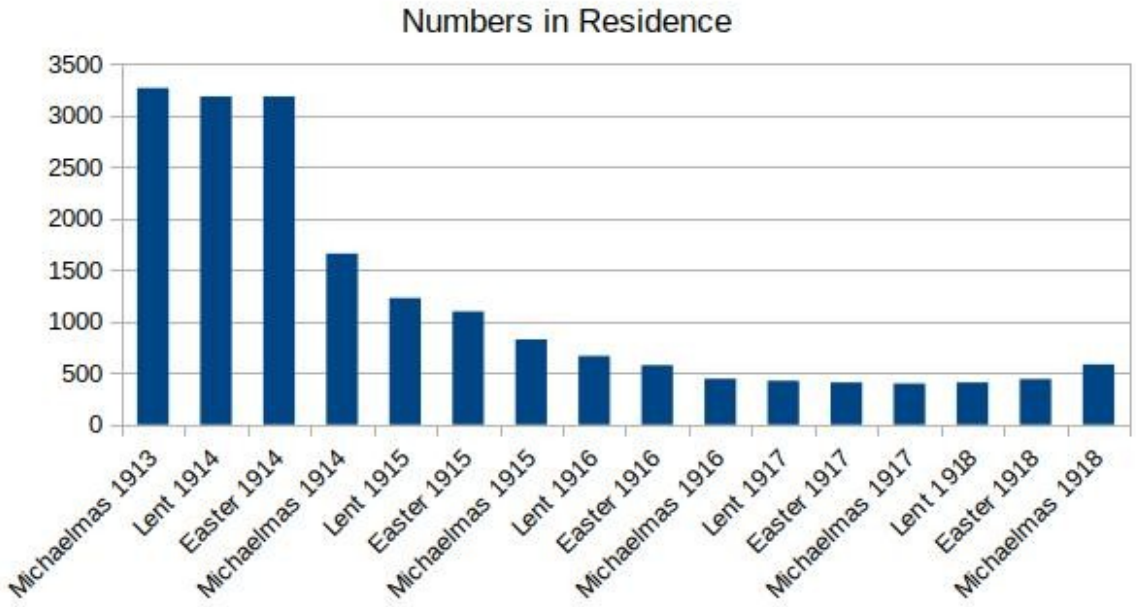


Illustration 119: Numbers in Residence in Cambridge, information collated from the Cambridge Review

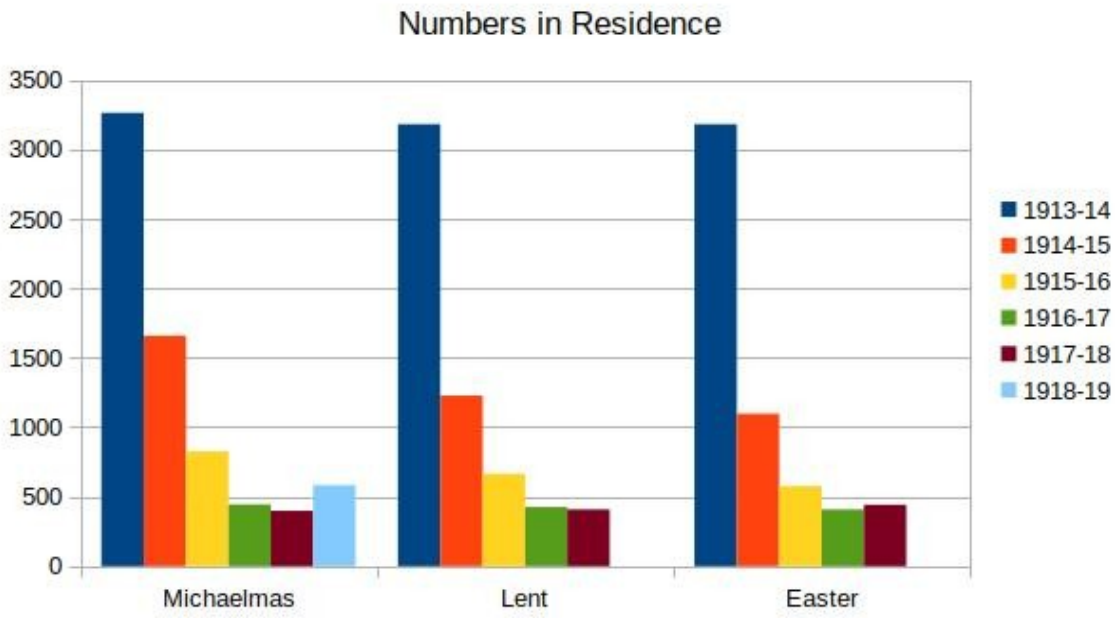


Illustration 120: Numbers in Residence in Cambridge, information collated from the Cambridge Review

The CUOTC underwent a flurry of early activity—it acquired the use of Corpus Christi to help process the huge numbers of undergraduates seeking commissions. By September 1914, this largely ceased, but that did not initially leave the CUOTC purposeless, as it continued to offer training and the opportunity for a commission.[698] In its final pre-war issue, *The Sell* described a dream of battle in Cambridge, between those in favour and those against compulsory training, the result, it was claimed, of dozing off while two friends discussed CUOTC training.[699] The *CM* reported on wartime training, and undergraduates were encouraged to join. However, despite the fact that war gave it an immediate obvious purpose (until conscription), the CUOTC suffered a good deal of controversy. Indian students were initially forbidden to join. Clemens Dutt, half Indian and half Swedish, but born in Britain, was insulted on applying for a commission and became a determined conscientious objector, apparently out of spite.[700] The whole matter of Indian students and the CUOTC raised some fury.[701] This was not the CUOTCs only problem. Gilbert Drake Pont Allen told the Borough Tribunal that though he tried to believe the present war was a just one, 'a few months' training in the CUOTC has only affirmed my belief [that all war is unjustified].' He based this on the cold-blooded approach of the CUOTC, alleging that they suggested wounding the enemy from a distance and then dispatching him 'with the knife, club, shovel, or any other implement.' Although persuaded to retract this charge, the fact that it was made does show that the CUOTC did not necessarily do so well out of war fervour as might have been assumed.[702] Moreover, the courses and training to fit people for a commission were criticised as taking up too much time and requiring too many drills. There was a high turnover as men left for commissions,

698 Hew Strachan, *History of the Cambridge University Officers Training Corps* (Tunbridge Wells, 1976), 140.
699 *The Sell* June 1914.
700 Oral History Interview, Pease, Helen Bowen, Imperial War Museum, 821
701 *CM* 13 February 1915, 20 February 1915, 27 February 1915, 6 March 1915.
702 *CIP* 17 March 1916.

and with the introduction of compulsory service in 1916 the CUOTC was effectively obsolete.[703]

Although pre-war societies struggled, others, such as the Union of Democratic Control (UDC), were born during the war. Founded on 5 September 1914, the Cambridge branch received a substantial amount of coverage in November 1915, after Trinity College refused to allow a Fellow to host a meeting of the society in his room, and communicated this to the press before the Fellow.[704] Plan B was a room owned by the Liberal Club, whose Chairman abruptly also refused to allow it. The only result of the matter, according to the *CM*, was 'to arouse a widespread sympathy with the Society thus injudiciously advertised. What was announced a few days before as a private gathering of persons interested in the discussion of the intricate problems of nationality arising out of the Balkan tangle, was magnified into a rally of indignant champions of English traditions in the matter of free discussion. Instead of an audience of twenty or thirty thoughtful students of international desiderata, Mr. Buxton found the largest hall which Cambridge could supply at the short notice allowed, packed and overflowing with an interested throng... And here too, are we, who could not otherwise have found space for more than few lines of comment on the whole affair, constrained (by the fact that everyone in Cambridge has heard part of the ludicrous story and wants to know the whole) to print more than 2,000 words of the very best tittle-tattle relating to same.'[705] Also tied to the University, though not a University society, was the work of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Formed in Trinity Hall at the end of 1914, a number of its members were part of the University, but the Fellowship of Reconciliation had a much wider reach.[706] Alongside the No Conscription Fellowship, local branches, and local activities, of this body were generally feared.

703 Strachan, *History of the Cambridge University Officers Training Corps*, 145.
704 *CM* 20 November 1915.
705 *CM* 27 November 1915.
706 Martin Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain 1914-1945: The Defining of a Faith* (Oxford, 1980), 35-6.

The number of new pacifist societies exaggerated fears that they were working to undermine the nation.[707] Professor Ridgway refused to allow women into his lectures on numismatics unless they swore that they were not a member of the Union of Democratic Control. Criticised for his discrimination, he explained that if he could act the same towards undergraduates, he would, 'for their conduct is much more reprehensible than that of women, for it is expected that men shall be braver than women. But the fact that I could not legally act as I would towards undergraduates is no reason for not acting in a case where I am a free agent.'[708] The lesser status of Newnham and Girton at the time meant that ladies were only permitted in lectures by the consent of the lecturer, opening the door for his prejudice.

Within individual colleges, it was difficult to keep pre-war traditions alive. Most colleges stopped sending college news to the *Review;* by January 1915, the correspondent from Christ's was writing: 'We return to find the College even emptier than before... our numbers seem painfully small.'[709] Shortly thereafter the College news ended entirely, and the editions of the *Review* for 1917-18 are striking for their paucity of news and controversy. Instead, they are dominated almost entirely by the Roll of Honour and various bits of military news, though they also grew shorter in physical length. College magazines are not helpful in filling in the gaps as they too stopped publication. In itself, the decision to stop publishing is significant, illustrating that either the manpower or the motivation was missing to enable it to continue. What is more striking is that they stop immediately on the outbreak of the war, rather than dwindling away as the Union Society did. The first *Sell* after the war, in May 1920, described itself as 'the Peter Pan of Selwyn', who, during the war 'neglected by all but his creditors, flung himself down in a corner of the library and took refuge in sleep.'[710]

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707 See also the section on conscientious objection below.
708 *CM* 17 February 1917.
709 *Review* 27 January 1915.
710 *The Sell* May 1920.

It was not merely the lack of undergraduates that the University had to struggle with; they also suffered from a lack of staff. Applications for University staff appeared in the local Tribunals, many unsuccessful. Newnham College, however, were successful in applying for their plumber, Sidney William Suttle, perhaps because he was forty-one when applied for in 1917, perhaps because of the tale of woe he told the Tribunal. Apparently, 'the ladies at the college did not know how to use the taps in the baths, and left them running. They did not seem to care much about whether they spoiled them or not.' The Chairman, on granting two months exemption, suggested 'that the college should hold a course of lectures on the way to use baths. It seems a monstrous thing that a number of educated, intelligent ladies should not be able to use baths in better ways'.[711] Sidney Suttle continued to be successful in gaining exemptions – perhaps the thought of lady undergraduates being left to deal with plumbing on their own was too much – but the University became severely understaffed. Appearing before the Tribunal for Sidney George Campbell, Bursar, Fellow, and Lecturer at Christ's College, the Vice-Chancellor remarked that 'it was getting almost impossible to carry on the University, and if the University were to shut up he did not know what the Government would do… The Government were continually asking the University to do more and more, and it was very difficult to do it.'[712] The more referred to was the lodging and care of cadets, in Officer Cadet Battalions (OCBs) set up within Colleges and using their accommodation and staff. Peterhouse applied for G Witt, a steward looking after Cadets, but were refused exemption.[713] Trinity Hall succeeded, however, in retaining their porter Harold Grant, to assist the butler who had 'broken down with overwork' due to the large number of Cadets. Though the Military Representative argued that 'you cannot keep a man out of the army to wait on Cadets' Trinity Hall received a three months' exemption.[714]

711 *CDN* 14 December 1917.
712 *CIP* 17 May 1918.
713 *CIP* 20 October 1916.
714 *CIP* 29 June 1917.

Illustration 121: Buzz December 1917

The cadets who replaced the undergraduates adopted some of the traditions of University life. Several companies published their own journals, replacing the hibernating College journals. They vary somewhat in type and style, but overall seem to fall on a spectrum between 'trench newspaper' (as embodied in the Wipers Times) and university magazine. Trench newspapers were far from a British phenomenon—if anything they were more common amongst the French—and were written to entertain both in the writing and the reading.[715] Humour was a particular feature of the British examples, though at times this cheeriness was portrayed as something struggled for, rather than entirely natural.[716] The focus on cheeriness or wit marked them out from French and German ones, emphasising that the British method of coping with death and danger was through humour.[717] Although out of danger in Cambridge (save for punting or motor accidents), those in OCBs had generally been at the front and would be returning again. The journals must therefore be seen as both soldier newspapers and university magazines.

715 Stephen Audoin-Rouzeau, *Men at War 1914-1918: National Sentiment and Trench Journalism in France during the First World war, trans Helen McPhail* (Oxford, 1992), 3, 18-19.
716 J G Fuller, *Troop Morale and Popular Culture in the British and Dominion Armies 1914-1918* (Oxford, 1990), 17.
717 Robert L Nelson, 'Soldier Newspapers: A Useful Source in the Social and Cultural History of the First World War and Beyond', *War in History* 17.2 (2010), 169-170.

Illustration 122: Buzz December 1917

The balance between soldier and university newspaper is illustrated by the content. Thus, *Buzz* carries some of the comical adverts familiar from the Wipers Times, but also sporting news and, in June 1919, a full nominal roll, information on decorations and current addresses, and in this and previous editions, a Roll of Honour. *The Blunderbuss* is even closer to a College or University magazine in style, with poems and pictures, including photographs of sports events. It still has very much a humorous bent though, featuring 'Extracts from the Diary of Samuel Pepys, Cadet' and an article from an archaeologist of the future who supposedly found *Blunderbuss* editions 'dated between the years 1915-1938 which was the time of the great Kultur struggle between Scottish America and Hunnania.'[718] The smaller distribution than a trench magazine, and the generally higher education of the expected audience marks the cadet journals out from trench magazines, but their nature and higher proportion of humorous articles equally distinguishes them from University magazines.

718 *Blunderbuss* November 1916

Illustration 123: The Blunderbuss November 1916

Not to be outdone by the cadet journals, at the start of the academic year 1918-19, the *Review* announced 'changes in *The Cambridge Review* extending even to a new title. It adds to its function of University Journal that of Chronicle to the Cadet Battalions. No one will quarrel with this. It is only recognising facts—rather late in the day. The Cadets will produce their 'College Correspondence' just as in the old days before the gown yielded to the tunic: their wits and poets, it is hoped, will be at home in these columns. But none of

the old-established features of *The Review* (not even the Sermon!) will disappear. University and Army must form a literary *entente* to match the social one here, and the military one on the fields of France. It will be seen further on how cordially the Colonels Commanding welcome the departure. And we ought here to say also, how we welcome it, and how much we hope from it.'[719] The incorporation of the cadets into the *Review* had been promised in January 1918 but did not then materialise. It was noted then that 'During the last three and a half years we have lost much. Rowing notes, theatre notes, college notes—these and many more have fallen from us one by one. Even correspondence is scarce in these dully, busy days.'[720] Both the way the incorporation of cadet news was described, and the fact of its inclusion, emphasises the increasing integration of the cadets with the University; it also illustrates the depth of change that had come over the latter. The description of gown yielding to tunic implies the dominance but not the entire replacement of the former.

719 *Review* 18 October 1918.
720 *Review* 17 January 1918.

Illustration 124: The Blunderbuss November 1916. Note the dreamlike cadets or soldiers in the clouds

The cadets themselves seem to have been conscious of their connection with the university and those undergraduates who had gone before. Illustration 124 shows in the swirling clouds above Trinity College dreamlike figures of, perhaps, cadets, or perhaps former undergraduates gone to the war. The College itself seems to be dreaming, caught up

in a swirl with dark red and grey dominant in the image. This haunting picture of the College perhaps ties with the sentiments of a story in *Buzz*. A cadet, sleeping on All Souls' Eve, found his dreams visited by 'the spirit of an undergraduate', who asked the cadet to 'remember all that it [the river] means to me'. The ghost described sport on the river, and the hall, 'where we dined, talking of each day's doings, just as you now talk, and perhaps often of the same things; but, ah, we talked with lighter hearts; we knew nought then of war; we were not war-stained as you are. But when you talk, out of your sadder and deeper experience, remember us, who were only happy boys, and how we, too left all this peace and joy and went forth, as you have done, to give our lives for England'. The ghost suggested that through their shared experience of Cambridge, the cadets going forth would have 'shared with us in the wisdom it gives… Its walls have sheltered you; never forget that; and may you take with you some of its fragrance, a fragrance that only age and memories and traditions can give.'[721]

Illustration 125: Buzz December 1917

721 *Buzz* December 1917.

The physical environs of Cambridge, particularly the River Cam but also the College buildings, were crucial in the sense of connection between the academic times and the current wartime state of the University. As the ghost story showed, the Cadets were living in the same spaces as their forerunners, and enjoyed many of the same river sports. Illustrations 125 and 126 show a sports day held in October 1917. For punting proprietors, the trade was sufficient that John Charles Scudamore, a 'boat and motor launch builder and smallholder' applied for exemption. He told the Tribunal that 'Owing to the large number of Cadets in Cambridge business was brisk' and four of his assistants were in the army. He was granted six months exemption.[722]

Illustration 126: Buzz December 1917

The absence of so many men on active service made pre-war minority groups stand out more. Foreign students do not appear to have increased in number, but the *CIP* in 1916 commented on the fact that of twenty who entered the Mathematical and Natural Sciences Tripos, five were Indian.[723] Women students were even more noticeable. Newnham's war list records the contributions of Newnham alumni, many of whom endeavoured to use their

722 *CIP* 25 August 1916.
723 *CIP* 16 June 1916.

professional qualifications to help the war effort.[724] The list is notable for its sheer variety —J M W Slater was an x-ray assistant at the First Eastern General Hospital in Cambridge; Mrs Howard investigated methods of sundrying vegetables to better supply troops in Mesopotamia; D Carver undertook calculations for the Ballistic Office in connection with anti-aircraft range tables.[725] Unlike in the male colleges, however, the numbers in residence did not decline with the loss of undergraduates, most women preferring to finish their professional qualifications before going into war work. Dorothy Marshall, in Cambridge during the war years (m. 1918), recalled that with the absence of so many men, including dons who were working for the war effort, 'women predominated at lectures and were even being asked to take on the role of lecturer.'[726] A similar situation was recalled in Durham, where women took a large part in the University activities that continued.[727] The separation of men and women in different colleges gave a different experience in Cambridge than in London, where Hearnshaw described the recent arrival of women students a 'godsend', enabling a 'continuity of existence' for the university.[728]

There are few sources for women's experiences at Cambridge during the war. Women are almost entirely absent from the pages of the *Review* and *CM*, save the occasional debate on whether they should be admitted. Helen Bowen Pease, in residence at Newnham during the war years, and actively involved in various pacifist groups and fundraising for landladies (neither activity apparently sufficient to merit her inclusion in the War Book), recalled that during the 1915 Long Vac 'Nothing seemed to happen except people getting killed.'[729] Helen's involvement in charitable work nevertheless reveals that

724 https://www.newn.cam.ac.uk/newnham-news/records-reveal-vital-role-of-women-scientists-during-first-world-war/ , accessed 19 November 2018. Unfortunately the digitisation of the War Book was completed too late to include it in detail within this thesis.
725 https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-NEWNHAM-HI-00004 , accessed 19 November 2018.
726 Marshall, *The Making of a Twentieth Century Woman*, 56.
727 Marilyn Haid, *Doves and Dons: A History of St Mary's College Durham: An Account of the Women's Hostel 1899 – 1920* (Durham, 1982), unpaginated.
728 Hearnshaw, *History of King's College London*, 460.
729 Oral History Interview, Pease, Helen Bowen, Imperial War Museum, 821.

even where women students were not doing 'significant' war work they were often involved in fundraising, something also seen in Canada.[730]

In analysing the life of the University during the war, the 'dreaming' analogy so popular amongst the College magazine writers after the end of the war seems apt. The Cadets who lived in the College seemed almost a surreal experience. The war did not end academic life and debate, nor social life, but both were severely curtailed by war conditions. Those who did remain, alongside the Cadets, were entirely ignored by the *Review.* Female students, though not eligible for an actual degree, remained in residence during the war. In fact their numbers increased significantly, though those engaged in pacifist activism suffered similar difficulties of acceptance.

730 Quiney, Linda J, '"We must not neglect our duty": Enlisting Women Undergraduates for the Red Cross during the Great War' in eds Stortz, Paul and Panayotides, E Lisa, *Cultures, Communities and Conflict: Histories of Canadian Universities and War* (Toronto, 2012), 77.

6.2 – Conscientious Objectors

Conscientious objectors posed a problem to contemporaries—both in the government and in the local community—out of all proportion to their numbers. The Clerk of the Borough Tribunal complained 'Other towns do not have undergraduates, and it is entirely on their account that we have probably delayed other people. These men have occupied much more time and been much more of a nuisance than ordinary citizens.'[731] Not a single man who appeared before the Linton Tribunal claimed a conscientious objection; even in the Borough Tribunal the proportion was low. And yet the focus on the conscientious objector which dominates most writing about Military Service Tribunals was present in contemporary newspapers too. In part, the cases were more varied, and more controversial. In part, the conscientious objector themselves seem to have hoped for additional publicity. Most cases were heard in early to mid 1916, though there were additional ones as men came of age, or had received exemptions partially on other grounds.

The 'town' newspapers covered conscience cases with the rest of the Tribunal reporting, but there were frequent comments in the editorial columns too. Surprisingly, these were not always negative. The *CIP* editorial written after the first batch of conscience was heard is typical. 'Although I do not share the views of the pacifists… I do not think all of them have received the consideration to which they are entitled under the Act…' The editor then quoted from a letter used as evidence of the genuineness of a conscientious objector's convictions 'I am sure that the fact that I do not share your views does not prevent me knowing that you are acting in accordance with your conscience and doing my best to understand your position'. He suggested that this would be a good approach for the Tribunals to take, rather than 'to try and make the applicants look ridiculous.'[732] The matter of conscience was portrayed as a distinguishing feature of the British system, and as a

731 *CM* 29 April 1916.
732 *CIP* 3 March 1916.

preservation of liberties. No longer could Britain claim uniqueness on the basis of a volunteer army, but the liberty to tender consciences was, to a certain degree, a substitute. However, this attitude was mixed with the more patriotic assertion that their views were not always understandable.

The *CIP* took a fairly moderate approach; the *CM* was more sympathetic to conscientious objectors. It also intended to publish as much as it could about the Tribunals, observing that 'The Historian of the Future will perhaps be even more interested in the doings of Colleges and Tribunals than we are ourselves, and it would be a pity if he should lack material.'[733] After the promising suggestion that much material was to hand, the following week gives two verbatim accounts of Tribunal hearings. There are significant accounts of Tribunals, and the treatment of conscientious objectors to follow, until 3 June, when the following appeared: 'Here should have followed a full page giving particulars of the treatment of conscientious objectors, which our printer and publisher decline unless approved by the censor.'[734] The following week, the censor gave their reply, and the *CM* announced: 'It is not part of our programme to incur the displeasure of the powers that be, and since we understand that it is now illegal to give publicity either to the treatment of objectors or even to the behaviour of Tribunals, the Editorial Committee has no option but to omit from this issue some four pages in which these matters were to have been dealt with.'[735] The post-war decision to destroy the majority of the records relating to actual Tribunal cases mean that local newspapers are the only major source for most localities. Although verbatim reporting was prohibited, the local newspapers (though not the *CM* after its brush with authority, and its printers, and popular fury) contained significant details about many of the conscience cases. These make it possible to examine the sorts of questions objectors were asked, the language used to discuss conscientious objection, and the motivations of conscientious objectors.

733 *CM* 11 March 1916.
734 *CM* 3 June 1916.
735 *CM* 10 June 1916.

While historians such as Pearce, Clayton, and Elliot have focussed on socialist conscientious objectors—generally men engaged in factory work of some description—the occupations of conscientious objectors in Cambridgeshire were significantly different.[736] A total of 180 cases were heard in the three Tribunals analysed. Taken together there was a higher proportion of conscience cases than in Huddersfield, where the Tribunal heard 18,704 cases and only 111 were known to be on grounds of conscience.[737] The comparative figure was 180 out of 9,133. However, this hides a significant variation between the three Tribunals—the Borough Tribunal heard 169 cases out of 3,282, compared with none at the Linton Tribunal and 11 out of 2,569 at the Chesterton Rural Tribunal. The vast majority of cases (sixty-four percent) were brought by students. Illustration 127 shows the proportions of different occupational groups. A further thirteen percent were employed directly by the University, either as fellows or as staff. Over three quarters of the conscience cases heard in the Cambridge Borough and Chesterton Rural tribunals, therefore, were University related. This is a substantial difference with those towns where conscientious objection has previously been studied.

736 Clayton, 'Pacifism and Socialistm in Hyde'; Elliott, 'The Fate of Conscientious Objectors in Leicester'; Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*.

737 Pearce, *Comrades in Conscience*, 138. Note that Pearce's figures cover January to December 1916 only, compared to the figures for the three Cambridgeshire Tribunals which cover the whole war. The Huddersfield Tribunal heard a significantly higher number of cases.

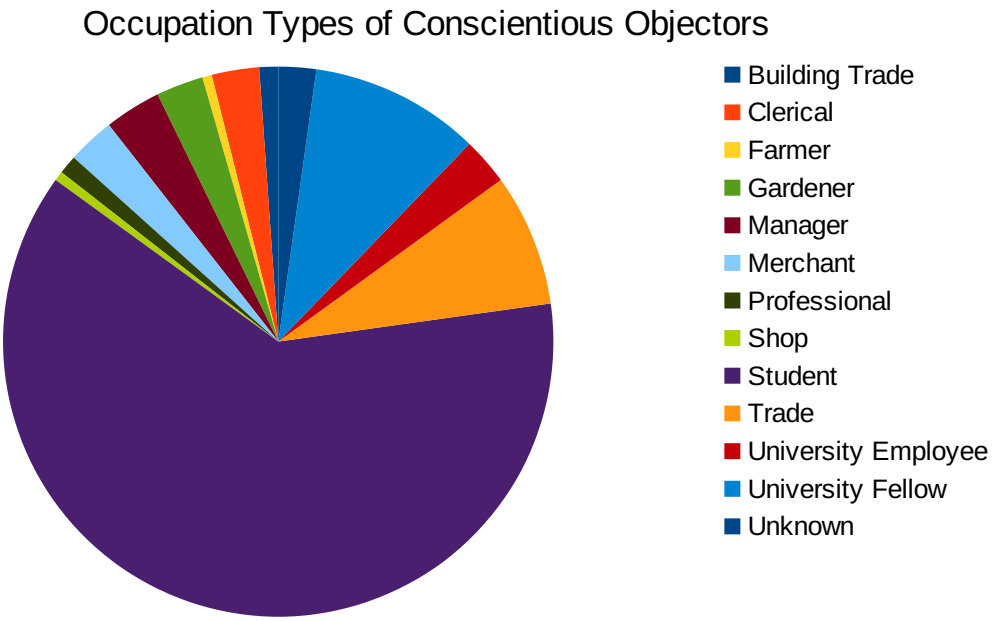

Illustration 127: Occupation types of conscientious objectors whose cases were heard at the Cambridge Borough or Chesterton Rural Tribunals (no conscience cases were heard at the Linton Tribunal). This includes all cases where conscientious objection was listed as a reason, not just those which were heard solely on the grounds of conscientious objection.

It has been less straightforward to analyse year of birth—the majority of the 'student' cases were listed in bulk, rather than in detail, and so the ages of those objectors are not known. This is likely to significantly skew the results. Without the sixty-nine cases where the age of the objectors was not given, or discoverable by other means, twenty-one percent were brought by men who were born in or after 1895 (i.e. aged between 18 and 23 when they brought their case). The majority of the sixty-nine cases were age was unknown were brought by students, who were most likely also aged between 18 and 23, pushing the probable percentage to fifty-seven.[738] Conscientious objectors in Cambridgeshire were therefore overwhelmingly young men and university students.

Turning to the treatment conscientious objectors received at the Tribunals, the foremost element was whether the individual had made any sacrifices for the sake of conscience. Fred Fitch George, at the Appeal Tribunal, was asked whether he had 'paid any taxes or rates since the war started'. The Chairman pushed the idea that they had been used

738 Out of the sixty-nine cases where age was unknown, sixty-five were brought by students.

to prosecute the war, and asked 'Did your conscience make you object to paying these?' Tied up in knots by the clever and aggressive questioning, Fred was forced to concede that he had not sacrificed anything. His appeal was dismissed, and he was allowed no exemption at all, rather than the previously awarded exemption from combatant service.[739] Richard Eric Holttum, of Linton, admitted that he had not made any sacrifice 'that I know of at present, but I shall do if you refuse exemption.'[740] He was permitted exemption from combatant service, and served in the Red Cross. His father, during the appeal, insisted that conscientious objectors 'require[d] more moral courage' than those who went to fight.[741] This appeal was one of the handful printed in full in the *CM*, revealing some additional information. In the full transcription, Mr Holttum Senior states 'I should like to say first of all that I do not take the same views of the war as my son does: in fact, I have taken a very active part in recruiting—both in recruiting meetings and appealing to young men. I have attested more than 400 recruits at the Lincoln [sic – should be Linton] Recruiting Office. I am quite satisfied in my own mind that my son is sincere in his objection to all forms of war. Since he has been able to think he has always objected.'[742] This throws an even more interesting light on the case. And, undoubtedly, would have led to a good deal of local tension. The exemption of a son on conscience grounds when the father had sent others to the war cannot have been popular, especially given the comments and criticisms directed at unpatriotic farmers' sons.[743]

The idea that objectors should make a sacrifice, such as giving up tobacco, was objected to by one appellant, Alfred Robert Pulyan, a student of Christs'. 'Asked why he smoked, in view of the tremendous tax on tobacco for war expenses, appellant replied: If I had a conscience of that sort I should not eat.'[744] The *CM* noted that the military

739 *CIP* 21 April 1916.
740 Richard's case was heard in the Borough Tribunal, as he was a student at St John's College, and not in the Linton Rural Tribunal.
741 *CIP* 21 April 1916.
742 *CM* 6 May 1916.
743 See Chapter 2.
744 *CIP* 12 May 1916.

representative was not generally present during the hearing of conscience cases which he had appealed against, suggesting that 'he may have known that this body had decided beforehand that anyone who drank tea or smoked could not possibly be a real conscientious objector to participation in war.'[745] A satirical article in the *CM* suggested that this should be taken to its logical extreme. 'What sacrifice has the man over 41, the woman or the child made… Nothing. Higher taxes, longer hours of work, loss of income, and bereavement, are nothing compared to that [death and wounding in the Armed Forces]. What then? Clearly we must, on the principle of equality of sacrifice, ask every man, woman and child, who is not fighting, to undergo such maiming as an impartial tribunal shall shall decide to be equivalent to the average that is suffered by our soldiers. Nothing less than this can satisfy the great doctrine of Futilitarianism.'[746] This demand for sacrifice is described by McDermott as a quid pro quo for exemption in his study of Northamptonshire Tribunals.[747] However, there was a preference in Cambridgeshire for evidence beforehand, or for an expressed willingness to take on alternative work of national importance. Thus, although sacrifice was intended to 'prove' the genuineness of an objector's opinions, in many cases there was not sufficient evidence beforehand. Those who went to jail for their beliefs, were, however, usually perceived as genuine (after their arrest and imprisonment, of course).

Tribunals could also impose financial sacrifice. In November 1918, the Cambridge Borough Tribunal granted George Macdonald Bennett, formerly a student at St John's, and then a research assistant in the University Chemical Laboratories, additional exemption. The work he was doing at the University contributed to the war effort; he decided that he wanted to find other work, more in line with his conscientious scruples, and found employment in London 'in connection with the manufacture of saccharine and other food products.' The Tribunal 'consented to three months' exemption, conditional on application

745 *CM* 6 May 1916.
746 *CM* 27 May 1916.
747 McDermott, 'Military Service Tribunals in Northamptonshire', 51.

taking the employment mentioned, and also on another condition. The Tribunal did not think that a man who escaped the hardships and horrors of warfare by conscientious scruples should be better off, or at all events considerably better off, than a man who considered it his duty to take his share in the war. Therefore they made it a condition of exemption that applicant paid to the Tribunal £50 a year, which they might devote to such object as they thought fit.'[748] This case is interesting not merely for the imposition of a kind of conscientious objector tax, but also for the explicit description of the objector escaping 'the hardships and horrors of warfare'. It shows that the men who sat on the Tribunals were well aware of their responsibilities, and the possible consequences of their decisions. The notion of 'duty' is opposed here to conscientious objection, but the language of the Tribunals frequently carried assertions of conflicting duties: duty to family, to business, to locality.[749] Henry P Adams, a University coach and lecturer, who appeared before the Tribunal in August 1916, had a similar condition imposed. The Chairman noted that 'the view of the Cambridge Tribunal with reference to persons… who said that under no consideration would they do anything under military orders… and who were willing to leave other people to be killed or to risk their lives or their limbs for the country's good, was that they were very much averse to leaving them in the position where they could do what they liked to do, and perhaps were doing very well in comfortable positions… It was very desirable that such persons should be forced to do something for the benefit of the country, and not do merely what they choose to do themselves for their own pleasure or their own profit.' He added that the Tribunal were awaiting confirmation whether they could impose as a condition that 'they should not be allowed to receive more than they would have if they had been called to the Colours and were serving in the trenches'.[750] The Borough Tribunal was granted permission to impose their financial penalty, and began using it in September 1916.[751] A similar concern with sacrifice, and the unjustness of one

748 *CDN* 5 November 1918.
749 See Chapter 2.
750 *CIP* 18 August 1916.
751 *CIP* 29 September 1916.

man enduring the trenches while another lived comfortably due to conscientious scruples, can be seen in each case.

The conscientious objector could be portrayed as betraying community principles. The *CIP* remarked: 'On questions in general we like to believe that our views are commonly held… But the conscientious objector is in a different case. He is tempted to be proud of his isolation.'[752] The suggestion that conscientious objectors were isolated crops up frequently. The assertion that a conscientious objector was a peculiar person would tend to work against community feeling. The opposite, perhaps, of the use of community to stimulate recruiting. Further, by isolating the conscientious objector from his community and demanding to know what sacrifice they had made, the newspapers were identifying true membership of the national (and local) community with involvement in the war. The notion of sacrifice and duty found in charitable responses to the war underlines this. If even women and children were taking part in the war, by refusing to do so the conscientious objector was separated from his community.[753]

The presentation of a betrayal of community also fed into fears that conscientious objectors were forming a subversive community of their own. After the questions about sacrifice, the next most common relate to where the views come from. At the Appeal Tribunal, Henry Waldo Acomb was particularly closely questioned. He had applied for a commission in December 1914, and was rejected unfit. With the lowering of medical standards, he was now considered a possible soldier. 'Replying to the Chairman as to how he changed his opinions and who first spoke to him about it, appellant said that perhaps the first influence was that of the Rev. H. C. Carter, the pastor of Emmanuel Congregational Church.' The fact that he was now a member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation was mentioned, and this is unlikely to have allayed fears about an underground network of conscientious objectors.[754] There were also concerns that people were 'coaching'

752 *CIP* 25 February 1916.
753 See Chapter 3.
754 *CIP* 19 May 1916.

conscientious objectors. Three cases of Christadelphians, heard back to back, led Mr Taylor to remark that the opinions Herbert Hodskin Brown gave were not his own, but those of 'some body'.[755] At the Appeal Tribunal, several members asked Ralph Homfield Baker, in various ways, as to whether he had a coach:

'Mr Bidwell: There has been a discussion amongst undergraduate members of the University on this very point as to whether people should serve? - It is very natural.

The Chairman: Have you any resolutions passed at these meetings, that members should appeal? - I can remember no formal resolution.

Any resolution at all? - Some of my friends and I have talked the matter over.

Lieut. Ollard: Does anyone over military age coach you, and tell you what to do? - There are people who are sympathetic with us.

Lieut Ollard: I am told you have a coach? - It is quite untrue.'

As well as demonstrating the questioning techniques of the Tribunal (his appeal was dismissed and the exemption from combatant service he previously received changed to no exemption), it shows clearly the concerns about 'coaching' of objectors. As several of the objectors that day came from St John's College, Mr Vintner concluded that there was 'a little society there', despite denials.[756]

The arguments and questions raised by conscientious objectors—and those perceived to be sympathetic to them—were far from popular amongst the public at large. Tribunals took place in public spaces, with an audience. Though sympathisers tended to crowd out the gallery when conscience cases were heard, others were undoubtedly present. And the juxtaposition in the newspaper, not always, but often enough, of the faces of the dead with the accounts of tribunal hearings, pushed that dichotomy to the public. The Cambridge Brick Co Ltd, applying for a young employee, stated that they had taken ten conscientious objectors on, who 'were bad and extremely expensive workers… The trouble

755 *CIP* 31 March 1916.
756 *CIP* 21 April 1917.

is, you are never sure of these conscience men. At any time they may prefer a gaol again to work.'[757] The comment underlines the concerns raised about conscientious objectors, who were portrayed here as poor specimens of manhood, bad workers, of little use to the community or to business.

Comments from the front were mixed. Those printed in the *CM*, from officers with a Cambridge education, tended to be sympathetic. A letter published from a young officer 'about to rejoin his regiment in France', read as follows: 'I came home on leave expecting to find that that large and growing body of intelligent pacifist opinion which I knew had been in existence for a long time had found its spokesmen, its leaders, its newspapers, and was successfully working for the only right and true course—the immediate cessation of this ghastly murder. But no. The right of free speech in England has entirely vanished…. Soldiers and civilians alike, we are all entrapped.... Bullying tribunals reign supreme…. I shall return to my battalion, and shall be sufficiently a coward silently to assist in killing as I promised.' Unsurprisingly, the author's name was not printed. It was published with a second letter, similar in tone, which stated that 'War may bring out the best of some people, but it inevitably brings out the worst of most people. I suppose I ought really to be a 'conscientious objector', though my conscience, not being religious, may not be recognised by the Act… The fact that I have been out here for eighteen months doesn't alter it.'[758] Hugh Stanley Buss, admitted into Clare in 1913, and a Second Lieutenant in the Rifle Brigade, resigned his commission after service in France, citing a conscientious objection (which the War Office rephrased as 'inefficiency'). He was then called up for service in the ranks, appearing before the Orsett Tribunal and Essex County Appeal Tribunal, both of whom refused his applications.[759] These examples were simply less famous expressions of the anti-war stance embodied by Siegfried Sassoon, another Clare alumni. It is worth noting that although Siegfried Sassoon objected to the war, he, like the

757 *CIP* 19 May 1916.
758 *CM* 29 April 1916.
759 Details largely taken from the Pearce Register of British WW1 Conscientious Objectors. See https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/7647392 , accessed 22 June 2018.

two unnamed officers who published their letters in the *CM*, continued to fight in it. These were, however, the opinions of officers, and were sent to and selected for print by a pacifist-leaning magazine.

Private Bert Baxter, of Stretham, also wrote from the front about the actions of conscientious objectors. His remarks were less sympathetic. A Baptist himself, he described his 'surprise' when he found that a Baptist in England was objecting that 'the Church teaching was against war, and that he could not reconcile Christ's teaching with the taking of human life.' Bert asked where this left himself and others, arguing that 'The forces of evil are risen up against us, and it behoves us to play the man.' As to what the conscientious objector should be asked to do, Bert suggested that they should be given menial tasks in the front lines, and in exchange 'we will go between them and the Germans, so that they cannot hurt them.' It is slightly ambiguous as to whether he is offering to protect the conscientious objector from the Germans, or the Germans from the objectors.[760] This is a particularly interesting letter for the fact that it comes from an ordinary soldier, and pre-war farm labourer.[761]

The biggest fear was that men without genuine conscientious objections would get out of military service, using conscience as a cloak for cowardice. Sidney Burleigh Roff, a furniture dealer, initially applied for exemption on business grounds. At the Appeal Tribunal, however, he brought a conscientious objection, saying that after his sister's death he had returned to the Christadelphian faith. The Military Representative argued the conscience claim was 'manufactured', after his brother 'got off under the cloak of conscience. If he had a real conscientious objection he would have mentioned it at the Local Tribunal.' No exemption was granted.[762] This case in particular does raise the possibility that the military representative's views were sometimes justified. The most that

760 *CIP* 7 April 1916.
761 1911 Census and https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/lifestory/248048 (accessed 13 October 2018).
762 *CIP* 20 October 1916.

can be said is that some cases, this one amongst them, are harder to be certain of than others.

The motivations of conscientious objectors varied significantly, including Christian arguments (usually from Quakers, Baptists or Christadelphians) and socialist objections to participating in a capitalist war. Caedel argues that most socialist objectors were not purely socialist, but Christian in inspiration.[763] The editor of the *CIP* suggested that it would be useful, and save time, if 'a general statement in explanation of their attitude should be made on their behalf', but as the genuineness of each individual's objection had to be proven, it was acknowledged this might not be possible.[764]

The case of Lancelot Thomas Hogben,[765] reported verbatim in the *CM*, illustrates many of the common themes and threads found in the cases of conscientious objectors.[766]

In background and religion, Lancelot was fairly typical of Cambridgeshire's objectors. He joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit in France early in the war. Though his parents were neither Quakers nor Socialists, he was both. When he appeared before the Tribunal, he emphasised the intertwining of the religious and political in his views. This was not uncommon, as although most objectors appealed on religious grounds, many of those expressed similar socialist views along with their religious convictions. His status as a student was also typical of Cambridgeshire's conscientious objectors.[767]

Lancelot returned to England with the explicit aim of challenging the Military Service Act. When questioned, he stated 'I felt that I could not make the fact that I was in the Friends' Ambulance Unit, an excuse for staying out of the persecution which would arise for the pacifists and the working-classes generally in England'. Had he remained in France, it is likely he would never have appeared before a Tribunal.[768] This emphasis on

763 Ceadel, *Pacifism in Britain*, 55.
764 *CIP* 10 March 1916.
765 A leading inter-war popular scientist and opponent of eugenics, Lancelot Hogben was imprisoned in 1916 as a conscientious objector.
766 See Appendix 2 for the full text.
767 See earlier in this chapter.
768 Rae, *Conscience and Politics*, 69.

persecution illustrates the high-minded religious language mobilised by objectors. They were 'persecuted', not just imprisoned. The language here, and in other cases, invites a comparison with early Christians fed to the lions, perhaps intentionally so. The martyrdom of absolutists 'created a mythology which has coloured most accounts of pacifism during the war', and cases like that of Lancelot suggest that there was an intention to raise public awareness of the cause by the acceptance of suffering.[769] The intertwining of religious and socialist language continues throughout his case. Lancelot 'felt there was a greater call to come home', presenting himself as a missionary recalled to his homeland. The very naming of what became the Friends' Ambulance Unit, the 'Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends' speaks to the same missiological urge. Brittain's history of the Fellowship of Reconciliation describes the society as a 'leaven' or 'remnant', and the book as a whole preaches a gospel of peace.[770] Rae, with substantially more sympathy for the tribunals, suggested that the good intentions of tribunal members could be dispelled by the attitude of conscientious objectors.[771] The war, and appearance before a Tribunal, was an opportunity for Socialists, Quakers, and others to proselytise.

Although he included himself in the 'pacifists' group, there is no real way of including Lancelot in the 'working-classes generally' that he referred to. These were perceived by early socialists as men in need of mobilisation and awakening to their true status as pawns of the capitalists (whether they wanted to be awakened or not), and so Lancelot, and others like him, deliberately identified their struggles with those of the working-classes. In common with socialist objectors, Lancelot expressed the view that 'The real enemy of the British working man is not the German Socialist but the British Capitalist.' and, when questioned about the fact that German Socialists were fighting against them that 'their doing it shows how easily they can be deluded by a capitalist government.' His hearers were unsympathetic to these arguments; the internationalism of

769 Caedel, *Pacifism in Britain*, 38.
770 Brittain, *The Rebel Passion*, 16.
771 Rae, *Conscience and Politics*, 110-11.

early socialism was anathema to the patriotically inclined minds of the older, middle and upper class men who served on the Appeal Tribunal. Indeed, much of the argument against pacifism and against its proponents emphasised that it meant submitting to Germany, and used the very internationalism of the movement as an argument against it. In 1917, the *CIP* commented that if pacifism began 'by being anti-war, it has ended by becoming anti-British'.[772]

Finally, his case illustrates again the fears about pacifist societies, and in the same breath, the way in which tribunal members attempted to mock objectors. Asked if he belonged to any societies, Lancelot began to elaborate: 'I belong to a number of Societies--(1) The Socialist Quaker Society, (2) the Universities' Socialist Federation, (3) the National Guilds League…' only to be interrupted with the question 'Girls' League, did you say?' Undeterred, Lancelot continued 'No, Guild's League. Fourthly, the Cambridge University Socialist Society, and fifthly the Fabian Society. Then, of course, I belong to the National Council against Conscription, and the No Conscription Fellowship.' Proof of his genuineness perhaps, but also worrying evidence, as far as the Tribunal was concerned, that there were more like him, and, in their fears (and perhaps in reality too, given the belligerency of some pacifists) more men devoted to undermining the whole state.

Conscientious objectors were generally treated with a mixture of sympathy and sternness, Tribunals seeking evidence of their convictions through previous sacrifices for the sake of conscience. Arguably some objectors made matters harder for themselves, framing their struggle within a religious narrative of martyrdom, and engaging in theological debates. This is not to say that the objectors were in the wrong, but the comment of the *CIP*'s editor with regard to theological debates surely applied equally to both sides.

772 *CIP* 23 February 1917.

6.3 – Suicide

The First World War saw a small number of suicides reported in Cambridgeshire that appear to have been caused by the circumstances of the war, alongside others with no explicit connection. As with any question of individual motives and emotions, it is impossible to say for certain exactly what an individual's mental state was at the time of suicide. Nevertheless, coroner's reports, published in detail in the local press, and one instance of an officer's suicide recorded in his service record, strongly suggest the war was a major contributory factor.

Studies of wartime suicide are few and far between; the majority focus instead on post-war suicide rates amongst soldiers. In New Zealand, these were between two and four times higher amongst those who had served in the war compared with those of the same age cohort who had not.[773] Statistical studies can be difficult for the war period, but suicide rates were lower during periods of war.[774] The two cases of suicide referred to by Roper likewise took place after the war, though they are not analysed in great detail.[775] None of these studies cover wartime suicides of non-soldiers, and little has been written on wartime soldier suicides. The closest that there is to a detailed study is Yvonne Fenter's Lives of the First World War Community 'By Their Own Hand', curating the life stories of wartime and post-war soldier suicides.[776] Although they may have been lower in number, the reporting of wartime suicides, primarily through the reprinting of coroner's inquests, highlights the stresses that the war placed upon individuals.

Wartime suicide was not limited to soldiers, nor to those suffering what might today be diagnosed as PTSD. The Cambridgeshire press reveals suicides amongst soldiers who had not yet reached the front, men just called up, civilians concerned about loved ones, and

773 John C Weaver, *Sadly Troubled History: The Meanings of Suicide in the Modern Age* (Montreal, 2009), 190.
774 Weaver, *Sadly Troubled History*, 8.
775 Roper, *The Secret Battle*, 19 and 71.
776 https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/3827 , accessed 22 June 2018.

other cases which appear to have little if anything to do with the war. Of course, it is difficult to know the exact motives of suicides; Alverez argued that the closer one gets to any individual case, 'the more complex it becomes'.[777] The same tension between empirical findings and what can be known about private lives was highlighted by Weaver.[778] Nevertheless, a number of local case studies show evidence of the war being a contributory factor. Using coroner's reports and comments on them does not include 'hidden' suicides reported as fatal accidents or with open verdicts—but if contemporaries felt it difficult to come to a verdict, the historian must surely find it even more difficult. Worldwide trends of suicides show not only seasonal patterns (with a greater number in spring and early summer) but also that suicides decrease during wartime.[779] However, military suicides may be hidden by men taking deliberate risks, seeking death, but which were reported purely as being killed in action. This is, of course, impossible to prove. Nevertheless wartime suicide deserves greater attention than it has hitherto received.

Amongst civilians, there are several instances where inquests reveal concern for relatives at the front as a contributing factor. In 1917, Davis Wick of Borough Green was found hanging in a stable. During the inquest, his wife stated that 'he had been worried about his two sons at the front. Lately he seemed not to understand what she said.' Besides the mention of his two sons at the front, the inquest records that he suffered influenza several years previously, 'which seemed to affect his head'.[780] Although this particular case suggests that there were contributing factors, the first thing his wife suggested was worry about his sons at the front. The suicide of Sarah Jane Smith, who drowned herself in the lake at Wardown Park in Bedfordshire was also related to her concerns about her sweetheart. She was from Woodditton (hence the printing of the report in the *CIP*), but working as a domestic servant. Although there were comments about her concerns for her sweetheart, who was expecting orders to go to the front at any moment, it was also

777 A Alverez, *The Savage God: A Study of Suicide* (London, 1971), 132.
778 Weaver, *Sadly Troubled History*, 6
779 *Ibid.*, 8
780 *CDN* 21 June 1917.

mentioned that she sometimes suffered from bouts of depression.[781] In both these cases, then, there were other factors that may have been as much responsible for their suicide as fears for loved ones. Nevertheless, the fact that they were reported as being war related suggests contemporary fears about the emotional impact of the war.

Loved ones serving overseas were not the only source of worry to British civilians. The First World War witnessed the development of air raids and the first 'Blitz' of London, along with raids on other parts of the country. This unprecedented exposure to warfare in ordinary homes, far from the battlefield, led to instances of panic.[782] It also deeply affected Norah Elizabeth Foreman, who had been in London in service. She returned to Cheveley in October 1917, after experiencing several air raids in London. She was attended by the doctor from her return for gastritis and neurasthenia, before she committed suicide in June 1918.[783]

An unusual case is that of Frederick Samuel Walker, of Chesterton. He left home on 10 August 1914, intending to join the Grenadier Guards in London. He was found by two women in some nearby allotments, with two cuts on his left arm. The inquiry, after the remark that there was no evidence to show state of mind, and being informed that he had a relative in an asylum, gave a verdict of 'felo-de-se' (denoting a deliberate, illegal act of suicide and with implications for burial rites).[784] The reference to the relative seems a coded suggestion that he may also have had mental health problems, and probably explains the unusual 'felo-de-se' verdict. The vast majority of cases found in the Cambridgeshire papers give a verdict of 'suicide whilst of unsound mind' or 'suicide during temporary insanity'. 'Felo-de-se' meant that the suicide had been done deliberately, and technically precluded burial in hallowed ground. Verdicts that referred to insanity, however, meant that a man or woman could be buried in hallowed ground (in most cases, depending on the whim of the local sexton) as they were not responsible for their death. The unusual feature

781 *CIP* 1 December 1916.
782 Neil Hanson, *First Blitz* (London, 2008), 448.
783 *CIP* 14 June 1918.
784 *CIP* 21 August 1914.

of the case comes in comparison to two others where men were about to join the armed forces, having been called up as conscripts. Frederick had expressed instead an intention to volunteer. However, this case also illustrates well the difficulties of assessing instances of suicide. While he had told his mother he was going to join the Grenadier Guards, it may simply have been his intention to prevent her looking for him immediately.

Two Cambridgeshire men are known to have committed suicide shortly after receiving their calling up notices. One was Richard Crane, referred to in the press as a 'young man' of Great Gransden, who was found hanging in an outhouse. He had been refused an exemption by the tribunal, and had 'a great horror of military service'.[785] The other was William Henry Whiteley, of Soham, found drowned in a pit, with his Army papers in his jacket. In the inquest it was noted that 'he talked a lot about the war, especially since he had passed the Medical Board for foreign service (on 31st August), which seemed to worry him greatly.'[786] Both of these instances illustrate the way in which military service, and the Tribunal system, could put intense pressure onto individuals. Neither, it seems, was eligible for exemption, although Richard had complained that some men were let off when he was not.[787] In neither case were there any particular comments by the newspaper, other than the report of the inquests, which, in the case of Richard, was not printed in full. It is, however, worth noting that 'tragedy' is commonly used as a headline for reports of suicides. Local feeling with regards to Richard's case was amply expressed in the report the following week that after the funeral where there were 'many relatives and sympathising friends'. 'Some indignation' was aroused as the Vicar omitted the parts of the service sometimes omitted in the case of suicides, and an open meeting held the same day resolved that 'On account of the behaviour of the vicar at the funeral of our dear old friend, Richard Crane, we pledge ourselves to keep away from church'.[788] On 5 May, it was

785 *CIP* 17 March 1916.
786 *CIP* 13 October 1916.
787 *CIP* 17 March 1916.
788 *CIP* 24 March 1916.

reported that the vicar had resigned his living, with no explanation as to why.[789] There had been previous reports that the Vicar was suffering from ill health, in February 1916, and had engaged a curate to assist him.[790] Nevertheless, it is tempting to conclude that popular pressure may have combined with the earlier instance of ill health to make his position untenable. The local feeling that surrounded Richard's death and funeral illustrate a popular sympathy with both his parents and his own actions. Although suicide was, and to a degree remains, a taboo subject, this particular incident illustrates a sympathetic communal response.

The majority of the men in the Armed Forces who were reported to have committed suicide did not do so while overseas. Of course, this may relate to difficulties in reporting and in gathering evidence. If a man committed suicide in a front line trench, or engaged in behaviour that made his death highly likely, it may have been deliberately or inadvertently not reported as such. Moreover, these suicides are more hidden evidentially, not appearing in Coroner's reports printed in the local press. The one Clare College man known to have committed suicide is described in the University War List as having 'died', and appears on the College War Memorial. Local soldiers whose service records do not survive could have committed suicide while overseas, and their comrades, officers, or the military authorities then colluded in shielding families from the truth. There do not seem to be particular patterns to military suicides, or at least none that can be observed from the small sample size drawn from the Cambridgeshire newspapers. Most of those who committed suicide were private soldiers, but most of those who served in the Army were private soldiers.

Several of those who committed suicide did so without serving overseas. Amongst them was Private George Adams, of the Royal Army Veterinary Corps, who committed suicide while home on leave. He was found with his throat cut by his brother, but did not die until three days later.[791] In the inquest, his wife said that he was 'worried about his

789 *CIP* 5 May 1916.
790 *CIP* 25 February 1916.
791 *CDN* 28 June 1917 and 30 June 1917.

work', since joining the Royal Army Veterinary Corps.[792] He had not served overseas at the time of his death, and there is no reference in the report as to whether he was shortly to be sent overseas. Private William More, of the Lovat Scouts, committed suicide in the First Eastern General Hospital. He too had never been overseas, but was being treated for 'neuresthenia' and pains in his head.[793] For both of these men, there is limited evidence as to their experience of military life, but William had expressed dissatisfaction with his medical treatment before arriving at the First Eastern General Hospital (he also wanted them to remove the 'matter in his head'), and George's wife felt that he did not like his work.

Second Lieutenant Hubert Francis Patry also committed suicide before serving overseas. His motivations are opaque, but seem to have related in part to the fact that his unit left for France without him when he was unwell. This, according to the inquest, 'caused him some distress.' Moreover, though not explicitly stated, it seems there were mental health problems in the rest of his family, or other recent bereavements, as his father apologised for not attending the inquest, stating that 'This had been a very painful matter to the parents, who had lost three children out of five.' The context is ambiguous—on one reading it seems to suggest that Hubert was the third of their children to have committed suicide, but it may have been that he was the third child to have died. There was no mention of recent bereavement in the description of Hubert, who was instead referred to as 'a young man full of life and energy,' keen to get to France.[794] There were no other obvious factors reported in Hubert's death, no one had noticed any reason to expect he would commit suicide, the orderly assigned to him saw no change in his demeanour. The jury concluded that there was no evidence to show state of mind.

The inquest into the death of one soldier, Private Cyril Stanley Evison (Middlesex Regiment), strongly suggested that his wounds were a key contributing factor. He

792 *CIP* 6 July 1917.
793 *CIP* 24 August 1917.
794 *CIP* 13 September 1914.

committed suicide while recuperating in the First Eastern General Hospital from unspecified wounds. When first wounded, his mother visited him from Lincolnshire; she hadn't seen him since October but reported that his letters 'had been of a very depressing nature'. A fellow soldier in the hospital said that he had been quiet, though he never complained of his treatment at the hospital. He had, however, been very concerned about his wounds.[795] The work that has been done on post-war suicide suggests that wounds played a part in some of those cases, particularly where they prevented a man from getting a job.[796] However, it is again worth noting that Cyril, like many of the others mentioned, had previously had periods of being very down or depressed. Whether this means that many of those who committed suicide during the war had previous mental health problems, diagnosed or not, and that wartime incidents were the final factor is impossible to say.

The only man with a Cambridgeshire connection currently known to have committed suicide while overseas was Second Lieutenant Percy Stoodley, who had studied at Clare College and joined the London Regiment on the outbreak of war before receiving a commission in the Wiltshire Regiment. He committed suicide on 8 November 1916, while serving in Salonika. Prior to his death, he had expressed concerns to fellow officers about his competency, and seemed 'very depressed and morbid'. The Medical Officer, when Percy went to him, 'told him that he was suffering from a slight attack of melancholia and not to worry'. He added that he had little real concern for Percy because his commanding officer said that he was 'a very good officer and was doing his work in a reasonable and efficient manner.'[797] Percy's name appears on the college War Memorial, and the War List states that he 'died', with no other details, suggesting that though there may have been an awareness he died at his own hand, his service and death was still acknowledged. In Canada, Samuel Sharpe and C U V Coombs were also reported as war

795 *CDN* 16 May 1917.
796 Weaver, *Sadly Troubled History*, 188.
797 WO 339/5286.

casualties, and their bravery highlighted.[798] Most suicide inquests in Cambridgeshire, not just those referred to above, suggest that there were no previous indications a man or woman would take their life. In this case, there is a hint that Percy had talked about taking his own life, but that this was brushed off as 'melancholia' or the result of a particularly difficult spell in the trenches. This common narrative of surprise, and the general preference for a verdict of suicide whilst of unsound mind or suicide during temporary insanity, feed into the narrative of suicide as tragedy, an unexpected individual act. Nevertheless, the general tone leans towards sympathy more than judgement, particularly telling given that suicide, and attempted suicide, were considered crimes—not just religious crimes, but also crimes which affected wider society.

Suicides during the First World War were committed for a variety of reasons. A number of them, not analysed here, appear to have no relation to the war. Despite its technically being a crime, the responses to suicide, as in Great Gransden, say much about where popular sympathies lay. There can be no doubt that the war increased the tension under which individuals, as well as communities, operated. A statistical analysis of wartime suicide in comparison with pre and post war trends is outside the scope of this thesis, but the individual cases in Cambridgeshire suggest that there is more of a story to tell.

798 Matthew Barrett and Allan English, 'Fallen on the Field of Honour?: Attitudes of the Canadian Public towards Suicides in the Canadian Military ~ 1914 – 2014', 26-7

6 – Conclusion

Communities in Cambridgeshire were deeply affected by the war. The University was particularly hard hit, and even the presence of Cadets did not prevent the University appearing to enter a surreal, dreamlike state, waiting for peace to return so that academic life could resume. Conscientious objectors, many of whom were students, were taken to be examples of societal breakdown, though at times sympathy was expressed with their views and convictions. The issues of University life and conscientious objection were tightly bound together. Though the *Review* largely ignored conscientious objectors, the *CM* was more sympathetic and printed as much material as they could get away with. Not all conscientious objectors were students, but at the Borough Tribunal the vast majority were.

Suicide in wartime Cambridgeshire was generally reported as a tragedy and a degree of sympathy expressed. At the very least, most cases show a certain amount of respect and an attempt at allowing both dignity and understanding. This adds to Anderson's findings, which suggested suicides in Edwardian London were a 'hysterical and convoluted escape from private feelings and fears'.[799] Certainly most of the motivations seem to have been highly individual and based on private fears, but there is little evidence of hysteria. Although a statistical analysis of suicide is far beyond the scope of this thesis, there is no doubt that some suicides were either caused or exacerbated by wartime conditions. The selected case studies show a certain degree of sympathy with individuals who committed suicide and their families.

799 Olive Anderson, *Suicide in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Oxford, 1987), 178

Conclusion

This thesis has examined communities within Cambridgeshire, both through their networks of relationships and as a set of communities bound together into a county community through the medium of the local news. Throughout, there has been a 'bottom up' approach, with a focus on individuals and individual experiences, as articulated in the community context. This has been driven by the sources selected, which give great detail on the lives and experiences of individuals.

There were differences of experiences within Cambridgeshire as a whole. This is most notable through the influence of the University, which was a major employer in the town. Although also a major landholder in the villages, this was not as affected by the war; instead it was in the town that landladies and others dependent on the student trade felt the influence of the war. Cambridgeshire as a whole was a predominantly agricultural county; the regulations of the CPA thus had great local significance. This did not leave Cambridge unaffected, as there were market gardens and smallholdings on the outskirts of the town, but they did have greater impact on the villages.

Communities in Cambridgeshire responded collectively to the war. Recruiting and charitable appeals alike used perceptions of the county to mobilise support. Cambridgeshire's communities were progressively mobilised, with an interplay of voluntary efforts and regulatory change. Though a large number of men were physically absent from their home communities, they remained associated with them through the local newspapers and other means of connection between home front and fighting front. However, while some community bonds were maintained, the University in particular suffered through the loss of undergraduates.

By using the 1911 census and Clare College's Register of Admissions to build a database of over 37,000 individuals, it has been possible to investigate different enlistment,

casualty, and appeal to Tribunal rates at the local level. Substantial differences exist between parishes, which may be partially influenced by patterns of landholding and gentry influence. However, the key finding has been the difference between different occupational groups. It has been demonstrated that age structure cannot be the only factor, as substantial variations remain when comparing only age eligible. In rural areas, it seems that the higher up the social scale a man was, the less likely he was to enlist, there being a particularly striking difference between 'farmers' and 'ordinary farm labourers'. 'Gardeners' (i.e. smallholders) also enlisted in fewer numbers and were more likely to appeal. Students, on the other hand, were the most likely to serve in the war, and Clare alumni served in greater proportions than Cambridgeshire professionals. This thesis has also shown that the difference in casualty rates between 'ordinary farm labourers' and students was substantially smaller than would be expected, when those who enlisted are analysed.

Cambridgeshire saw a substantially different response to women as recruiters than the rest of the country. Local women were accepted as active organisers of male recruiting through the Ladies' Recruiting Committee, and women war workers were also recruited through the efforts of leading local women. Women played an increasingly important role in local politics—the war years saw the first female town councillor and alderman. Women's war work was not merely a story of munitions work, the land army, and nursing. Women took on work in a variety of roles within the local community, enabling the continuation of home front life, working as clerks, bus conductors, window cleaners, bakers, and in many other occupations. Despite an expansion of their workplace roles, women retained their domestic duties, made more difficult by shortages and wartime inflation. They also had to shoulder an emotional burden through the war, with husbands, sons, and loved ones away on active service and in danger.

Progressive mobilisation of the local community was not a question of manpower alone. From the beginning of the war, DORA brought in an element of compulsion.

Equally, voluntary fund-raisers did not die out after an initial rush of enthusiasm. A varied pattern of mobilisation, with different areas coming in for particular attention, or regulation, at different times, can be seen. The case of the Special Constables well illustrates the point. These men, primarily the better off, voluntarily mobilised themselves and enthusiastically enforced lighting restrictions. Alongside the mobilisation of individuals, through volunteering, increased regulation via the Derby Scheme, and conscription, communities both self-mobilised and were subject to an increasing amount of regulation. A narrative of progressive mobilisation acknowledges the different timing of mobilisation in different areas of wartime society and allows for an understanding of how local concerns fed into increased regulation.

Turning first to manpower, appeals for volunteers were articulated and enacted at the local level, with prominent local people taking a leading role. Appeals drew on a narrative of local and not merely national honour, with particular reference made to Cromwell. A large number of men joined voluntary groups for home defence or service at home; combined with the presence of billeted soldiers and, in the later years of the war, cadets, this made a substantial difference to the wartime character of Cambridgeshire. Taken altogether, including also soldiers on the land and convalescing, Cambridgeshire's communities saw an increased militarisation of the population through the presence of men (and women) in uniform and through home front volunteering.

Increasing concern about who was and was not doing their bit at a local level preceded the national launch of the Derby Scheme. The scheme was unpopular in Cambridgeshire, in part due to the perceived inequalities of starring, in part as a protest that Cambridgeshire had already done enough. These concerns, particularly with regard to farmers' sons, carried over into conscription. Local tribunals were staffed by leading local men (although women were allowed to, none served on Cambridgeshire's tribunals). Reports of hearings stress not only the national needs, but also local needs, and efforts

were made to balance the two. Cases of similar occupations were often held together, so that the men of the higher medical category, or who were younger and/or single as opposed to married, could be sent to war without compromising too far on the needs of the local community.

The drive for greater regulation did not come purely from the top, or from the centre. Instead, food control illustrates the way in which the local community, and the local press, sought greater regulation and control in order to protect the interests of the majority. It was recognised that voluntary rationing was not sufficient, and the frequent criticisms of the Cambridge Food Control Board were for its failure to take action, rather than for the imposition of unwanted regulation.

The Church played a key role in the story of Cambridgeshire at war. In mobilising the community, its focus was on prayer as a counterpart to military service. This was urged throughout the war, and at times of crisis with particular vehemence. Prayer was presented as the particular duty of those with relatives at the front, and many Rolls of Honour were produced with the aim of assisting in prayer. The Church of England also attempted to regulate the community and morality through the National Mission. The success of this mission was certainly questionable, but the attempt itself is interesting for its emphasis on the national life of the Church, and its stress on the interconnectedness of the various parishes.

Despite popular perceptions of the alienation of those at the front, a study of the local press illustrates the continued close relationship between home and front. Letters from local soldiers, often containing graphic details of battle, were published in a communal context. The University was already a community based on more than just geography—the University magazines were aimed at alumni as much as current students—but the war cemented and grew that connection. University men at the front actively engaged with the debates being printed in the University magazines.

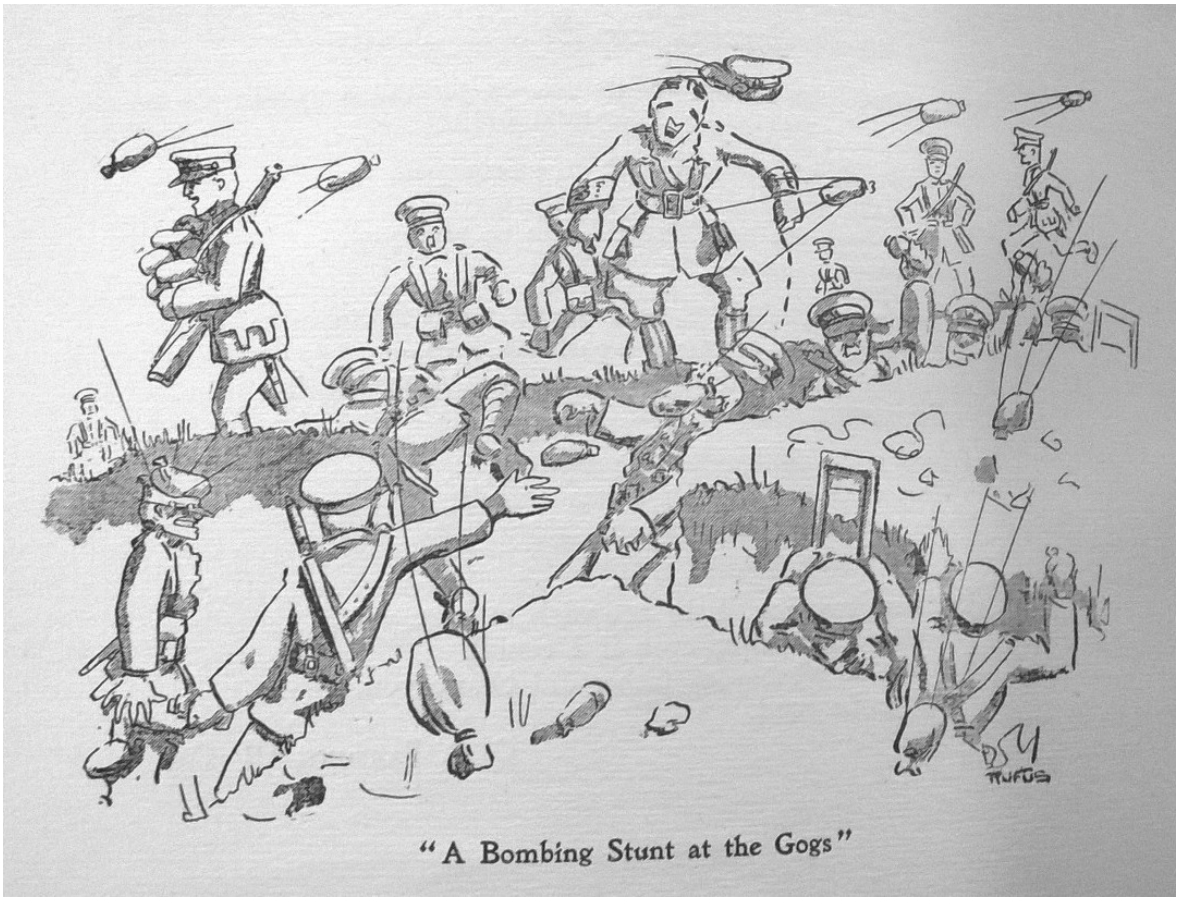

Illustration 128: The Blunderbuss March 1917

Individual relationships doubtless suffered during the war through men's physical absence. However, the war also opened new opportunities for meetings, leading to a number of 'romantic war weddings'. Children had greater freedom from supervision during the war years, and cases of neglect were brought to trial where the father had left children to serve in the Armed Forces. There were still activities for children, and children engaged with the war effort through charitable works, but for many it must have been a difficult time. Children were not sheltered from the realities of war; the *CCSM* shows that news from alumni was distributed amongst those still at school, while the 'bomb throwing' of the OCBs caused at least one casualty from a practice bomb.[800] Those who died during the war arguably formed a separate community of their own. However, they were also symbolically returned to their home community through memorial services and the addition of their names to family memorials.

800 *CIP* 20 April 1917.

The strain of war proved too much for some individuals, and, whether directly caused by the war as with the wounded Cyril Evison, or more indirectly, several cases of war-related suicide were reported in Cambridgeshire. Their cases were generally reported sympathetically in the local press. The war damaged local communities as a whole too, not just through individual lives. The University was particularly hard hit, through both loss of students and its association with conscientious objectors. The metaphor of ‘dreaming’ was used after the war, and seems apt. Occupied by Cadets, who followed some of the same traditions, the University continued in abbreviated form. Conscientious objectors were treated as an aberration, breaking with community principles. Sacrifice was demanded from them, as proof of their genuineness, and fears raised as to whether they were a subversive community of their own.

This thesis will end, almost, where it began, with the story of another individual from Cambridgeshire whose life was deeply affected by the First World War. Unlike Maria Livermore, with whom this thesis started, Maurice Cooper was a young man, eminently eligible for war service. Born in November 1896, he received a scholarship to the Perse aged 13. Though there is no evidence they ever met, Maurice was initially schooled at Park Street School, not far from Mill Road.

Illustration 129: Postcard from Maurice Cooper, showing the Perse OTC Camp. Author's Collection

In the summer of 1914, Maurice Cooper wrote to his mother from the Perse OTC's camp. The first card was simply to send her a picture of the camp; the second noted his concern that camp would be broken up early due to the war. In August 1915, Maurice received a commission, and in June 1916, the *ASPM* reported: 'Maurice Cooper is now in the trenches for the first time.[801]' On 2 August 1916, he sent another postcard, showing 'Dada and Mother' a nearby damaged church. A week later he was killed in action, the *ASPM* reporting 'On August 9th, Maurice Cooper, who has been well-known to many of us as a member of our Sunday School, was killed in action in France. He held a commission in the 6th Beds. Regt., and the prayers were many which we had offered for him in our church. But it has pleased God to call him to the supreme sacrifice, and we shall now remember his name in our prayers with a thankful knowledge of his union with the sacrifice of the Cross.'[802] Maurice's life shows his continued connection with his family,

801 *ASPM* June 1916
802 *ASPM* September 1916

and community, at home, through the postcards he sent and the reports made about his life in the local parish magazine.

Illustration 130: Postcard from Maurice Cooper, speculating on whether the camp would be broken up early. Author's Collection

Illustration 131: Postcard sent from France by Maurice Cooper. Author's Collection

Cambridgeshire communities, town, gown, and countryside, were all deeply affected by the war, but the overall picture is one of variety and complexity, and not a monolithic experience.

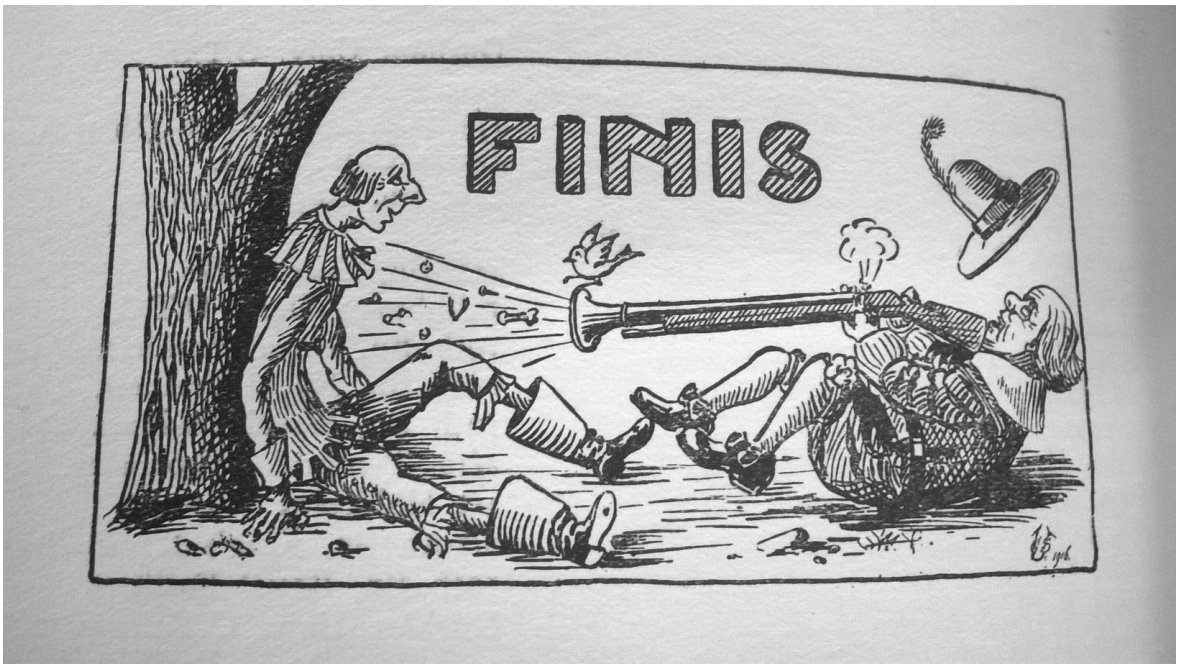

Illustration 132: The Blunderbuss July 1916

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Appendix 1 – Village Data Sheets

This appendix contains the data sheets from all the village spreadsheets, covering the Cambridge and Linton Districts. They have been arranged with the overview sheets at the front, followed by the villages in alphabetical order.

All Researched

Male	17308
Female	18011

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	561	5
Carter	257	2
Clerical	272	2
Factory	762	6
Farmer	794	7
Food Trade	312	3
Foreman	269	2
Gardener	696	6
In Service	739	6
Labourer	351	3
Merchant	118	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	3116	26
Other	216	2
Professional	367	3
Railway	294	2
Shop	573	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	1256	11
Trade	731	6
University Servant	93	1
Total (Men)	**11777**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	165	5
Clerical Woman	41	1
Factory Woman	368	10
Farm Woman	124	3
In Service Woman	1741	48
Laundry Woman	206	6
Other Woman	70	2
Professional Woman	294	8
Shop Woman	191	5
Tailoring Woman	374	10
University Servant Woman	56	2
Total (Women)	**3630**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	52	1
Pension	763	21
Private Means	379	10
Student	98	3
Student Woman	19	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	5376	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2335	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1018	3
All Age Eligible	8729	25
Total Population	**35319**	

Total Volunteered	1239	
Eligible to Volunteer	1037	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	89	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	109	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	419	
Eligible to Volunteer	323	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	25	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	70	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	3012	
Eligible to Volunteer	2334	43
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	221	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	452	44
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	35
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	608	
Eligible to Volunteer	499	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	20	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	89	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	1319	
Eligible to Volunteer	958	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	272	12
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	89	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

All Researched (Excluding Grantchester)

Male	16531
Female	17126

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	523	5
Carter	236	2
Clerical	232	2
Factory	727	6
Farmer	788	7
Food Trade	300	3
Foreman	258	2
Gardener	668	6
In Service	686	6
Labourer	343	3
Merchant	111	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	3092	27
Other	206	2
Professional	333	3
Railway	290	3
Shop	530	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	1227	11
Trade	676	6
University Servant	39	0
Total (Men)	**11265**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	158	5
Clerical Woman	35	1
Factory Woman	363	11
Farm Woman	124	4
In Service Woman	1625	48
Laundry Woman	178	5
Other Woman	62	2
Professional Woman	274	8
Shop Woman	183	5
Tailoring Woman	354	10
University Servant Woman	46	1
Total (Women)	**3402**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	49	1
Pension	736	22
Private Means	352	10
Student	88	3
Student Woman	18	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	5144	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2191	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	977	3
All Age Eligible	8312	25
Total Population	**33657**	

Total Volunteered	1209	
Eligible to Volunteer	1015	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	86	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	104	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	413	
Eligible to Volunteer	319	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	23	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	70	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	2963	
Eligible to Volunteer	2298	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	215	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	445	46
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	36
Percent of Male Population	N/A	18
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	599	
Eligible to Volunteer	492	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	19	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	88	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	1296	
Eligible to Volunteer	945	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	262	12
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	89	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

All Researched (Accounting for Tribunal Variation)

Male	15108
Female	15728

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	479	5
Carter	230	2
Clerical	228	2
Factory	725	7
Farmer	626	6
Food Trade	260	3
Foreman	244	2
Gardener	634	6
In Service	638	6
Labourer	328	3
Merchant	105	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	2776	27
Other	189	2
Professional	308	3
Railway	272	3
Shop	489	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	1103	11
Trade	622	6
University Servant	39	0
Total (Men)	**10295**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	140	4
Clerical Woman	31	1
Factory Woman	363	12
Farm Woman	94	3
In Service Woman	1506	48
Laundry Woman	164	5
Other Woman	54	2
Professional Woman	251	8
Shop Woman	171	5
Tailoring Woman	325	10
University Servant Woman	46	1
Total (Women)	**3145**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	46	1
Pension	649	21
Private Means	315	10
Student	85	3
Student Woman	18	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	4731	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2009	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	906	3
All Age Eligible	7646	25
Total Population	**30836**	

Total Volunteered	1117	
Eligible to Volunteer	941	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	79	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	93	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	411	
Eligible to Volunteer	318	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	23	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	69	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	2758	
Eligible to Volunteer	2138	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	200	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	415	46
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	36
Percent of Male Population	N/A	18
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	561	
Eligible to Volunteer	461	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	16	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	84	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	1287	
Eligible to Volunteer	936	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	262	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	89	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	17
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

All in Cambridge District

Male	12097
Female	12786

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	429	5
Carter	175	2
Clerical	213	3
Factory	473	6
Farmer	599	7
Food Trade	229	3
Foreman	194	2
Gardener	649	8
In Service	500	6
Labourer	237	3
Merchant	93	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	1962	24
Other	139	2
Professional	289	4
Railway	221	3
Shop	428	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	731	9
Trade	514	6
University Servant	93	1
Total (Men)	**8168**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	121	5
Clerical Woman	32	1
Factory Woman	242	9
Farm Woman	100	4
In Service Woman	1296	49
Laundry Woman	158	6
Other Woman	42	2
Professional Woman	210	8
Shop Woman	134	5
Tailoring Woman	266	10
University Servant Woman	56	2
Total (Women)	**2657**	**21**

Other

Army Pensioner	35	1
Pension	466	18
Private Means	305	11
Student	86	3
Student Woman	17	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	3729	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1691	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	711	3
All Age Eligible	6131	25
Total Population	**24886**	

Total Volunteered	829	
Eligible to Volunteer	676	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	68	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	84	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	259	
Eligible to Volunteer	208	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	17	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	34	5
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	1942	
Eligible to Volunteer	1514	41
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	148	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	279	39
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	32
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	415	
Eligible to Volunteer	340	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	14	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	61	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	965	
Eligible to Volunteer	675	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	218	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	72	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

All in Cambridge District (Excluding Grantchester)

Male	11320	
Female	11901	

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	391	5
Carter	154	2
Clerical	172	2
Factory	438	6
Farmer	593	8
Food Trade	217	3
Foreman	183	2
Gardener	621	8
In Service	447	6
Labourer	229	3
Merchant	86	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	1938	25
Other	129	2
Professional	255	3
Railway	217	3
Shop	386	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	702	9
Trade	459	6
University Servant	39	1
Total (Men)	**7656**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	114	5
Clerical Woman	26	1
Factory Woman	237	10
Farm Woman	100	4
In Service Woman	1180	49
Laundry Woman	130	5
Other Woman	34	1
Professional Woman	190	8
Shop Woman	126	5
Tailoring Woman	246	10
University Servant Woman	46	2
Total (Women)	**2429**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	32	1
Pension	439	18
Private Means	278	11
Student	76	3
Student Woman	16	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	3497	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1547	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	670	3
All Age Eligible	5714	25
Total Population	**23224**	

Total Volunteered	799	
Eligible to Volunteer	654	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	65	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	79	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	253	
Eligible to Volunteer	204	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	15	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	34	5
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	1893	
Eligible to Volunteer	1478	42
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	142	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	272	41
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	33
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	406	
Eligible to Volunteer	333	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	13	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	60	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	942	
Eligible to Volunteer	662	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	208	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	72	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

All in Cambridge District (Accounting for Tribunal Variation)

Male	9897	
Female	10503	

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	347	5
Carter	148	2
Clerical	168	3
Factory	436	7
Farmer	431	6
Food Trade	177	3
Foreman	169	3
Gardener	587	9
In Service	399	6
Labourer	214	3
Merchant	80	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	1622	24
Other	112	2
Professional	230	3
Railway	199	3
Shop	345	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	578	9
Trade	405	6
University Servant	39	1
Total (Men)	**6686**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	96	4
Clerical Woman	22	1
Factory Woman	237	11
Farm Woman	70	3
In Service Woman	1061	49
Laundry Woman	116	5
Other Woman	26	1
Professional Woman	167	8
Shop Woman	114	5
Tailoring Woman	217	10
University Servant Woman	46	2
Total (Women)	**2172**	**21**

Other

Army Pensioner	29	1
Pension	352	16
Private Means	241	11
Student	73	3
Student Woman	16	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	3084	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1365	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	599	3
All Age Eligible	5048	25
Total Population	**20403**	

Total Volunteered	707	
Eligible to Volunteer	580	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	58	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	68	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	251	
Eligible to Volunteer	203	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	15	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	33	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	1688	
Eligible to Volunteer	1318	43
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	127	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	242	40
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	33
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	368	
Eligible to Volunteer	302	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	10	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	56	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	933	
Eligible to Volunteer	653	21
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	208	15
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	72	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	18
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

All in Linton District

Male	5211
Female	5225

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	133	4
Carter	82	2
Clerical	59	2
Factory	290	8
Farmer	195	5
Food Trade	83	2
Foreman	74	2
Gardener	46	1
In Service	239	7
Labourer	114	3
Merchant	26	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	1154	32
Other	77	2
Professional	78	2
Railway	73	2
Shop	144	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	525	15
Trade	217	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**3609**	**69**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	44	5
Clerical Woman	9	1
Factory Woman	126	13
Farm Woman	24	2
In Service Woman	445	46
Laundry Woman	48	5
Other Woman	28	3
Professional Woman	84	9
Shop Woman	57	6
Tailoring Woman	108	11
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**973**	**19**

Other

Army Pensioner	17	2
Pension	297	31
Private Means	74	8
Student	12	1
Student Woman	2	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	1636	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	635	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	306	3
All Age Eligible	2577	25
Total Population	**10436**	

Total Volunteered	411	
Eligible to Volunteer	361	22
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	21	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	26	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	161	
Eligible to Volunteer	116	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	8	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	36	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	1070	
Eligible to Volunteer	820	50
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	73	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	173	57
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	42
Percent of Male Population	N/A	21
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	193	
Eligible to Volunteer	159	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	6	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	28	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	345	
Eligible to Volunteer	274	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	52	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	16	5
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	13
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Babraham

Male	136
Female	152

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	4	4
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	4	4
Gardener	0	0
In Service	18	18
Labourer	0	0
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	33	33
Other	0	0
Professional	4	4
Railway	0	0
Shop	2	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	31	31
Trade	4	4
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**100**	**74**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	10
Clerical Woman	1	3
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	3
In Service Woman	26	67
Laundry Woman	2	5
Other Woman	3	8
Professional Woman	2	5
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**39**	**26**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	2	5
Private Means	1	3
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	51	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	19	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	2
All Age Eligible	77	27
Total Population	**288**	

Total Volunteered	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	29
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	29
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	23
Percent of Male Population	N/A	13
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Total Conscripted	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	33	
Eligible to Volunteer	26	51
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	16
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	57
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	43
Percent of Male Population	N/A	24
Percent of Total Population	N/A	11

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Balsham

Male	382
Female	390

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	5	2
Carter	4	2
Clerical	1	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	9	4
Food Trade	8	3
Foreman	4	2
Gardener	3	1
In Service	10	4
Labourer	8	3
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	117	46
Other	9	4
Professional	4	2
Railway	0	0
Shop	8	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	53	21
Trade	13	5
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**256**	**67**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	2	3
Clerical Woman	1	2
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	5
In Service Woman	32	48
Laundry Woman	3	5
Other Woman	3	5
Professional Woman	7	11
Shop Woman	6	9
Tailoring Woman	9	14
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**66**	**17**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	17	26
Private Means	2	3
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	122	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	49	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	21	3
All Age Eligible	192	25
Total Population	**772**	

Total Volunteered	46	
Eligible to Volunteer	41	34
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	24
Percent of Male Population	N/A	12
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Total Conscripted	16	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	5
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	94	
Eligible to Volunteer	75	61
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	8	16
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	11	52
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	49
Percent of Male Population	N/A	25
Percent of Total Population	N/A	12

Total Casualties	14	
Eligible to Volunteer	13	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	5
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	29	
Eligible to Volunteer	26	21
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Bartlow

Male	36
Female	54

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	0	0
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	2	7
Gardener	1	3
In Service	9	31
Labourer	1	3
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	5	17
Other	1	3
Professional	1	3
Railway	5	17
Shop	1	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	1	3
Trade	2	7
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**29**	**81**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	1	4
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	4
In Service Woman	20	87
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	0	0
Shop Woman	1	4
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**23**	**43**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	0	0
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	9	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	7	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
All Age Eligible	16	18
Total Population	**90**	

Total Volunteered	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total Conscripted	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	33
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	19
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Casualties	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total Tribunal	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Barton

Male	137
Female	139

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	1	1
Carter	0	0
Clerical	1	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	15	17
Food Trade	2	2
Foreman	3	3
Gardener	4	4
In Service	3	3
Labourer	6	7
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	32	36
Other	1	1
Professional	2	2
Railway	6	7
Shop	2	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	8	9
Trade	2	2
University Servant	1	1
Total (Men)	**89**	**65**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	15
In Service Woman	14	70
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	1	5
Shop Woman	2	10
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**20**	**14**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	9	45
Private Means	1	5
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	41	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	19	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	2
All Age Eligible	66	24
Total Population	**276**	

Total Volunteered	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	18	44
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	27
Percent of Male Population	N/A	13
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Conscripted	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	2
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	27	
Eligible to Volunteer	23	56
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	50
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	41
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	17
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Male	122
Female	108

Occupations
Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	1	1
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	9	10
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	2	2
Gardener	0	0
In Service	6	7
Labourer	1	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	42	47
Other	1	1
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	1	1
Skilled Farm Labourer	23	26
Trade	2	2
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**89**	**73**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	12
In Service Woman	17	68
Laundry Woman	2	8
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	2	8
Shop Woman	1	4
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**25**	**23**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	2	8
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

Boxworth

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	30	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	21	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	3
All Age Eligible	58	25
Total Population	**230**	

Total Volunteered	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	23
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	29
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	17
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Casualties	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Carlton cum Willingham

Male	148
Female	132

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	1	1
Carter	1	1
Clerical	1	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	15	14
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	3	3
Gardener	0	0
In Service	11	10
Labourer	2	2
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	42	39
Other	1	1
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	2	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	26	24
Trade	3	3
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**109**	**74**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	14
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	3	43
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	2	29
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	1	14
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**7**	**5**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	0	0
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	57	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	13	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	3
All Age Eligible	78	28
Total Population	**280**	

Total Volunteered	20	
Eligible to Volunteer	20	35
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	26
Percent of Male Population	N/A	14
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Conscripted	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	43	
Eligible to Volunteer	34	60
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	100
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	55
Percent of Male Population	N/A	29
Percent of Total Population	N/A	15

Total Casualties	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	13
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Tribunal	11	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Castle Camps

Male	342
Female	315

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	3	1
Carter	7	3
Clerical	2	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	18	8
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	3	1
Gardener	6	3
In Service	7	3
Labourer	9	4
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	102	44
Other	1	0
Professional	4	2
Railway	1	0
Shop	8	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	39	17
Trade	22	9
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**232**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	6
Clerical Woman	1	1
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	13	19
Laundry Woman	2	3
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	4	6
Shop Woman	2	3
Tailoring Woman	42	62
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**68**	**22**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	1
Pension	14	21
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	100	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	38	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	32	5
All Age Eligible	170	26
Total Population	**656**	

Total Volunteered	48	
Eligible to Volunteer	43	43
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	16
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	28
Percent of Male Population	N/A	14
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Conscripted	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	91	
Eligible to Volunteer	65	65
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	24	75
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	54
Percent of Male Population	N/A	27
Percent of Total Population	N/A	14

Total Casualties	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	19	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Cherry Hinton

Male	1759
Female	1964

Occupations
Men

Building Trade	108	10
Carter	48	4
Clerical	81	7
Factory	124	11
Farmer	16	1
Food Trade	32	3
Foreman	35	3
Gardener	37	3
In Service	50	4
Labourer	45	4
Merchant	21	2
Ordinary Farm Labourer	42	4
Other	24	2
Professional	84	8
Railway	80	7
Shop	116	10
Skilled Farm Labourer	58	5
Trade	98	9
University Servant	20	2
Total (Men)	**1119**	**64**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	17	4
Clerical Woman	13	3
Factory Woman	44	10
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	218	48
Laundry Woman	38	8
Other Woman	5	1
Professional Woman	36	8
Shop Woman	22	5
Tailoring Woman	59	13
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**452**	**23**

Other

Army Pensioner	3	1
Pension	60	13
Private Means	41	9
Student	18	4
Student Woman	4	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	545	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	263	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	110	3
All Age Eligible	918	25
Total Population	**3723**	

Total Volunteered	94	
Eligible to Volunteer	82	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	8	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	1
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	1
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	170	
Eligible to Volunteer	139	26
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	14	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	17	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	19
Percent of Male Population	N/A	10
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Total Casualties	50	
Eligible to Volunteer	42	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	87	
Eligible to Volunteer	54	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	29	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	4
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Childerley

Male	11
Female	15

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	2	22
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	0	0
Gardener	0	0
In Service	1	11
Labourer	0	0
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	1	11
Other	0	0
Professional	0	0
Railway	0	0
Shop	0	0
Skilled Farm Labourer	5	56
Trade	0	0
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**9**	**82**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	3	100
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	0	0
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**3**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	0	0
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	3	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	4
All Age Eligible	6	23
Total Population	**26**	

Total Volunteered	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	100
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	17
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	33
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	100
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	33
Percent of Male Population	N/A	18
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total Tribunal	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	33
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	17
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Comberton

Male	219
Female	212

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	11	8
Carter	2	1
Clerical	3	2
Factory	4	3
Farmer	26	18
Food Trade	3	2
Foreman	0	0
Gardener	3	2
In Service	9	6
Labourer	3	2
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	34	23
Other	3	2
Professional	2	1
Railway	7	5
Shop	8	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	19	13
Trade	8	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**145**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	7	21
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	3
In Service Woman	14	41
Laundry Woman	4	12
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	3	9
Shop Woman	4	12
Tailoring Woman	1	3
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**34**	**16**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	17	50
Private Means	4	12
Student	1	3
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	68	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	24	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	16	4
All Age Eligible	108	25
Total Population	**431**	

Total Volunteered	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	13	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	44	
Eligible to Volunteer	34	50
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	63
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	41
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	29	
Eligible to Volunteer	23	34
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	17
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	27
Percent of Male Population	N/A	13
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Conington

Male	203
Female	176

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	1	1
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	19	14
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	2	1
Gardener	0	0
In Service	22	16
Labourer	2	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	50	36
Other	2	1
Professional	7	5
Railway	6	4
Shop	1	1
Skilled Farm Labourer	27	19
Trade	0	0
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**139**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	3
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	9	23
In Service Woman	22	56
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	3	8
Shop Woman	1	3
Tailoring Woman	3	8
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**39**	**22**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	3
Pension	3	8
Private Means	2	5
Student	1	3
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	65	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	26	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	2
All Age Eligible	98	26
Total Population	**379**	

Total Volunteered	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Conscripted	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	12	
Eligible to Volunteer	10	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Casualties	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	5
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Coton

Male	166
Female	150

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	9	8
Carter	6	5
Clerical	0	0
Factory	3	3
Farmer	3	3
Food Trade	1	1
Foreman	2	2
Gardener	0	0
In Service	8	7
Labourer	2	2
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	41	37
Other	3	3
Professional	2	2
Railway	0	0
Shop	4	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	20	18
Trade	5	4
University Servant	3	3
Total (Men)	**112**	**67**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	9	56
Laundry Woman	4	25
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	3	19
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**16**	**11**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	5	31
Private Means	1	6
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	58	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	15	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	14	4
All Age Eligible	87	28
Total Population	**316**	

Total Volunteered	23	
Eligible to Volunteer	17	29
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	36
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	26
Percent of Male Population	N/A	14
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Conscripted	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	43	
Eligible to Volunteer	34	59
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	50
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	49
Percent of Male Population	N/A	26
Percent of Total Population	N/A	14

Total Casualties	14	
Eligible to Volunteer	10	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	21
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Tribunal	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Cottenham

Male	1227
Female	1182

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	27	3
Carter	11	1
Clerical	5	1
Factory	24	3
Farmer	113	13
Food Trade	25	3
Foreman	13	1
Gardener	148	16
In Service	10	1
Labourer	33	4
Merchant	2	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	291	32
Other	8	1
Professional	15	2
Railway	0	0
Shop	32	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	61	7
Trade	84	9
University Servant	2	0
Total (Men)	**904**	**74**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	14	10
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	1	1
Farm Woman	14	10
In Service Woman	75	51
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	2	1
Professional Woman	14	10
Shop Woman	7	5
Tailoring Woman	19	13
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**146**	**12**

Other

Army Pensioner	2	1
Pension	50	34
Private Means	26	18
Student	7	5
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	404	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	172	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	73	3
All Age Eligible	649	27
Total Population	**2409**	

Total Volunteered	73	
Eligible to Volunteer	56	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	8	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	9	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	68	
Eligible to Volunteer	57	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total War Service	234	
Eligible to Volunteer	182	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	19	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	33	45
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	36
Percent of Male Population	N/A	19
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	45	
Eligible to Volunteer	40	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	186	
Eligible to Volunteer	140	35
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	34	20
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	12	16
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	29
Percent of Male Population	N/A	15
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Dry Drayton

Male	218
Female	213

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	3	2
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	9	7
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	3	2
Gardener	1	1
In Service	3	2
Labourer	2	1
Merchant	1	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	72	53
Other	0	0
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	4	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	34	25
Trade	4	3
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**137**	**63**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	2	10
In Service Woman	9	43
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	1	5
Professional Woman	3	14
Shop Woman	2	10
Tailoring Woman	4	19
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**21**	**10**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	3	14
Private Means	1	5
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	66	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	30	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	2
All Age Eligible	104	24
Total Population	**431**	

Total Volunteered	25	
Eligible to Volunteer	20	30
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	24
Percent of Male Population	N/A	11
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Total Conscripted	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	39	
Eligible to Volunteer	32	48
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	38
Percent of Male Population	N/A	18
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	8	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	13	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	13
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Duxford

Male	379	
Female	364	

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	13	5
Carter	6	2
Clerical	1	0
Factory	15	6
Farmer	11	4
Food Trade	7	3
Foreman	4	2
Gardener	1	0
In Service	17	7
Labourer	5	2
Merchant	16	6
Ordinary Farm Labourer	80	31
Other	4	2
Professional	8	3
Railway	14	5
Shop	14	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	29	11
Trade	16	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**261**	**69**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	6
Clerical Woman	1	2
Factory Woman	5	8
Farm Woman	1	2
In Service Woman	36	56
Laundry Woman	3	5
Other Woman	1	2
Professional Woman	5	8
Shop Woman	5	8
Tailoring Woman	3	5
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**64**	**18**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	2
Pension	23	36
Private Means	2	3
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	125	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	49	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	28	4
All Age Eligible	202	27
Total Population	**743**	

Total Volunteered	20	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	4
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	10	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	72	
Eligible to Volunteer	56	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	13	46
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	36
Percent of Male Population	N/A	19
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	11	
Eligible to Volunteer	10	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	4
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	19	
Eligible to Volunteer	16	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	4
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Fen Drayton

Male	114
Female	123

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	3	4
Carter	0	0
Clerical	1	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	16	23
Food Trade	2	3
Foreman	0	0
Gardener	2	3
In Service	1	1
Labourer	1	1
Merchant	1	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	28	39
Other	5	7
Professional	2	3
Railway	1	1
Shop	1	1
Skilled Farm Labourer	6	8
Trade	1	1
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**71**	**62**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	15
In Service Woman	11	55
Laundry Woman	1	5
Other Woman	2	10
Professional Woman	2	10
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	1	5
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**20**	**16**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	4	20
Private Means	3	15
Student	1	5
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	25	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	17	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	2
All Age Eligible	46	19
Total Population	**237**	

Total Volunteered	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	24
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	13	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	44
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	50
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	28
Percent of Male Population	N/A	11
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Total Casualties	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Male	238
Female	294

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	7	4
Carter	5	3
Clerical	0	0
Factory	18	10
Farmer	7	4
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	3	2
Gardener	21	12
In Service	12	7
Labourer	16	9
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	49	27
Other	6	3
Professional	5	3
Railway	0	0
Shop	3	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	14	8
Trade	5	3
University Servant	8	4
Total (Men)	**179**	**75**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	45	38
Farm Woman	1	1
In Service Woman	14	12
Laundry Woman	3	3
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	4	3
Shop Woman	3	3
Tailoring Woman	4	3
University Servant Woman	44	37
Total (Women)	**118**	**40**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	1
Pension	6	5
Private Means	4	3
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

Girton

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	95	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	27	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	13	2
All Age Eligible	135	25
Total Population	**532**	

Total Volunteered	30	
Eligible to Volunteer	28	29
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	22
Percent of Male Population	N/A	13
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Total Conscripted	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	72	
Eligible to Volunteer	61	64
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	77
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	53
Percent of Male Population	N/A	30
Percent of Total Population	N/A	14

Total Casualties	11	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	17	
Eligible to Volunteer	13	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	13
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Grantchester

Male	777
Female	885

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	37	7
Carter	21	4
Clerical	41	8
Factory	35	7
Farmer	6	1
Food Trade	12	2
Foreman	11	2
Gardener	27	5
In Service	54	11
Labourer	8	2
Merchant	7	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	24	5
Other	10	2
Professional	34	7
Railway	4	1
Shop	43	8
Skilled Farm Labourer	29	6
Trade	55	11
University Servant	54	11
Total (Men)	**512**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	7	3
Clerical Woman	6	3
Factory Woman	5	2
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	116	51
Laundry Woman	28	12
Other Woman	8	4
Professional Woman	20	9
Shop Woman	8	4
Tailoring Woman	20	9
University Servant Woman	10	4
Total (Women)	**228**	**26**

Other

Army Pensioner	3	1
Pension	27	12
Private Means	27	12
Student	10	4
Student Woman	1	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	232	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	144	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	41	2
All Age Eligible	417	25
Total Population	**1662**	

Total Volunteered	30	
Eligible to Volunteer	22	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Conscripted	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	2
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	1
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	49	
Eligible to Volunteer	36	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	6	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	17
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	2
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	23	
Eligible to Volunteer	13	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	10	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Note that the Grantchester sheet from the Petty Sessional Roll of Honour gives a total population of 510, with 233 male inhabitants. It is clear that the 1911 census recorded a far larger area as Grantchester than was described by this roll, and probably by the AVL. This means that the statistics for this village may not be as reliable as for other villages.

Great and Little Abington

Male	266	
Female	237	

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	7	4
Carter	1	1
Clerical	2	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	11	6
Food Trade	2	1
Foreman	3	2
Gardener	1	1
In Service	14	8
Labourer	11	6
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	73	40
Other	8	4
Professional	3	2
Railway	4	2
Shop	8	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	29	16
Trade	7	4
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**184**	**69**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	5	17
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	15	52
Laundry Woman	1	3
Other Woman	2	7
Professional Woman	3	10
Shop Woman	3	10
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**29**	**12**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	11	38
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	82	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	32	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	13	3
All Age Eligible	127	25
Total Population	**503**	

Total Volunteered	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	13	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	4	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	2
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	57	
Eligible to Volunteer	43	52
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	16
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	9	69
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	45
Percent of Male Population	N/A	21
Percent of Total Population	N/A	11

Total Casualties	11	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Great Shelford

Male	656
Female	794

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	28	7
Carter	19	5
Clerical	17	4
Factory	21	5
Farmer	5	1
Food Trade	19	5
Foreman	21	5
Gardener	9	2
In Service	56	13
Labourer	16	4
Merchant	11	3
Ordinary Farm Labourer	38	9
Other	16	4
Professional	37	9
Railway	24	6
Shop	33	8
Skilled Farm Labourer	31	7
Trade	19	5
University Servant	2	0
Total (Men)	**422**	**64**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	1	1
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	1
In Service Woman	126	67
Laundry Woman	17	9
Other Woman	6	3
Professional Woman	14	7
Shop Woman	13	7
Tailoring Woman	9	5
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**187**	**24**

Other

Army Pensioner	4	2
Pension	43	23
Private Means	64	34
Student	16	9
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	210	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	89	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	27	2
All Age Eligible	326	22
Total Population	**1450**	

Total Volunteered	51	
Eligible to Volunteer	36	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	10	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	2
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	107	
Eligible to Volunteer	82	39
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	13	15
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	12	44
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	33
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Casualties	21	
Eligible to Volunteer	18	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	36	
Eligible to Volunteer	26	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	10	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Harston

Male	328
Female	334

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	18	8
Carter	4	2
Clerical	4	2
Factory	4	2
Farmer	13	6
Food Trade	8	4
Foreman	1	0
Gardener	6	3
In Service	17	8
Labourer	4	2
Merchant	4	2
Ordinary Farm Labourer	74	33
Other	2	1
Professional	5	2
Railway	6	3
Shop	14	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	25	11
Trade	13	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**222**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	7
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	36	59
Laundry Woman	4	7
Other Woman	3	5
Professional Woman	4	7
Shop Woman	4	7
Tailoring Woman	6	10
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**61**	**18**

Other

Army Pensioner	4	7
Pension	14	23
Private Means	9	15
Student	0	0
Student Woman	3	5

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	93	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	34	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	14	2
All Age Eligible	141	21
Total Population	**662**	

Total Volunteered	22	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	54	
Eligible to Volunteer	47	51
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	36
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	38
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	16	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	13
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Hauxton

Male	106
Female	136

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	3	4
Carter	1	1
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	8	12
Food Trade	5	7
Foreman	2	3
Gardener	0	0
In Service	3	4
Labourer	2	3
Merchant	2	3
Ordinary Farm Labourer	27	39
Other	0	0
Professional	0	0
Railway	4	6
Shop	6	9
Skilled Farm Labourer	5	7
Trade	1	1
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**69**	**65**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	7
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	7
In Service Woman	6	43
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	1	7
Professional Woman	3	21
Shop Woman	2	14
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**14**	**10**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	7	50
Private Means	2	14
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	24	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	18	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	3
All Age Eligible	49	20
Total Population	**242**	

Total Volunteered	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	21
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	16	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	46
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	43
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	33
Percent of Male Population	N/A	15
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Casualties	4	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Hildersham

Male	101
Female	100

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	4	6
Carter	1	1
Clerical	2	3
Factory	1	1
Farmer	3	4
Food Trade	4	6
Foreman	1	1
Gardener	1	1
In Service	11	15
Labourer	1	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	21	29
Other	0	0
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	1	1
Skilled Farm Labourer	16	22
Trade	4	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**72**	**71**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	17	74
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	1	4
Professional Woman	2	9
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	3	13
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**23**	**23**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	8	35
Private Means	2	9
Student	1	4
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	37	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	11	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	5
All Age Eligible	58	29
Total Population	**201**	

Total Volunteered	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	4	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	20
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	27	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	41
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	36
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	80
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	47
Percent of Male Population	N/A	27
Percent of Total Population	N/A	13

Total Casualties	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	5
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Hinxton

Male	142
Female	178

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	4	4
Carter	0	0
Clerical	2	2
Factory	0	0
Farmer	6	6
Food Trade	4	4
Foreman	3	3
Gardener	0	0
In Service	16	15
Labourer	3	3
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	36	34
Other	4	4
Professional	3	3
Railway	0	0
Shop	2	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	21	20
Trade	1	1
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**105**	**74**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	10
In Service Woman	18	60
Laundry Woman	1	3
Other Woman	1	3
Professional Woman	3	10
Shop Woman	4	13
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**30**	**17**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	15	50
Private Means	6	20
Student	2	7
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	45	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	17	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	2
All Age Eligible	68	21
Total Population	**320**	

Total Volunteered	8	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	21	
Eligible to Volunteer	17	38
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	12
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	33
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	31
Percent of Male Population	N/A	15
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Casualties	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Histon and Impington

Male	1063
Female	1052

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	38	5
Carter	10	1
Clerical	41	6
Factory	214	30
Farmer	21	3
Food Trade	13	2
Foreman	26	4
Gardener	70	10
In Service	16	2
Labourer	5	1
Merchant	9	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	128	18
Other	6	1
Professional	12	2
Railway	16	2
Shop	24	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	30	4
Trade	24	3
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**703**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	9	3
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	140	51
Farm Woman	4	1
In Service Woman	65	24
Laundry Woman	2	1
Other Woman	1	0
Professional Woman	12	4
Shop Woman	15	6
Tailoring Woman	24	9
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**272**	**26**

Other

Army Pensioner	7	3
Pension	35	13
Private Means	9	3
Student	6	2
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	321	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	166	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	73	3
All Age Eligible	560	26
Total Population	**2115**	

Total Volunteered	78	
Eligible to Volunteer	56	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	12	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	35	
Eligible to Volunteer	29	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	210	
Eligible to Volunteer	149	46
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	23	14
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	38	52
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	38
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	31	
Eligible to Volunteer	24	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	124	
Eligible to Volunteer	79	25
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	39	23
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	22
Percent of Male Population	N/A	12
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Horseheath

Male	206
Female	206

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	4	3
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	11	8
Food Trade	1	1
Foreman	1	1
Gardener	2	1
In Service	6	4
Labourer	2	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	63	45
Other	4	3
Professional	2	1
Railway	1	1
Shop	8	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	28	20
Trade	6	4
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**139**	**67**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	5
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	13	65
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	3	15
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	3	15
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**20**	**10**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	15	75
Private Means	0	0
Student	1	5
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	60	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	31	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	15	4
All Age Eligible	106	26
Total Population	**412**	

Total Volunteered	12	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	33	
Eligible to Volunteer	27	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	40
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	31
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	23	
Eligible to Volunteer	18	30
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	20
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	22
Percent of Male Population	N/A	11
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Ickleton

Male	321
Female	315

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	18	8
Carter	4	2
Clerical	6	3
Factory	0	0
Farmer	8	4
Food Trade	5	2
Foreman	6	3
Gardener	1	0
In Service	17	8
Labourer	10	4
Merchant	1	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	89	40
Other	3	1
Professional	4	2
Railway	8	4
Shop	8	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	26	12
Trade	11	5
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**225**	**70**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	3	6
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	6
In Service Woman	36	67
Laundry Woman	1	2
Other Woman	2	4
Professional Woman	5	9
Shop Woman	1	2
Tailoring Woman	3	6
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**54**	**17**

Other

Army Pensioner	4	7
Pension	19	35
Private Means	4	7
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	90	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	45	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	17	3
All Age Eligible	152	24
Total Population	**636**	

Total Volunteered	14	
Eligible to Volunteer	13	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Conscripted	12	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	12
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	56	
Eligible to Volunteer	43	48
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	6	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	41
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	37
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	12	
Eligible to Volunteer	10	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	10	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Landbeach

Male	198
Female	187

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	9	7
Carter	1	1
Clerical	0	0
Factory	3	2
Farmer	7	5
Food Trade	2	1
Foreman	5	4
Gardener	10	7
In Service	5	4
Labourer	5	4
Merchant	4	3
Ordinary Farm Labourer	49	36
Other	0	0
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	5	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	23	17
Trade	8	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**137**	**69**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	2
Clerical Woman	1	2
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	2
In Service Woman	16	38
Laundry Woman	1	2
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	4	10
Shop Woman	2	5
Tailoring Woman	16	38
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**42**	**22**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	9	21
Private Means	1	2
Student	1	2
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	65	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	22	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	18	5
All Age Eligible	105	27
Total Population	**385**	

Total Volunteered	17	
Eligible to Volunteer	16	25
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	5
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	22
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	37	
Eligible to Volunteer	28	43
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	9	50
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	35
Percent of Male Population	N/A	19
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	13	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	21	
Eligible to Volunteer	12	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	23
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	22
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	20
Percent of Male Population	N/A	11
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Linton

Male	735
Female	765

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	41	9
Carter	13	3
Clerical	9	2
Factory	1	0
Farmer	16	3
Food Trade	21	4
Foreman	10	2
Gardener	4	1
In Service	35	7
Labourer	18	4
Merchant	7	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	129	27
Other	17	4
Professional	15	3
Railway	11	2
Shop	30	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	54	11
Trade	46	10
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**477**	**65**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	3
Clerical Woman	1	1
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	4	3
In Service Woman	69	51
Laundry Woman	14	10
Other Woman	6	4
Professional Woman	15	11
Shop Woman	12	9
Tailoring Woman	10	7
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**135**	**18**

Other

Army Pensioner	4	3
Pension	58	43
Private Means	16	12
Student	1	1
Student Woman	1	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	228	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	73	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	31	2
All Age Eligible	332	22
Total Population	**1500**	

Total Volunteered	69	
Eligible to Volunteer	62	27
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	21
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Total Conscripted	24	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	145	
Eligible to Volunteer	116	51
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	9	12
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	19	61
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	44
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	27	
Eligible to Volunteer	22	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	52	
Eligible to Volunteer	39	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	11	15
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Little Shelford

Male	215
Female	246

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	11	8
Carter	1	1
Clerical	0	0
Factory	4	3
Farmer	7	5
Food Trade	2	1
Foreman	3	2
Gardener	2	1
In Service	30	21
Labourer	7	5
Merchant	1	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	28	19
Other	2	1
Professional	4	3
Railway	1	1
Shop	8	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	16	11
Trade	17	12
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**144**	**67**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	2
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	1	2
Farm Woman	1	2
In Service Woman	47	80
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	1	2
Professional Woman	3	5
Shop Woman	2	3
Tailoring Woman	3	5
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**59**	**24**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	2
Pension	9	15
Private Means	8	14
Student	2	3
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	63	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	22	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	2
All Age Eligible	93	20
Total Population	**464**	

Total Volunteered	17	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	22
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	18
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	5
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	36	
Eligible to Volunteer	29	46
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	18
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	39
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Lolworth

Male	92
Female	89

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	4	6
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	2	3
Gardener	0	0
In Service	7	11
Labourer	2	3
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	29	47
Other	1	2
Professional	1	2
Railway	0	0
Shop	0	0
Skilled Farm Labourer	16	26
Trade	0	0
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**62**	**67**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	6
In Service Woman	11	69
Laundry Woman	1	6
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	1	6
Shop Woman	1	6
Tailoring Woman	1	6
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**16**	**18**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	0	0
Private Means	2	13
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	25	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	13	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	6
All Age Eligible	48	27
Total Population	**181**	

Total Volunteered	8	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	20
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	17
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	36
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	50
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	31
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Longstanton

Male	213
Female	194

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	1	1
Carter	3	2
Clerical	2	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	15	9
Food Trade	3	2
Foreman	5	3
Gardener	19	12
In Service	7	4
Labourer	8	5
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	57	35
Other	4	2
Professional	5	3
Railway	7	4
Shop	5	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	18	11
Trade	4	2
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**163**	**77**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	3
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	2	6
In Service Woman	18	58
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	3	10
Shop Woman	2	6
Tailoring Woman	5	16
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**31**	**16**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	3
Pension	4	13
Private Means	2	6
Student	1	3
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	71	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	28	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	2
All Age Eligible	107	26
Total Population	**407**	

Total Volunteered	29	
Eligible to Volunteer	28	39
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	27
Percent of Male Population	N/A	14
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Conscripted	4	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	45	
Eligible to Volunteer	40	56
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	42
Percent of Male Population	N/A	21
Percent of Total Population	N/A	11

Total Casualties	8	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	21	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	21
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	20
Percent of Male Population	N/A	10
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Madingley

Male	89
Female	112

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	3	5
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	5	8
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	2	3
Gardener	1	2
In Service	11	18
Labourer	3	5
Merchant	1	2
Ordinary Farm Labourer	25	40
Other	2	3
Professional	2	3
Railway	0	0
Shop	1	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	6	10
Trade	0	0
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**62**	**70**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	5
In Service Woman	13	59
Laundry Woman	1	5
Other Woman	1	5
Professional Woman	2	9
Shop Woman	1	5
Tailoring Woman	3	14
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**22**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	0	0
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	21	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	15	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	2
All Age Eligible	41	20
Total Population	**201**	

Total Volunteered	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	29
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	20
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	22
Percent of Male Population	N/A	10
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	52
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	40
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	37
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Casualties	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	24
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	40
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	17
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Male	268
Female	266

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	5	3
Carter	5	3
Clerical	2	1
Factory	5	3
Farmer	11	6
Food Trade	3	2
Foreman	4	2
Gardener	23	13
In Service	7	4
Labourer	5	3
Merchant	3	2
Ordinary Farm Labourer	63	36
Other	1	1
Professional	2	1
Railway	5	3
Shop	6	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	17	10
Trade	8	5
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**175**	**65**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	1	2
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	7
In Service Woman	14	33
Laundry Woman	3	7
Other Woman	1	2
Professional Woman	3	7
Shop Woman	5	12
Tailoring Woman	12	29
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**42**	**16**

Other

Army Pensioner	2	5
Pension	10	24
Private Means	3	7
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

Milton

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	75	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	43	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	27	5
All Age Eligible	145	27
Total Population	**534**	

Total Volunteered	21	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	25
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	51	
Eligible to Volunteer	34	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	14	52
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	35
Percent of Male Population	N/A	19
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	32	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	25
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	8	19
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	22
Percent of Male Population	N/A	12
Percent of Total Population	N/A	6

Newton

Male	125
Female	139

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	2	2
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	3	4
Food Trade	3	4
Foreman	5	6
Gardener	2	2
In Service	18	22
Labourer	1	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	30	36
Other	1	1
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	1	1
Skilled Farm Labourer	13	16
Trade	3	4
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**83**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	3
Clerical Woman	1	3
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	1	3
In Service Woman	24	69
Laundry Woman	2	6
Other Woman	1	3
Professional Woman	4	11
Shop Woman	1	3
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**35**	**25**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	4	11
Private Means	2	6
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	40	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	15	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	2
All Age Eligible	61	23
Total Population	**264**	

Total Volunteered	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	33
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	33	
Eligible to Volunteer	23	58
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	27
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	100
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	54
Percent of Male Population	N/A	26
Percent of Total Population	N/A	13

Total Casualties	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	17
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Oakington and Westwick

Male	259
Female	250

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	1	1
Carter	4	2
Clerical	1	1
Factory	4	2
Farmer	10	6
Food Trade	12	7
Foreman	4	2
Gardener	9	5
In Service	5	3
Labourer	3	2
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	66	39
Other	0	0
Professional	1	1
Railway	9	5
Shop	3	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	28	16
Trade	11	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**171**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	2	6
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	1	3
Farm Woman	2	6
In Service Woman	14	45
Laundry Woman	1	3
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	4	13
Shop Woman	3	10
Tailoring Woman	4	13
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**31**	**12**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	1	3
Private Means	2	6
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	69	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	30	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	16	3
All Age Eligible	115	23
Total Population	**509**	

Total Volunteered	14	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	43	
Eligible to Volunteer	37	54
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	37
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	10	
Eligible to Volunteer	7	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	21	
Eligible to Volunteer	12	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	6	20
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	19
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	18
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Male	459
Female	434

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	20	6
Carter	1	0
Clerical	1	0
Factory	2	1
Farmer	79	25
Food Trade	13	4
Foreman	2	1
Gardener	19	6
In Service	5	2
Labourer	3	1
Merchant	2	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	97	31
Other	4	1
Professional	6	2
Railway	4	1
Shop	14	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	15	5
Trade	26	8
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**313**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	8	12
Clerical Woman	3	4
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	10	14
In Service Woman	21	30
Laundry Woman	4	6
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	5	7
Shop Woman	6	9
Tailoring Woman	12	17
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**69**	**16**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	1
Pension	40	58
Private Means	11	16
Student	1	1
Student Woman	0	0

Over

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	132	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	55	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	23	3
All Age Eligible	210	24
Total Population	**893**	

Total Volunteered	32	
Eligible to Volunteer	27	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	4
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	1
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	74	
Eligible to Volunteer	60	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	43
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	35
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	7
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	2
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	1
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Pampisford

Male	113
Female	125

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	7	8
Clerical	4	5
Factory	5	6
Farmer	4	5
Food Trade	1	1
Foreman	2	2
Gardener	1	1
In Service	13	16
Labourer	6	7
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	9	11
Other	4	5
Professional	1	1
Railway	3	4
Shop	4	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	13	16
Trade	6	7
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**83**	**73**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	2	6
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	2	6
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	18	58
Laundry Woman	2	6
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	3	10
Shop Woman	1	3
Tailoring Woman	3	10
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**31**	**25**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	9	29
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	32	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	16	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	3
All Age Eligible	56	24
Total Population	**238**	

Total Volunteered	16	
Eligible to Volunteer	12	38
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	29
Percent of Male Population	N/A	14
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Conscripted	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	24	
Eligible to Volunteer	17	53
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	75
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	43
Percent of Male Population	N/A	21
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Rampton

Male	122
Female	86

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	1	1
Carter	1	1
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	4	5
Food Trade	1	1
Foreman	1	1
Gardener	21	26
In Service	1	1
Labourer	2	2
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	41	50
Other	0	0
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	2	2
Skilled Farm Labourer	5	6
Trade	1	1
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**82**	**67**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	14
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	4	57
Laundry Woman	1	14
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	0	0
Shop Woman	1	14
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**7**	**8**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	1	14
Private Means	0	0
Student	1	14
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	36	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	12	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	8	4
All Age Eligible	56	27
Total Population	**208**	

Total Volunteered	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	4
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Conscripted	4	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	13
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	42
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	32
Percent of Male Population	N/A	15
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	38
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	16
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Tribunal	19	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	42
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	17
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	25
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	34
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Sawston

Male	785	
Female	778	

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	22	4
Carter	23	4
Clerical	22	4
Factory	197	36
Farmer	9	2
Food Trade	13	2
Foreman	8	1
Gardener	9	2
In Service	20	4
Labourer	18	3
Merchant	3	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	70	13
Other	11	2
Professional	11	2
Railway	13	2
Shop	30	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	30	5
Trade	38	7
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**547**	**70**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	2
Clerical Woman	3	2
Factory Woman	82	47
Farm Woman	4	2
In Service Woman	34	20
Laundry Woman	8	5
Other Woman	5	3
Professional Woman	10	6
Shop Woman	8	5
Tailoring Woman	15	9
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**173**	**22**

Other

Army Pensioner	3	2
Pension	43	25
Private Means	9	5
Student	4	2
Student Woman	1	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	246	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	94	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	46	3
All Age Eligible	386	25
Total Population	**1563**	

Total Volunteered	56	
Eligible to Volunteer	42	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	6	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	27	
Eligible to Volunteer	21	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	5	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	165	
Eligible to Volunteer	126	51
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	9	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	27	59
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	43
Percent of Male Population	N/A	21
Percent of Total Population	N/A	11

Total Casualties	23	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total Tribunal	45	
Eligible to Volunteer	35	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	9	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	2
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Shudy Camps

Male	125
Female	158

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	12	14
Food Trade	0	0
Foreman	2	2
Gardener	0	0
In Service	7	8
Labourer	2	2
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	36	43
Other	2	2
Professional	0	0
Railway	3	4
Shop	3	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	15	18
Trade	1	1
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**83**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	0	0
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	3	10
In Service Woman	17	55
Laundry Woman	2	6
Other Woman	1	3
Professional Woman	0	0
Shop Woman	1	3
Tailoring Woman	7	23
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**31**	**20**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	10	32
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	31	11
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	16	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	11	4
All Age Eligible	58	20
Total Population	**283**	

Total Volunteered	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Conscripted	2	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	11	35
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	18
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	26
Percent of Male Population	N/A	12
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Total Casualties	1	
Eligible to Volunteer	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total Tribunal	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Stapleford

Male	231
Female	264

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	8	5
Carter	4	2
Clerical	2	1
Factory	1	1
Farmer	11	7
Food Trade	3	2
Foreman	4	2
Gardener	8	5
In Service	26	15
Labourer	9	5
Merchant	1	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	26	15
Other	6	4
Professional	5	3
Railway	4	2
Shop	8	5
Skilled Farm Labourer	32	19
Trade	11	7
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**169**	**73**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	2
Clerical Woman	1	2
Factory Woman	1	2
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	43	70
Laundry Woman	5	8
Other Woman	0	0
Professional Woman	4	7
Shop Woman	2	3
Tailoring Woman	4	7
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**61**	**23**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	2
Pension	6	10
Private Means	10	16
Student	1	2
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	78	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	38	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	11	2
All Age Eligible	127	26
Total Population	**495**	

Total Volunteered	27	
Eligible to Volunteer	22	28
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	18
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	21
Percent of Male Population	N/A	12
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Total Conscripted	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	47	
Eligible to Volunteer	38	49
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	13
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	36
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	37
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	13	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	19	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Swavesey

Male	434
Female	467

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	20	7
Carter	4	1
Clerical	2	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	35	12
Food Trade	25	8
Foreman	6	2
Gardener	13	4
In Service	7	2
Labourer	6	2
Merchant	3	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	69	23
Other	4	1
Professional	8	3
Railway	7	2
Shop	24	8
Skilled Farm Labourer	37	13
Trade	25	8
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**295**	**68**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	9	10
Clerical Woman	1	1
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	4	5
In Service Woman	37	42
Laundry Woman	6	7
Other Woman	6	7
Professional Woman	10	11
Shop Woman	3	3
Tailoring Woman	12	14
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**88**	**19**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	1
Pension	38	43
Private Means	19	22
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	136	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	50	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	21	2
All Age Eligible	207	23
Total Population	**901**	

Total Volunteered	32	
Eligible to Volunteer	26	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Total Conscripted	0	
Eligible to Volunteer	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	0
Percent of Male Population	N/A	0
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total War Service	81	
Eligible to Volunteer	63	46
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	8	16
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	10	48
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	39
Percent of Male Population	N/A	19
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	16	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	5
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	4	
Eligible to Volunteer	4	3
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Trumpington

Male	537
Female	686

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	33	10
Carter	11	3
Clerical	3	1
Factory	5	1
Farmer	9	3
Food Trade	4	1
Foreman	7	2
Gardener	12	4
In Service	83	24
Labourer	14	4
Merchant	15	4
Ordinary Farm Labourer	50	15
Other	8	2
Professional	29	9
Railway	6	2
Shop	15	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	24	7
Trade	11	3
University Servant	2	1
Total (Men)	**341**	**64**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	5	2
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	4	2
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	187	75
Laundry Woman	22	9
Other Woman	1	0
Professional Woman	10	4
Shop Woman	7	3
Tailoring Woman	14	6
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**250**	**36**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	0
Pension	19	8
Private Means	16	6
Student	12	5
Student Woman	7	3

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	163	13
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	72	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	35	3
All Age Eligible	270	22
Total Population	**1223**	

Total Volunteered	39	
Eligible to Volunteer	33	20
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	14
Percent of Male Population	N/A	7
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	3
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	96	
Eligible to Volunteer	77	47
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	7	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	12	34
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	36
Percent of Male Population	N/A	18
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Casualties	24	
Eligible to Volunteer	20	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	9
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	26	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	10	14
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	3
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Waterbeach

Male	671
Female	750

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	11	2
Carter	5	1
Clerical	3	1
Factory	5	1
Farmer	52	12
Food Trade	19	4
Foreman	8	2
Gardener	40	9
In Service	14	3
Labourer	17	4
Merchant	7	2
Ordinary Farm Labourer	138	31
Other	10	2
Professional	6	1
Railway	24	5
Shop	25	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	34	8
Trade	28	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**446**	**66**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	8	7
Clerical Woman	1	1
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	9	8
In Service Woman	48	44
Laundry Woman	5	5
Other Woman	4	4
Professional Woman	15	14
Shop Woman	6	6
Tailoring Woman	12	11
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**108**	**14**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	1
Pension	23	21
Private Means	18	17
Student	5	5
Student Woman	1	1

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	211	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	90	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	42	3
All Age Eligible	343	24
Total Population	**1421**	

Total Volunteered	39	
Eligible to Volunteer	32	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	14
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	17	
Eligible to Volunteer	12	6
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	105	
Eligible to Volunteer	79	37
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	8	9
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	18	43
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	31
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	7

Total Casualties	29	
Eligible to Volunteer	26	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	3	7
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	74	
Eligible to Volunteer	54	26
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	16	18
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	10
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	22
Percent of Male Population	N/A	11
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

West Wickham

Male	173
Female	164

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	3	2
Carter	0	0
Clerical	0	0
Factory	0	0
Farmer	15	11
Food Trade	2	1
Foreman	3	2
Gardener	0	0
In Service	4	3
Labourer	2	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	67	49
Other	1	1
Professional	0	0
Railway	0	0
Shop	4	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	30	22
Trade	6	4
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**137**	**79**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	4	16
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	13	52
Laundry Woman	1	4
Other Woman	4	16
Professional Woman	3	12
Shop Woman	0	0
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**25**	**15**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	4	16
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	74	22
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	19	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	2
All Age Eligible	99	29
Total Population	**337**	

Total Volunteered	27	
Eligible to Volunteer	24	32
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	33
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	27
Percent of Male Population	N/A	16
Percent of Total Population	N/A	8

Total Conscripted	7	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	17
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total War Service	50	
Eligible to Volunteer	45	61
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	67
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	51
Percent of Male Population	N/A	29
Percent of Total Population	N/A	15

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	12
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	9
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Tribunal	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	19
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	5
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	9
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

West Wratting

Male	240
Female	230

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	0	0
Carter	3	2
Clerical	0	0
Factory	1	1
Farmer	20	11
Food Trade	6	3
Foreman	3	2
Gardener	2	1
In Service	18	10
Labourer	5	3
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	64	36
Other	2	1
Professional	6	3
Railway	0	0
Shop	7	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	30	17
Trade	10	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**177**	**74**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	2	6
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	21	64
Laundry Woman	2	6
Other Woman	1	3
Professional Woman	2	6
Shop Woman	3	9
Tailoring Woman	2	6
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**33**	**14**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	12	36
Private Means	3	9
Student	1	3
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	78	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	30	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	13	3
All Age Eligible	121	26
Total Population	**470**	

Total Volunteered	15	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	12
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	47	
Eligible to Volunteer	35	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	17
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	7	54
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	39
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Total Casualties	9	
Eligible to Volunteer	6	8
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	15
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	7
Percent of Male Population	N/A	4
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	18	
Eligible to Volunteer	14	18
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	3	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	15
Percent of Male Population	N/A	8
Percent of Total Population	N/A	4

Weston Colville

Male	241
Female	217

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	5	3
Carter	2	1
Clerical	2	1
Factory	0	0
Farmer	11	7
Food Trade	1	1
Foreman	4	2
Gardener	3	2
In Service	6	4
Labourer	2	1
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	80	48
Other	2	1
Professional	1	1
Railway	0	0
Shop	6	4
Skilled Farm Labourer	37	22
Trade	5	3
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**167**	**69**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	1	4
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	0	0
In Service Woman	16	62
Laundry Woman	0	0
Other Woman	1	4
Professional Woman	5	19
Shop Woman	3	12
Tailoring Woman	0	0
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**26**	**12**

Other

Army Pensioner	0	0
Pension	17	65
Private Means	0	0
Student	0	0
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	77	17
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	35	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	18	4
All Age Eligible	130	28
Total Population	**458**	

Total Volunteered	13	
Eligible to Volunteer	12	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	6	
Eligible to Volunteer	3	4
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	3
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	5
Percent of Male Population	N/A	2
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	41	
Eligible to Volunteer	29	38
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	6	17
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	6	33
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	32
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	11	
Eligible to Volunteer	8	10
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	2	6
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	6
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	8
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	25	
Eligible to Volunteer	19	25
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	11
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	19
Percent of Male Population	N/A	10
Percent of Total Population	N/A	5

Whittlesford

Male	340	
Female	347	

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	4	2
Carter	7	3
Clerical	5	2
Factory	67	27
Farmer	12	5
Food Trade	3	1
Foreman	7	3
Gardener	10	4
In Service	10	4
Labourer	9	4
Merchant	0	0
Ordinary Farm Labourer	42	17
Other	5	2
Professional	9	4
Railway	10	4
Shop	14	6
Skilled Farm Labourer	17	7
Trade	14	6
University Servant	0	0
Total (Men)	**245**	**72**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	3	4
Clerical Woman	0	0
Factory Woman	35	42
Farm Woman	1	1
In Service Woman	21	25
Laundry Woman	5	6
Other Woman	1	1
Professional Woman	9	11
Shop Woman	1	1
Tailoring Woman	7	8
University Servant Woman	0	0
Total (Women)	**83**	**24**

Other

Army Pensioner	2	2
Pension	21	25
Private Means	10	12
Student	2	2
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	104	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	48	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	18	3
All Age Eligible	170	25
Total Population	**687**	

Total Volunteered	3	
Eligible to Volunteer	2	2
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	2
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	2
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	0

Total Conscripted	5	
Eligible to Volunteer	5	5
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	3
Percent of Male Population	N/A	1
Percent of Total Population	N/A	1

Total War Service	59	
Eligible to Volunteer	39	38
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	7	15
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	13	72
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	35
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	11	
Eligible to Volunteer	9	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	2	11
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	19	
Eligible to Volunteer	15	14
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	4	8
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	0	0
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	6
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Willingham

Male	841
Female	838

Occupations

Men

Building Trade	9	1
Carter	7	1
Clerical	4	1
Factory	2	0
Farmer	60	10
Food Trade	17	3
Foreman	8	1
Gardener	143	23
In Service	6	1
Labourer	5	1
Merchant	7	1
Ordinary Farm Labourer	223	36
Other	9	1
Professional	8	1
Railway	1	0
Shop	20	3
Skilled Farm Labourer	46	7
Trade	38	6
University Servant	1	0
Total (Men)	**614**	**73**

Women

Assistant in Business Woman	7	6
Clerical Woman	1	1
Factory Woman	0	0
Farm Woman	23	18
In Service Woman	44	35
Laundry Woman	3	2
Other Woman	2	2
Professional Woman	18	14
Shop Woman	8	6
Tailoring Woman	18	14
University Servant Woman	1	1
Total (Women)	**125**	**15**

Other

Army Pensioner	1	1
Pension	17	14
Private Means	17	14
Student	2	2
Student Woman	0	0

During the War		
Eligible to Volunteer	264	16
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	119	7
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	53	3
All Age Eligible	436	26
Total Population	**1679**	

Total Volunteered	46	
Eligible to Volunteer	40	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	5	4
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	1	2
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	11
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total Conscripted	44	
Eligible to Volunteer	39	15
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	1	1
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	10
Percent of Male Population	N/A	5
Percent of Total Population	N/A	3

Total War Service	143	
Eligible to Volunteer	112	42
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	12	10
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	19	36
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	33
Percent of Male Population	N/A	17
Percent of Total Population	N/A	9

Total Casualties	28	
Eligible to Volunteer	24	9
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	0	0
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	4	8
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	6
Percent of Male Population	N/A	3
Percent of Total Population	N/A	2

Total Tribunal	168	
Eligible to Volunteer	119	45
Eligible for Conscription (Older)	28	24
Eligible for Conscription (Younger)	21	40
Percent of Age Eligible	N/A	39
Percent of Male Population	N/A	20
Percent of Total Population	N/A	10

Appendix 2

The Case of Lancelot T Hogben, reported in the *Cambridge Magazine* 13 May 1916

The following is one of the cases which came before the appeal Tribunal on Thursday—of L. T. Hogben, Senior Scholar of Trinity college, and Frank Smart Prizeman, 1915, who, by the way, is assisting Mr. Barcroft in physiological research on Gas Poisoning under the War Office. After the statement had been read by the Town Clerk the interrogation proceeds as follows (form verbatim report):--

Chairman: You say this is your third year?

Appellant: This is my third year.

Chairman: Where were you educated before you came to Trinity?

Appellant: I was educated at the Tottenham County School, and I was a year at Birkbeck College, London University.

Chairman: When did you return from France?

Appellant: I returned from France in February, 1916, when the Military Service Act No. 2 was passed, in order to protest against the Act.

Member of Tribunal: February, 1916?

Appellant: Yes.

Member of Tribunal: To protest against what Act?

Military Representative: Our Military Service Act.

Chairman: When you went and joined the Red Cross in France, had you a conscientious objection to fighting?

Appellant: I had a conscientious objection to all war, and that I have had for a number of years.

Chairman: Had you it when you were in France?

Appellant: Certainly. I could not have joined the Friends' Ambulance Unit if I had not.

Member of Tribunal: Are you a Quaker by birth?

Appellant: I have been in connection with Quakers for a number of years, but I am not one by birth.

Member of Tribunal: *Are* you a Quaker?

Appellant: Yes. And when the Military Service Act was passed I felt that I could not make the fact that I was in the Friends' Ambulance Unit, an excuse for staying out of the persecution which would arise for the pacifists and the working-classes generally in England as the result of that Act.

Chairman: I don't quite see what you came back for. Did you return because of your conscientious objection, or because you were opposed to the Military Service Act?

Appellant: I had no objection to help to relieve suffering. I went out originally as part of the Peace Testimony of the Society of Friends, and not in order to help the Government to win the war. I was willing to do that work while the Friends' Ambulance Unit was a voluntary body, and as long as England was a free and not a conscript country. But when this Act was passed I felt there was a greater call to come home and protest against the suffering which this and future generations would have to endure if England became a conscript country.

Chairman: It seems to me that the reason you came home was political rather than conscientious.

Appellant: You cannot draw a distinction like that between my religious and political objections. My politics are part of my religion.

Chairman: What do you call your politics?

Appellant: I am a Socialist.

Member of Tribunal: Which term are you in?

Appellant: I have taken my Tripos, but not my degree. I am in my ninth term.

Member of Tribunal: Do you belong to any Socialist Society in the University?

Appellant: Yes. I belong to a number of Societies--(1) The Socialist Quaker Society, (2) the Universities' Socialist Federation, (3) the National Guilds League…

Member of Tribunal: Girls' League, did you say?

Appellant: No, Guild's League. Fourthly, the Cambridge University Socialist Society, and fifthly the Fabian Society. Then, of course, I belong to the National Council

against Conscription, and the No Conscription Fellowship. I belonged to that before I went to France.

Member of Tribunal: The Jacobin Club. Are you a member of that?

Appellant: Oh, that does not exist. It was to have been started--

Member of Tribunal: It existed last week.

Appellant: It was started, but it had to be dissolved.

Member of Tribunal: Well, there are plenty of Societies here, without any more.

Chairman: Can you produce evidence as to your conscientious objection?

Appellant: Mr. Westlake knew me long before the war, and he can speak for me.

(Mr. Westlake called as witness).

Chairman to Westlake: Are you a student of the same college?

Westlake: I am at St. John's. I knew Hogben in his first year, and he and I often used to have conversations on topics of peace and war and socialism. He held Tolstoyan views at that date, and was very emphatic on all peace questions; he also held socialistic views, particularly of the international type; and I have no hesitation at all in saying that he had a very strong conscientious objection to war at that date. It was long before the country had any thought of war.

Member of Tribunal: The German Socialists are fighting against us now.

Appellant: It is true that there are a large number of German workmen fighting against us now, but their doing it shows how easily they can be deluded by a capitalist government.

Chairman (to Westlake): Are you a conscientious objector?

Westlake: I am.

Chairman: Did you appeal on conscientious grounds.

Westlake: No, I am a medical student.

Appellant: I think that as far as my conscientious objection is concerned, the fact that I was not appealed against by the Military Representative shows that I have satisfied the Local Tribunal.

Chairman; Yes, but you have to satisfy us here as well.

Member of Tribunal: How long is it since you joined the Quakers?

Appellant: I joined the Quakers Christmas after the war began, but I have had a long connection with the Quakers.

Member of Tribunal: You were not brought up in a Quaker School?

Appellant: No.

Member of Tribunal: Nor a Socialist?

Appellant: No, my people are strong anti-socialists.

Member of Tribunal: I am very glad to hear it. Are you a Scholar of Trinity?

Appellant: I am a senior Scholar of Trinity, yes.

Chairman: Have you talked this question over with your tutor?

Appellant: I have talked it over with my former tutor, Dr. Barnes, of Trinity; and he approved very strongly of my point of view.

Chairman: Who is your *present* tutor?

Appellant: Mr. Harrison. I have not discussed my views with *him*.

Chairman: You say you discussed the matter with Dr. Barnes. Did he approve of your views?

Appellant: He approved of my views at that time—before I went to France.

Chairman: Which of your views did he approve of.

Appellant: My objection to taking any part in the prosecution of the war.

Chairman: Not your political views?

Appellant: What do you mean? My Socialist views?

Chairman: You have been speaking of your political views all the way through.

Appellant: Because you asked me about them surely?

Chairman: When you said your tutor approved of your views, did you mean your political or your conscientious views?

Appellant: My conscientious views against war, and against taking any part in war, particularly under the conscript system.

Chairman: Your objection seems to be more to taking part in war under the conscript system than to war itself.

Appellant: No, I worked with the Friends' Ambulance Unit not in order to help the Government in this war, but in order to take part in work which was considered a peace testimony.

Member of Tribunal: In point of fact you would do *nothing* to assist the war.

Appellant: Nothing.

Member of Tribunal: And at the same time your fellow socialists in Germany are helping in the war?

Appellant: I cannot help it if they are. The real enemy of the British working man is not the German Socialist but the British Capitalist.

Chairman: That is rather a political than a conscientious objection.

Appellant: A political objection is just as conscientious as a religious objection.

Chairman: Have you anything else you wish to tell us?

Appellant: Nothing else except that I shall not compromise with my conscience.

Chairman: Please retire.

Appellant: My I ask if this gentleman (the Military Representative) may retire, as he was not present at my case.

Chairman: What do you want him to retire for?

Appellant: There is no reason why he should be present if I am to go. He was not even the Military Representative at my case.

Chairman: We should not allow him to interfere. We cannot be dictated to, we must conduct the case in our own way. Clear the room please.

The Tribunal decided to grant *no exemption whatever* in this case.'

Appendix 3 - Cambridgeshire's Local Units

Official Name	Other Names	Brief Description
11 Suffolk Regiment	Cambridgeshire Kitcheners; Cambridgeshire Pals; Cambridgeshire Chums; Cambs Suffolks	Cambridgeshire's Pals battalion, raised through the efforts of Charles Adeane and the Cambridgeshire and Isle of Ely Territorial Force Association. See https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/558 for a partial list of men.
203 (Cambs) Field Coy Royal Engineers	Cambs Engineers	A pals-type engineering company, raised from March 1915. See https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/2415 for a partial list of men.
1 Cambridgeshire Regiment	Cambs Territorials	Cambridgeshire's pre-war Territorial Regiment. This portion of the regiment volunteered for service overseas.
2/1 Cambridgeshire Regiment		Home service unit. Drafts from this battalion sent to 1 Cambridgeshire Regiment. After the Somme a large number of men were drafted to other battalions. Disbanded in February 1918.
3/1 Cambridgeshire Regiment		Draft finding unit for the 1 Cambridgeshire Regiment. Merged with the 4 Reserve Suffolks to become the Cambs and Suffolk Reserve Battalion in July 1917
88th Field Ambulance	East Anglian Field Ambulance	Territorial unit of the Royal Army Medical Corps, initially based in Suffolk, and which recruited from across East Anglia. A series of letters were published in the *CIP* in the early months of the war.
First Eastern General Hospital		Territorial unit of the Royal Army Medical Corps, mobilised on the outbreak of war, and which ran a hospital on the grounds where the University Library and Clare College's Memorial Court now sit. See https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/community/3379 for a partial list of patients.
	Sanitary Section	Raised by the Territorial Force Association (mentioned in their minutes). No further details available.

Appendix 4 -- Data Tables for Occupations, Enlistment, and Tribunals

Note that the total line at the bottom of each table shows the total in the age category, and not the total of the selected occupations. All statistics here based on the village spreadsheets. The Tribunal tables exclude those villages where Tribunal information was incomplete. See Chapter 1 for further details.

All Males, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Volunteered	% Served	Total
Building Trade	8.6	25.1	521
Carter	9.7	33.9	236
Clerical	10.4	23.4	231
Factory	8.3	23.3	721
Farmer	3.9	11.7	787
Food Trade	8.0	26.4	299
Foreman	1.6	6.6	258
Gardener	4.2	14.4	667
In Service	13.0	28.3	686
Labourer	11.1	21.6	343
Merchant	4.6	8.4	131
Ordinary Farm Labourer	15.8	31.5	3092
Professional	3.3	4.8	331
Railway	6.9	11.7	290
Shop	9.1	22.3	530
Skilled Farm Labourer	6.9	17.6	1224
Trade	7.5	21.0	676
Total	**7.3**	**17.9**	**16491**

Age Eligible to Serve, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Volunteered	% Served	Total
Building Trade	13.3	39.3	331
Carter	12.4	43.0	186
Clerical	12.2	27.6	196
Factory	12.1	34.0	494
Farmer	6.8	20.1	457
Food Trade	10.5	34.6	228
Foreman	3.0	12.7	134
Gardener	7.2	24.7	389
In Service	19.3	42.0	462
Labourer	20.1	39.2	189
Merchant	10.2	16.9	59
Ordinary Farm Labourer	23.8	47.6	2040
Professional	6.5	9.5	168
Railway	11.4	19.3	176
Shop	13.7	34.2	342

Skilled Farm Labourer	10.4	26.3	819
Trade	12.0	33.3	426
Total	**14.5**	**35.6**	**8311**

Age Eligible to Volunteer, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Volunteered	% Served	Total
Building Trade	16.4	48.9	219
Carter	15.2	56.8	125
Clerical	14.7	32.0	150
Factory	15.6	47.0	321
Farmer	10.8	29.0	286
Food Trade	12.9	43.9	155
Foreman	3.8	24.5	53
Gardener	11.0	34.2	228
In Service	23.8	50.3	332
Labourer	29.3	53.4	116
Merchant	19.0	28.6	21
Ordinary Farm Labourer	28.2	55.0	1551
Professional	11.1	16.7	72
Railway	16.7	26.5	102
Shop	19.3	46.5	243
Skilled Farm Labourer	15.1	35.1	522
Trade	14.7	38.6	306
Total	19.7	44.7	5144

Age Eligible Clare Alumni, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Served	Total
Armed Forces	100.0	30
Farmer	59.1	22
Merchant	38.6	57
Private Means	47.9	48
Professional	50.9	403
Student	66.6	577
Total	49.4	1907

All Males, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Tribunal	Total
Railway	0.4	272
Labourer	2.1	328
In Service	2.2	638
Professional	3.9	306
Ordinary Farm Labourer	6.3	2776
Shop	6.7	489

Building Trade	8.4	477
Merchant	10.3	116
Clerical	12.8	227
Trade	14.1	622
Factory	15.4	719
Foreman	20.1	244
Farmer	21.9	625
Food Trade	22.8	259
Skilled Farm Labourer	23.3	1101
Carter	25.7	230
Gardener	28.4	633
Total	8.5	15108

Age Eligible to Serve, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Tribunal	Total
Railway	0.6	164
In Service	3.3	429
Labourer	3.8	185
Professional	7.5	159
Ordinary Farm Labourer	9.6	1836
Shop	10.4	318
Building Trade	13.3	300
Clerical	15.0	193
Merchant	21.4	56
Trade	22.4	392
Factory	22.5	493
Food Trade	29.8	198
Carter	32.4	182
Skilled Farm Labourer	34.8	738
Farmer	37.6	364
Foreman	38.3	128
Gardener	47.9	376
Total	16.8	7645

Age Eligible to Volunteer, Selected Occupations

Occupation	% Tribunal	Total
Railway	1.0	96
In Service	2.9	311
Labourer	5.3	113
Shop	7.5	227
Ordinary Farm Labourer	10.1	1403
Professional	10.3	68
Building Trade	14.3	196
Clerical	14.3	147
Factory	22.4	321
Trade	23.7	283
Merchant	23.8	21

Food Trade	28.4	134
Carter	38.2	123
Skilled Farm Labourer	42.7	468
Farmer	49.8	221
Gardener	53.8	223
Foreman	70.6	51
Total	19.8	4731