

The Incidence of Escapes from Stobs Prisoner of War Camp, 1915-1918

David M Smale

There are many accounts, academic and popular, concerning the escape of British and Allied prisoners of war in both world wars. Less well known are the escapes of German prisoners of war in the First World War. In late August and early September 1917, national newspapers became concerned about, and highlighted, an apparent increase in the number of German prisoners escaping from their camps. This attracted startling headlines including 'How do these Huns escape?'¹ In these few days there were reports of '17 German prisoners at large', 'Nineteen Germans at large' and in an article which examined the number of escapes since 1 August, the *Sunday Mirror* noted that 33 Germans had escaped from various camps in Britain.² At this time, Stobs Camp in the Scottish Borders (then the largest prisoner of war camp in Scotland) had gained an unenviable reputation regarding escapes. On 29 August 1917, *The Globe* carried a headline: 'By the Way. Startling News from Stobs – No prisoners have escaped to-day – yet'.³ The present article examines, for the first time, the incidence of escapes from Stobs Camp, with a view to establishing if the fear promulgated by newspapers of marauding Germans on the loose in Britain, and specifically the poor reputation of Stobs in this respect, was justified.



Fig.1: Stobs Prisoner of War Camp. With kind permission of the Stobs Camp Project www.stobs-camp.org/prisoners-of-war

In recent years there has been a growth in academic studies investigating the predicament of German, Austrian and Turkish prisoners held in captivity in Britain. Panikos Panayi

has written extensively on German civilian internees and military prisoners in the First World War, highlighting the fact that, up to 1891, Germans constituted the largest group of foreign nationals within Britain.⁴ Stefan Manz has researched German prisoners of war in Scotland, specifically in Stobs.⁵ These and other local sources, including Derek Robertson's monumental work, *Hawick and District and the Great War*, have provided a starting point for this article,⁶ which forms part of the growth in academic investigation of German prisoners of war and is the first attempt to understand the success of these men in escaping their confinement in Scotland. One possible reason why this subject has not been addressed is the paucity of primary sources concerning the military at Stobs and the administration of prisoners there; another is an element of censorship in the few official records that have survived (because of the nature of the subject). This has led to a reliance on local and national newspapers for the assessment of life in the camp and escapes from Stobs. These sources must be treated with care: some of the newspapers, particularly those aimed at a national readership, had political agendas. The local press presented a united front when confronted by a common enemy and the opportunity to report on the escape of 'dangerous' men from Stobs was seized upon enthusiastically. Accordingly, newspapers formed an important element in securing the recapture of escapees. The local press was used by the military authorities to alert the local population to the fact that men had escaped from Stobs: descriptions were circulated and editors requested that their readers keep a look-out for them. Another newspaper, *Stobsiad* (translation: *News from Stobs*), self-produced by the prisoners, is an important source and uniquely explains the prisoners' viewpoint. The available sources do not enable a precise study of all the escapes from Stobs, but by examining the imperfect evidence it is nevertheless possible to show that prisoners, especially those who had served in the German Navy, escaped from the camp with a level of preparedness and determination – to the extent that one group very nearly completed a 'home run'.

Stobs was the ideal location for a prisoner of war camp. Situated some four miles south of the burgh of Hawick in the Scottish Borders, it is geographically in the centre of southern Scotland, close to the English border, and yet seems remote, surrounded by agricultural land, wild moorland and

brooding Border hills. The fact that it was located alongside a large training base for the British army must also have acted as a deterrent for prisoners planning an escape. The distance from Stobs Prisoner of War Camp to the east coast, as the crow flies, is approximately 41 miles; and by road to Berwick is roughly 50-60 miles. The direct distance from Stobs to the west coast is approximately 30 miles; and by road to Gretna is around 41 miles. The cross-country direct routes would appear to be the most logical way to successfully escape to the coast, possibly in search of a ship. In reality the most direct routes were almost impossible to take; they crossed working farm land, flat moorland (on which any movement could be clearly observed) and seemingly benign hills (which could quickly change into impassable obstacles for wet and exhausted men). The German escapees were frequently soaked by the ubiquitous Scottish rain. Indeed, in accounts by prisoners during their years of incarceration the inclement weather is a constant theme. In December 1915, *Stobsiade* published a satirical article regarding the Scottish weather:

Stobs Weather Forecast

Monday	Wintry rain showers
Tuesday	Rainy winter showers
Wednesday	Showery winter rain
Thursday	Wintry showers of rain
Friday	Showery rainy winter
Saturday	Raining showery winter
Sunday	Winter rain showers ⁷

Notwithstanding all these circumstances, most men attempting to escape from Stobs headed to the east coast of Scotland and nearby England and they travelled along roads or navigated along rivers which they knew would meander into the North Sea. The coasts of Berwickshire and Northumberland had many small towns and villages, all bristling with ships and boats, and escape across the North Sea was the shortest route to continental Europe and Germany.

The military camp at Stobs was not originally designed and constructed for use as a prisoner-of-war camp. The War Office purchased the 3,600-acre Stobs castle and estate from the Elliott family in 1902, for use as a military camp. The preparation and development of the site included the creation of a temporary railway siding at Acreknowe Farm (approximately one mile below Stobs Station), the building of rifle ranges and the clearing of many acres for the use of infantry and cavalry manoeuvres. The camp was used by volunteer units and only operated during the summer months. The site expanded and the use of tents for accommodation was replaced with wooden huts.⁸ The presence of the army at Stobs brought some prosperity to the town of Hawick and it also encouraged locals to visit the military camp for sports days and displays. This readiness to visit the camp would develop into a problem for the military authorities during the war years.

On the outbreak of the First World War, the military decided that Stobs would continue to be used as a training area; however, it would also accommodate German civilian internees. Contractors were engaged to build 200 more huts, each to house 30 people, at an estimated cost of £50,000.⁹ On 2 November 1914, the first German internees arrived at the camp.¹⁰ It is difficult to assess the reaction of the people of Hawick to these developments in the first few months of the war, although one local man fighting

in France wrote to a newspaper that the war would soon be over because the enemy was so downhearted. To this optimistic prediction he added the view that the Germans 'don't deserve good treatment as they are so vicious'.¹¹ Despite this view from a man at the front, the prisoners were well looked after at the new camp. There were four distinct phases of development at the camp: firstly a British military training camp; then a civilian internment centre from November 1914 to Spring 1915, then a combination of civilian and military prisoners from Spring 1915 until July 1916, when the civilians were relocated to other camps and Stobs became strictly a military prisoner-of-war camp until early 1919.¹² Throughout this period, the camp continued to operate as a training ground for the British army and a force of soldiers was maintained as a guard to watch over the prisoners. The War Ministry had planned that up to 12,000 prisoners would be accommodated at Stobs; however, the maximum number interned there appears to have been 6,000.¹³ Stobs was the largest prisoner of war camp in Scotland and the headquarters for administration of the many other camps.



Fig.2: German Prisoners Arriving at Stobs Railway Station on their way to the Camp. With kind permission of the Stobs Camp Project www.stobscamp.org/prisoners-of-war

The Prisoners of War

The first military prisoners to be held at Stobs were all sailors who had been captured following the earliest naval engagements of the war. Survivors from SMS *Torpedo*, captured at the Battle of Heligoland Bight on 28 August 1914, were joined by men from the armoured cruiser SMS *Gneisenau* and the cruiser SMS *Leipzig* following the Battle of the Falkland Islands on 8 December 1914. In order to make sense of the behaviour of all of the prisoners later at Stobs, it is important to understand the nature of the fighting, on land and sea, and of their capture. When the crew of the *Gneisenau* abandoned ship, three Royal Navy ships approached and picked-up survivors. There had been around 300 men in the sea, clinging to floating objects and 'singing patriotic songs', and of these 190 were rescued. One of HMS *Inflexible*'s officers wrote that once the Germans had been given dry clothes they entertained several of them in the mess and that they became 'good friends after the fight'.¹⁴ In the same battle, HMS *Glasgow* and HMS *Cornwall* bombarded the *Leipzig* until it became clear that the ship was doomed, when Captain Luce signalled 'I am sending boats to save life'. The British ships rescued seven officers and 11 men from the *Leipzig*.¹⁵ Similarly, when SMS *Blucher* sank on 24 January 1915, at the Battle of Dogger Bank, its sailors were rescued.¹⁶ *Blucher* had inflicted damage and casualties on the British home front, by bombarding the port of Hartlepool. This

had formed part of a larger assault on Scarborough and Whitby in which 122 civilians were killed and a further 433 wounded. This attack was one of the first incidents in which civilians were killed and their actions became understood by the British public as characteristic 'Hun brutality'. In December 1914, First Lord of the Admiralty Winston Churchill wrote a letter to the mayor of Scarborough regarding the attack by the German Navy. He offered the sympathy of the Royal Navy and mourned the deaths and injuries to women and children. Churchill's final paragraph employed an emotive term that proved to be very effective in anti-German propaganda and would soon be used to describe Zeppelin crews in particular. Churchill concluded: 'Whatever feats of arms the German Navy may hereafter perform, the stigma of the baby killers of Scarborough will brand its officers and men while sailors sail the seas'.¹⁷

Officers and men from these naval engagements began to arrive at Stobs, with their arrival announced in the local press: on 12 March 1915, the *Hawick News* noted that 211 survivors of the *Blucher* had arrived at the camp.¹⁸ One important aspect of the camp at Stobs was that prisoners-of-war arrived as remnants of a discrete military unit, particularly the crewmen of a warship. In May 1915, a local newspaper continued the narrative of men walking into captivity: 'On Tuesday morning, 36 Germans who were taken prisoner in the North Sea on Saturday, arrived at Hawick and were subsequently taken to Stobs camp for internment'.¹⁹

The previous month, German soldiers from the Western Front also began to arrive at the camp, these being men captured at the Battle of Neuve Chapelle in March 1915. In May of that year, a newspaper article on the Battle of Festubert reported their arrival and combined this with a morale-boosting statistic:

On Sunday afternoon 500 prisoners of war arrived at Stobs Camp for internment. It is stated that they were all that was left out of the 2,700 who took part in an engagement in France on the 16th inst.²⁰

Ian Passingham's study of the German army in early 1915 emphasised the disillusionment of many of the soldiers.²¹ This was in stark contrast to the men of the *Kaiserliche Marine*. Max Heinz, a volunteer soldier, wrote that after just a few weeks in the monotonous yet terrifying trenches, he understood the 'complete absence of enthusiasm for the war' amongst his more experienced comrades.²² The Battle of Festubert witnessed a preparatory artillery bombardment that lasted 60 hours. This was the first time that artillery had been employed to destroy the enemy defences in a deliberate, systematic manner, by attrition.²³ A statement by a witness to trench warfare, like the one above, or a deadly change in British artillery tactics, of the kind mentioned, do not conclusively show that conditions in the trenches were so awful that no sane man would wish to return there, but it is instructive to outline the different circumstances in which sailors and soldiers fought. German sailors took part in relatively short, but deadly, naval engagements, and when it was clear their ship was lost, their enemy attempted to save their lives. Trench life was monotonous, yet sprinkled with terrifying and morale sapping bombardments. Trench raids by either side, although not frequent, resulted in hand-to-hand fighting in the night. Rotating from the rear echelon to the front also brought about the dread of 'going over the top' to attack the enemy's trenches. By early 1915, it was clear that

this was a war of barbed wire and machine gun, where the attacker inevitably incurred more casualties than the defender. In 1928, the German *Reichsarchiv* published a summary of the 1916 Somme campaign. The enemy's use of ever more artillery pieces, firing for hours, and the constantly repeated infantry attacks that caused increasing numbers of casualties on both sides, affected the Germans greatly. The report described the effect of trench warfare vividly: 'the *materialschlacht* (attrition warfare) gnawed terribly into the entrails of the defenders'.²⁴

The men of the Imperial German Navy and the soldiers captured by the British made their way into captivity in camps like Stobs all over Britain. Many were recovering from wounds and others would later succumb to their combat injuries; all were deeply affected by their experiences in sinking ships or in the mud of the Western Front. By 1916, in contrast to the first two years of the war, British censorship was preventing newspapers from revealing precisely which battlefield the groups of German prisoners marching into prisoner camps had been captured. It has been estimated that by April 1916, soldiers constituted 78% of the prisoners of war at Stobs, and sailors 22%.²⁵

Life in Stobs
How I envy you,
Little piece of paper,
That you can fly,
Far away from here,
And when you reach home,
In my loved one's hands,
Give my greetings to them,
And my fatherland.²⁶

The above extract is from the poem 'Homeward' that was penned by a prisoner of war and published in Stobs Camp's newspaper *Stobsiad*. The sentiments expressed are what might be expected, a desire to see loved ones again. The newspaper had been established by the civilian internees and when they left, in July 1916, the military prisoners took on the task of publishing it. There were 39 editions of the newspaper, typeset in the camp by a professional compositor and printed in Hawick; it was distributed around the camp and sent home to Germany. The newspaper was uncontroversial and contained no references to escapes or deaths in the camp. Nevertheless, it does provide a detailed insight into the many and varied activities of the prisoners. Within the ranks of the captured soldiers and sailors there were highly educated and talented men: professors, teachers, musicians, tradesmen and craftsmen, and men eager to learn. This varied group of men developed activities to relieve the greatest curse of imprisoned men – boredom. By 1917, the camp had 67 former teachers and 40 academics who taught over 3,500 of the men various subjects, ranging from Commercial Law to Fruit Farming to Russian.²⁷ The prisoners also had 'a little friendly corner in our camp where a world of wonder blossoms – our library', and they formed an orchestra which performed frequent concerts. In July 1916, a recital featured 'Staff Sergeant Bachenheimer, a professional concert singer' singing 'Wotan's Farewell'.²⁸ One visitor to the camp wrote of hearing 'a band equal to the best Guards' Band in London or Windsor ... under a skilled conductor'.²⁹



Fig.3: Band at the Prisoner of War Camp. Author's Collection.

The many craftsmen produced a wide variety of goods; and in November 1916, an exhibition of more than 200 objects was held and judged to display 'a creditable level of technique and artistic sense of form'. In view of the impending Christmas season, many toys, including windmills, clowns and animals from Noah's Ark, were on display.³⁰ Sculptors, for want of better material, carved meat bones from the cook-houses, with long leg bones fashioned into slender flower vases or human figures.³¹ These toys and works of art were sold to members of the public in considerable quantities; and such transactions caused some consternation among commentators who baulked at the idea of Germans, who had been fighting British forces, making money during a total war. The prisoners were also employed in constructing buildings and extending the camp; they put together an efficient sewage system and were employed on the land, for which they were paid one penny an hour, five shillings a week.³² These activities and others, including many different sports events, killed time for the prisoners.

For the prisoners of war it was extremely important to remain in contact with family and friends at home. Letters allowed them to inform loved-ones of how they were coping and to hear news from home; in many instances this must have been distressing for them, as news of the deteriorating conditions on the home front in Germany filtered into the camp. The Post Office at Stobs was very busy. *Stobsiadle* revealed that during the month of October 1916 a considerable number of letters and parcels had been delivered to and from the camp; incoming packets numbered 12,683 and letters 38,537, a total of 51,220 items, with 42,911 outgoing letters. The author of the article in the newspaper, who was probably unaware of the deteriorating economic situation in Germany, chided the prisoners' families and friends: 'It can be seen that despite the restrictions on outgoing letters, more are sent than received. Possibly that should be food for thought for some people back home'.³³

Thus, it appears that life in Stobs Camp was tolerable for the confined Germans and the British press certainly believed that this was the case. In an article entitled 'Cheerful German Prisoners' a supposed letter from one of the guards at Stobs portrays an almost idyllic existence. Describing a working party, the correspondent wrote that 'their cheerfulness is wonderful to behold', providing an image of the prisoners singing on their way to their work of road-making and playfully changing the words of 'Rule Britannia' to 'Britain never never shall rule the waves'. The article depicts camp life as operating successfully

because of the co-operation of the prisoners, who were 'jolly well treated'.³⁴ Three months later, another local newspaper reported the opinions of one visitor to the camp, who had noted that the Germans spoke in 'unqualified praise of the justice of their warders'. This account then wandered into the portrayal of prisoner stereotypes: Prussian soldiers were all over six feet tall with 'light blue laughing eyes'; Bavarians were quiet and friendly; and a Saxon engineer had an 'intelligent outlook'.³⁵ This was the image the British liked to convey; reality was more complex. In February 1916, Edward Lowry of the United States' Embassy, inspected the camp. He largely agreed with the British assessment and within his report he wrote 'there were no serious complaints in this camp'.³⁶ Discontent focussed on a range of comparatively minor matters, including the fact that the prisoners had to use second-hand boots, the poor condition of the walls of their huts, leaky roofs and the food. They also requested to go out for walks in the countryside.³⁷

The nature of a prisoner-of-war camp meant that it included men affected by combat in both body and mind; and at least 36 German soldiers and six civilians died at the camp.³⁸ Most died of their wounds and some by suicide. In September 1915, one of the crew of the *Blucher* was found hanging by a leather belt, which had been fastened to a window in the hospital. The 26-year-old sailor had 'lately been in a depressed condition'.³⁹ Another sailor died of cirrhosis of the liver and a civilian internee of phthisis or tuberculosis.⁴⁰ In June 1916, an interned German, Dr Walter Gelihorn, was found dead at the hospital from morphia poisoning. A local newspaper assessed that 'from the arrangements which the deceased is reported to have made ... it appears to be a premeditated case of suicide'.⁴¹ Following the suicides, and in view of a request made to the Lowry inspection, the military authorities recognised that the prisoners' mental health would benefit from leaving the close confines of the camp. Short walks into the surrounding countryside were introduced under armed escort.⁴²

From October 1918 until the last prisoner was repatriated, at least 15 men, all German soldiers, died, the majority from complications following their war wounds. In October, the cause of death for one 36-year-old was 'Results of Gas poisoning and shell wound to left foot necessitating amputation of leg'.⁴³ The following month a man died of 'septic pneumonia following on G.S. [gunshot] wound of left side' and another 24-year-old soldier succumbed to 'Gunshot Wound of Head. Cerebral Abscess. Coma'.⁴⁴ In a particularly poignant episode three months after the armistice, a private in the army, possibly driven to the edge of sanity by the sights he had seen on the battlefield, committed suicide by strangulation.⁴⁵ He was not the first man in the camp to be affected mentally: many men displayed symptoms, including boredom and depression, and contemporaries described them as suffering from 'barbed wire disease'.⁴⁶ Some of the cases of mental illness were treated in the camp hospital, but more serious cases were referred to Melrose Asylum. The medical superintendent for Roxburgh, Dr Johnstone, noted that five men diagnosed as suffering from mental illness had been admitted there by September 1915 and he feared that the high number of men in the prisoner of war camp could lead to the asylum being swamped with cases.⁴⁷ The following month Johnstone was informed that the Treasury had agreed to make provisions for any large influx of prisoners-of-war

deemed to be insane.⁴⁸ Despite this reassurance, in August 1919 the institution at Melrose was still looking for monetary assistance for 'lunatic German prisoners' who had been sent to the asylum and were not fit enough to be discharged.⁴⁹

The development and expansion of the military camp at Stobs brought money into the local economy, mainly in the form of soldiers' patronage of Hawick's public houses. It also brought about problems with public order as the small burgh police force sought to keep the peace on the streets. Stobs Camp had long been an attraction for local people: pre-war, they had been encouraged to attend sporting events and parades involving troops undertaking training. The arrival of German and Austrian internees proved to be a fascination for locals, and this increased with the appearance of German sailors and soldiers. On Sunday afternoons in particular, civilians streamed into the Stobs area to view the exotic prisoners – the enemy – and to trade with them. The military authorities became concerned at the number of women and young girls frequenting the camp on Sundays. In May 1915, Lieutenant General Sir J Spencer Ewart, commanding the forces in Scotland, issued an order under the Defence of the Realm Regulations to the effect that members of the public were prohibited from approaching the camp any nearer than a quarter of a mile distant. The burgh police were instructed to monitor the problem and enforce the order.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the problem persisted and Brigade Major Middleton sent a copy of the order to Chief Constable Thom of the Hawick police and asked him to ensure that civilians not in possession of a special pass were kept away from the camp.⁵¹

By 1917, the security measures instituted at Stobs Camp were extensive. The boundary of the compound housing the prisoners of war (about 750 metres by 280 metres) was marked by a heavy triple barbed wire fence and there were electric lights on the outside of the fence at regular intervals, illuminating the area. There was a sentry post at each corner of this fence and other posts at 70–100 metre intervals around the perimeter. The prisoners also had a 'Recreation Ground' in which to take exercise, measuring about 150 metres by 230 metres. This compound's security consisted of a single barbed wire fence and three sentry posts.⁵² One contributor to *Stobsiad* expressed the longing of the prisoners to roam outside the confines of the camp when he wrote a short article entitled, 'What is Barbed Wire?' For the prisoners the triple barbed wire fence represented 'the border to supernatural powers'. As pointed out by this contributor: 'What lies beyond it, outside the camp, is unknown to us'.⁵³ The land beyond the wire would soon become known to the small number of prisoners who overcame the camp's security and headed for the coast.

From March 1916, the prisoners were guarded by members of the Royal Defence Corps. These garrison battalions were composed of soldiers either too old or too medically unfit for front line service. The effectiveness and conduct of these soldiers was questioned in Hawick Police Court in January 1918. Four members of the Royal Defence Corps 'who were guarding the prisoners', were found guilty of being Drunk and Incapable in four separate incidents. Private John Brodie argued in his defence that it had not been his fault because, 'he had been the victim of a foul fellow, who invited him to his house for a drink'.⁵⁴ In August of 1918, an article appeared in a local newspaper, with the headline 'The Drink Problem in Our Midst'. The author commented that the country owed a debt to the soldiers and that it was sad to see these battle-damaged men staggering in a drunken state around Hawick. These sentiments were directed at the soldiers of the Royal Defence Corps:

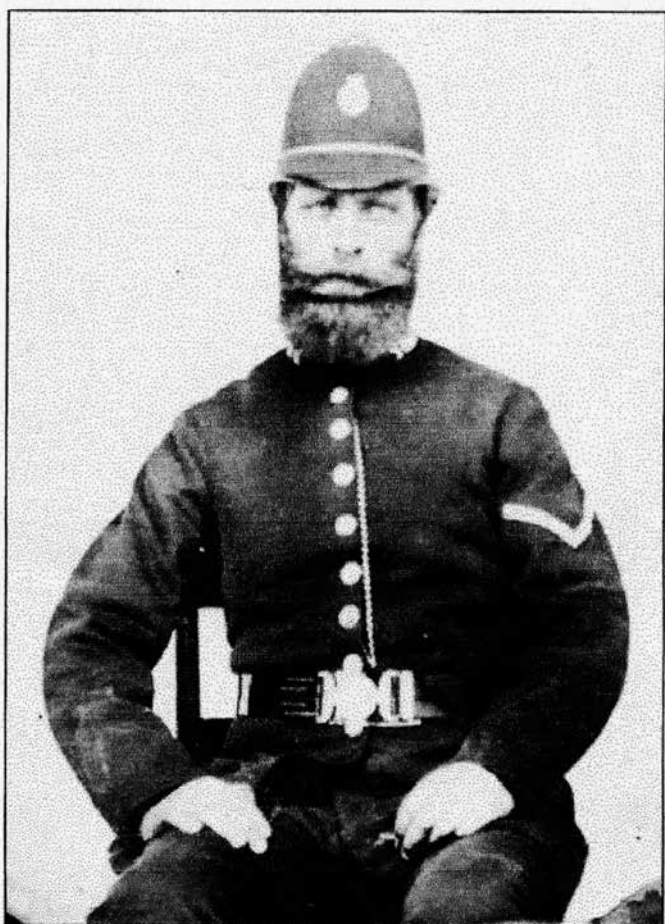


Fig.4: Hawick Burgh Policeman. Author's Collection.



Fig.5: Royal Defence Corps Cap Badge. Author's Collection.

At present the Guard at Stobs Camp consists of "servicemen". Many of them are "striped" men – men who have been wounded. And because of the conduct of some of them, Hawick has been put "out of bounds" for all of them. The conduct that has brought this punishment has been far from creditable. In some cases it has been simply disgusting.⁵⁵

In October 1918, two privates of the Corps were arrested for a Breach of the Peace by Inspector Patrickson and Constable Barton of the burgh police. While they were being taken to the station, both soldiers assaulted the police officers, kicking and punching them and butting them on the chest. One of the men gripped Patrickson's throat and face, causing his face to become cut and bleeding. The Inspector gave damning evidence of the accused's conduct and of the generally rowdy behaviour of their Corps in Hawick:

He was using the most filthy language imaginable. It was always the same every time these men came down to town. They got every opportunity to go away, but would not go.

At the Police Court, the two soldiers were sentenced to 90 days and 50 days imprisonment respectively.⁵⁶ The use of these injured, disillusioned and ill-disciplined troops for guard duties at Stobs may have acted as a spur to encourage prisoners to consider escaping from the camp.

The Escapes

It is possible to identify at least 13 escapes from Stobs camp between 1915 and 1918, although it is likely that there were many more escapes and attempted break-outs that went unreported to the press. The extent of these short-lived escapes is unknown, but the majority are likely to have resulted in the quick capture of prisoners, close to the camp – possibly on the same day as their escape. The escape of prisoners (normally two or more men) who managed to travel a distance and remain at large for days became newsworthy. The military authorities released details of such men, along with descriptions, to encourage the public to watch for and report sightings of the escapees. An article in the *Border Advertiser*, on Christmas Day 1914, explained that a prisoner was justified in escaping 'if he had not pledged his word' and from the days when the first German prisoners arrived at Stobs an attitude was established that espoused escape as their patriotic duty. The newspaper gave the example of Winston Churchill's thrilling escape from the Boers in the South African War, which had involved 'many hair-raising adventures'.⁵⁷ It appears that escaping was viewed as a game which the prisoners and guards were obliged to take part in. Throughout the war and across Great Britain this game was played, but only three men managed to return home to Germany successfully, none of whom had escaped from Stobs.⁵⁸ The exploits of pilot Gunther Pluschow, one of the successful escapees, have been described as a 'Boys Own Adventure'.⁵⁹ He became a hero in Germany and later published an account of his escape.⁶⁰

The overwhelming majority of escapees faced capture and punishment. The most frustrating aspect of examining the escapes from Stobs is the complete absence of information about how the prisoners overcame the security of the camp. Their method of escape is never revealed in the newspaper

accounts, these being censored to prevent other inmates repeating the process. Panayi considered that the methods of escape included jumping from trains travelling to the camp, cutting holes in the barbed wire and tunnelling.⁶¹ John Beckett has written that the preferred escape project involved two or three men tunnelling under the barbed wire.⁶² These tunnels were relatively short, scraped and dug directly under the wire and only a few feet in length; they were not like the large-scale and lengthy escape tunnels from accommodation huts to beyond the wire, portrayed in films of the Second World War.⁶³ Enemy officers in the camp, unlike non-commissioned sailors and soldiers, were not allowed to work. Many relieved the boredom in ways already noted: studying, taking part in plays, musical ensembles, crafting or playing sports, but some considered planning to escape as the greatest game. The 13 escapes that were reported in the press are detailed in Table 1. One escape was carried out in 1915, four in 1916, seven in 1917 and one in 1918.

About 9am on 26 October 1915, four sailors escaped and headed to Edinburgh by train. The men were named in the local newspapers as Gustav Geblein, Alfred Joksche, Karl Vilbrandt and Emil Stehr, with the added information that Joksche spoke a little English.⁶⁴ Geblein was arrested on the evening of the same day at Granton, Edinburgh. Two days later, Joksche was apprehended in Leith by the police and military units guarding the docks. More detailed descriptions of the other two men were published, with a note that they had been crewmen on the *Blucher*.

Vilbrandt is a man of about 5ft 10 or 11 inches in height, and weighs about 13 stones. He is swarthy and had a fairish moustache, which he might have shaved off. He is about 28 years of age, and is slightly bow-legged.⁶⁵

Where Stehr and Vilbrandt were captured is not recorded, but it seems that Vilbrandt was still at large 19 days after the escape, when newspapers repeated his description and added pointedly that 'he is well acquainted with most British seaports'.⁶⁶ On 15 January 1916 another crew member of the *Blucher*, Carl Mickalski, escaped. He discarded 'his military pattern greatcoat with circular blue patch of cloth in the back' near the camp.⁶⁷ Two days later he was caught in Newcastle-on-Tyne, some 16 miles from Stobs.⁶⁸ Despite removing his greatcoat he was identified a prisoner-of-war because his trousers had a 'distinguishing patch on the hips'.⁶⁹

In April 1916, Ensign Ernst von Schweinichen of the Imperial Regiment of Cuirassiers attempted to escape from Stobs. He was apprehended and put on trial in a Military Court, in a case that seems to have caused a diplomatic incident, when the American ambassador in London was contacted through the American embassy in Berlin. Ensign von Schweinichen was a severely wounded prisoner of war who suffered from depression and he was due to be exchanged for a similarly wounded British soldier. The German message to the American embassy emphasised his mental depression and offered the opinion that he had 'obviously made his attempt to escape when in that frame of mind'. After Schweinichen was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, with hard labour, the Americans discovered that he had been moved to Woking Prison to serve his sentence and announced that they intended to visit him. It is not known whether in due course he took part

in an exchange of seriously wounded prisoners or whether he had to complete his sentence.⁷⁰ The military prison at Woking had gained a reputation for strict discipline and a harsh environment, and many prisoners found those intolerable.⁷¹ The sentences handed out by the Military Courts sent out a strong message to the prisoners of war: escapes, even those driven by boredom and a 'spirit of adventure', involved the deployment of scarce resources, troops and police officers, to search, locate and then return the men to Stobs; so the punishment would be severe.⁷²

Nevertheless, two more sailors escaped on 18 October 1916; and following the circulation of detailed descriptions in the press they were arrested – after two days at large.⁷³ Thirteen days later, three men, all crew members of the *Gneisenau*, forced their way out of Stobs. One of the men, Schmidt, travelled to the east; unusually, the other two, Godbarsen and Heilker, walked north-westwards towards Glasgow. Schmidt followed the course of the River Tweed and tramped on to Kelso, hoping to reach the coast and a vessel that could take him clear of Britain. At Kelso railway station, George Wilson, a native of Spittal in Northumberland and a seaman of the Royal Navy, spoke to Schmidt and offered him a cigarette. Wilson became suspicious of the German and noted that he had bought a ticket to Berwick on the coast. Both men then travelled in the same train compartment until at Tweedmouth 'the Spittal man took charge of the German sailor-gunner' and escorted him to Spittal police station where he handed him over to the police. Schmidt was then moved to Berwick police station where he admitted his identity and described his journey to the coast. On searching him the police found that he had six shillings and 'an abundant supply of food packed in a strong wooden box'. Schmidt also stated that he knew the Berwick area, having frequently visited Tweed Dock in his previous occupation as a seaman working on ships carrying wood.⁷⁴ Godbarsen and Heilker walked approximately 80 miles in the direction of Glasgow, over five days. At Aitkenhead Farm, near Rutherglen, the sight of the two men aroused suspicion and police were informed. They were apprehended and taken to Rutherglen police office.⁷⁵

Conditions during the winter months of 1916-17 appear to have deterred any escapes from the internment camp. However, the arrival of milder weather signalled more attempts to escape, and two sailors, Gustav Exner and Herman Warnt, made off from Stobs on the night of 9 June 1917.⁷⁶ The usual full description was passed from the military authorities to the press and the following morning two police officers, Constables Meikle of Innerleithen and Scott of Benger Burn, located the Germans near the Gordon Arms in Yarrow, Selkirkshire.⁷⁷ In August, two more prisoners-of-war escaped and were similarly captured by the police in Broughton, Peeblesshire.⁷⁸ As noted earlier, the summer months of 1917 heralded an increase in escapes from prisoner of war camps and national newspapers displayed their outrage at hordes of escaped Germans apparently roaming the countryside. Stobs was highlighted as a camp with particularly poor security.⁷⁹ This perception was confirmed by six escapes from Stobs, involving 23 men in all, during a 62-day period beginning in August 1917. The most significant escape from the camp at this time occurred on the night of 23-4 August, when six German prisoners escaped and tramped overland to the

Northumbrian coast. A description of the men was circulated to the press:

Bernard Haak (28), a naval chief petty officer, who has a slight stoop, and is tattooed on the right forearm; Paul Otto Bute (31), a naval chief petty officer; and Emil Schultz (31) a military acting officer, dressed in brown corduroy. The others are dressed in military or naval uniform, but it is presumed these might be changed after the escape.⁸⁰

The other men involved included one whose name was not given, but two of them were Max Emmerlich and Walter Dusselman, described, respectively, as a petty officer and a warrant officer of a Zeppelin crew. The men who operated these flying machines had brought the war to the home front and both national and local newspapers portrayed them as hate-figures. They had undertaken 'cowardly and indiscriminate attacks', resulting in the 'wanton killing of civilians and innocent women and children by the indiscriminate dropping of bombs'. The crew were seen as 'Zeppelin murderers' and when one of the machines was brought down in Essex a report suggested that 'if summary justice had been meted out to them no one could have said it was undeserved'.⁸¹ On hearing of this escape, the *Berwick Advertiser* warned the local population that as other prisoners had attempted to reach the coast 'Berwickshire and Roxburgh people should keep their eyes open'.⁸² The Germans managed to avoid the public gaze, but eventually, after approximately 12 days at large, they were apprehended and their remarkable adventure was revealed. The six men had tramped across the hills and moors, avoiding settlements, and had arrived at the east coast just south of Amble. At least one of the men spoke English because they had entered a shop to buy provisions and then travelled to Cresswell where they stole a boat – the precise size or class of which was not revealed. They then set sail across the North Sea. Around 170 miles into its journey their vessel was spotted by the crew of a trawler who decided that its location so far away from the British coast in time of war was suspicious. A Royal Navy destroyer was contacted and the Germans' boat was intercepted and all six men taken prisoner. On being searched, it was discovered that 'some of them had revolvers'. One of the men lamented that if they had avoided detection for another 24 hours they would have successfully made the journey across the North Sea. A local newspaper emphasised the point that this group of men were dangerous: two of them had formed the crew of a Zeppelin, more than one of them had served in submarines – another form of warfare that was considered cowardly and frightful – and two of the captured men had previously been awarded the Iron Cross.⁸³

The sequence of escapes from Stobs continued on Saturday 1 September, when a group of four prisoners made off from the camp. They were caught the following day at Longhoughton, near Alnwick. A report of their capture offered the following comment:

It is believed the intention of the men was to board a freight train with the belief that they could make the coast at the Tyne. At the weekend it is believed that the men passed in the vicinity of Berwick.⁸⁴

Four days after their apprehension, another four men, named

as Ehoen, Hausser, Faus and Osterhoff, escaped from Stobs.⁸⁵ Osterhoff was captured nine days later and the remainder were found after 14 days on the run.⁸⁶ The records do not show where the men were apprehended. In early September, another two men succeeded in overcoming the camp's security and managed to evade capture for approximately one week.⁸⁷ The last break-out by a group of prisoners occurred on 17 October, and two days later the *Hawick Express* promulgated their names and descriptions:

Five Huns at Large. Five German prisoners-of-war, viz., Renhold Kreft, Julius Piltz, Paul Schultze, Wilhelf Borehursthand, and George Giffers Hominn, escaped from Stobs camp on Wednesday night. They were petty officers, and were dressed in naval uniform or corduroy, with blue patches. Schultze has a tattoo mark on the left arm, Piltz has a fractured left leg, and Hominn and Kreft bear scars.⁸⁸

After five days at large, the village constable at Horsley, near Otterburn, found out that the prisoners were hiding in a nearby wood. The constable enlisted a posse of men and surrounded the wood, forcing the Germans to give themselves up.⁸⁹ This escape prompted a worried local in Northumberland to write to the *Courant* newspaper:

Why are there so many escaping from the camp? Folks out here are scared as this is not the first visit we have had from stray German cut-throats. More attention by the guards seems desirable.⁹⁰

The last individual escape took place in May 1918 when Otto Sohlmann, a naval petty officer, absconded from Stobs but was quickly arrested and returned.⁹¹

An examination of the information in Table 1 reveals some startling statistics: in April 1916, sailors constituted only 22% of the inmates of Stobs, yet they made up at least 64% and possibly the vast majority of the escapees. These men of the German Navy had been incarcerated for longer than most of their army comrades. Indeed, by the summer months of 1917 some of the sailors had been prisoners-of-war for 32 months and were becoming desperate. Overcoming the security of the camp was difficult but not unachievable. However, the journey across country was arduous and avoiding detection by the local police and people almost impossible. If a party of escapees did manage to make the coast, the skills of the sailors became crucial when the men attempted to seize and sail a craft from Britain to continental Europe. It also seems likely that, despite the privations of the prisoner of war camp, some soldiers did not relish the idea of returning to fight in the trenches on the Western Front.

On average, the escapees remained at large for three to four days, although there were notable exceptions, including Vilibrandt, who in the first escape noted roamed free for over 19 days. The distance that the men travelled from the camp averaged around 73 miles, but this figure is distorted by the escape of August 1917 when six prisoners sailed off across the North Sea. If this instance is removed from the calculation, the average distance shrinks to 54 miles. There were two occasions when a single sailor made-off from Stobs, but the average size of an escaping party was three. Most of the Germans headed in the direction of the coast of Berwickshire and Northumberland. In October 1916, Godbarsen and Heilker

had departed from this trend when they walked around 80 miles from the camp in the direction of Glasgow. A possible indication of how seriously they, and all of the men on the run, expected to succeed in returning to Germany is revealed by the fact that in all of the escapes, and during the subsequent apprehensions, none of the prisoners threatened violence to the police or civilians who had caught them. In these 13 incidents, the escapees were apprehended by the police in at least four cases. Although the sources do not specify exact numbers it is likely that most of the prisoners were detained by police officers; indeed, all of the men would have been taken to police stations for security, pending their return to Stobs.

As Schweininchen discovered, the consequences for prisoners escaping or even attempting to escape could be very severe. Once they had been returned to Stobs they had to face a Military Court. After Gustav Geblein and Alfred Joksche were involved in the first escape from Stobs in October 1915, a Military Court was held at the camp on 10 November:

The court was composed of Major J.M. Hunter, 2/4th Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers, president, and Captain W.F. Cochrane, 2/4th battalion KOSB. The prosecutor

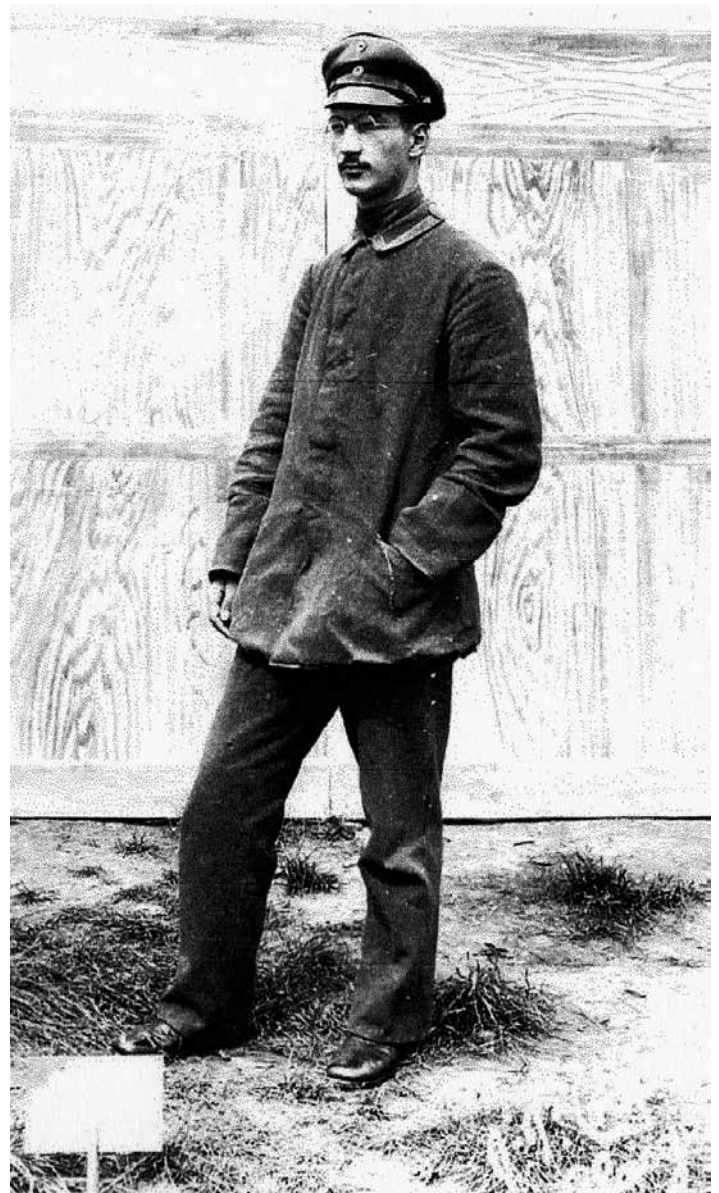


Fig.6: German Prisoner of War at Stobs Camp. Author's Collection.

was Lieutenant F.W. Hancock and the interpreter Lieutenant H.F. Farrell. The decision of the court will be given later.⁹²

Both men were imprisoned for nine months.⁹³ Similarly, the next man to escape, Carl Mickalski, was tried at a 'Court Martial' in the camp.⁹⁴ The German government considered that the sentences imposed on their men in British prisoner-of-war camps were excessive. The British government received

a communication from them, demanding lighter sentences for soldiers and sailors who escaped from their prison camps and threatening reprisals on prisoners-of-war in Germany.⁹⁵

In March 1918, the largest Military Court proceedings of the entire war took place at Stobs. Fifteen sailors of the *Blucher* and *Gneisenau*, were charged with 'absence and breaking out of a working party' and 'disobedience'. On the same day 11 more sailors were charged with 'absence and mutinous

No	Date in Newspapers	Men	Sailors	Names	Where Captured	Miles from Stobs	Days at Large
1	28 October 1915	4	4	Gustav Geblein. Alfred Joksch. Karl Vilbrandt. Emil Stehr.	Granton Leith U/K U/K	70 62 U/K U/K	1 2 U/K U/K
2	7 January 1916	1	1	Carl Mickalski	Newcastleton	16	2
3	April 1916	1	Army	Ernst von Schweinichen	U/K	U/K	U/K
4	20 October 1916	2	2	Rudolph Quenel. Alexander Ziolkowski.	U/K U/K	U/K U/K	U/K U/K
5	31 October 1916	3	3	Schmidt. Godbarsen. Heilker.	Tweedmouth Nr Uddingston Nr Uddingston	46 81 81	2 5 5
6	15 June 1917	2	2	Gustav Exner. Herman Warmt.	Gordon Arms, Yarrow	27	1
7	16 August 1917	2	U/K	U/K	Broughton	50	U/K
8	31 August 1917	6	5	Max Emmerlich.* Walter Dusselman.* Bernard Haak. Paul Otto Bute. Emil Schultze. U/K	North Sea 170 miles from land	255	12
9	7 September 1917	4	U/K	U/K	Longhoughton, Alnwick	60	2
10	6 September 1917	4	U/K	Ehoen. Haussner. Faas. Osterhoff.	U/K U/K U/K U/K	U/K U/K U/K U/K	9 14 14 14
11	21 September 1917	2	U/K	U/K	U/K	U/K	U/K
12	19 October 1917	5	5	Renhold Kreft. Julius Pilz. Paul Schultze. Wilhelm Borehurst. George Giffers Hominn.	Horsley, Otterburn	55	11
13	9 May 1918	1	1	Otto Sohlmann.	U/K	U/K	U/K
	Men/Sailors Total	37	23**				

Table 1: Escapes from Stobs Camp 1915-1918.

* Zeppelin crew members

** At least 62%, and possibly the vast majority of escapees were sailors

Sources: Local and National Newspapers

disobeying'. It is important to note that by March 1918 sailors from these two ships had been captive in Stobs for at least three years. Following the trials, all the men were found guilty and sentenced to either an 84-day or a 112-day detention.⁹⁶ E Judith Murray has commented that Hawick people seemed to think that the prisoners were treated fairly. However, there was a 'Calaboose Prison', set high-up in the camp, which was used for solitary confinement, probably as a punishment for offences committed within the camp. In mid-winter this would have been a very bleak place.⁹⁷

Conclusion

And the rain rains every single day,
So the rain takes its course,
The earth drinks it all up,
And when it has really rained enough,
That doesn't mean that it's going to stop.⁹⁸

Any attempt to answer the question posed at the beginning of this article regarding how the Germans escaped, is hampered by a lack of official documentation on the Stobs Camp. We do not know how they escaped, but we do know that only a tiny minority attempted to overcome the camp's security. As previously noted, it is apparent that more than the 13 escapes detailed here, took place. It is likely that this unknown number of escapees only found freedom for a few hours – and before their descriptions could be circulated to the local newspapers. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that only a tiny minority of the prisoners-of-war attempted to escape. In 1916, escapees constituted 0.2% of the prisoners; and in 1917, the busiest year for escapes, this figure may have peaked at 1%.⁹⁹ Due to the lack of primary sources, these are estimates established from available evidence.

Most of the prisoners simply waited for the war to end. The pages of *Stobsiade*, including the above poem, reveal a melancholic theme as the prisoners observed the changing seasons and the routines of camp life:

Spring has arrived. In Stobs you notice this by three things. The clocks change, coal is distributed less frequently, and the fourth blanket wanders back into storage – and that's all!¹⁰⁰

Another article, on Stobs in the snow, reveals the writer marking time, trying to find some beauty in the changing seasons.

The white winter coat on our camp doesn't look bad. While those of us who are seeing it for the fourth time have already savoured this view, it is still better than the washed-out grey of a rainy day.¹⁰¹

A War Office official countered the reports of Germans marauding around the country and placed the incidence of break-outs from prison camps into context. He suggested that the public should bear in mind that there were 125 internment camps scattered across the country, housing more than 72,000 enemy prisoners. He pointed out that 'this is a very big figure, and the number of escapes are exceedingly few in proportion'.¹⁰² Manz wrote that, compared to other British camps, Stobs was one of the best organised. However, he cautioned against imagining that camp life was happy. The wide-range of activities, classes and work, all combined to help the men come to terms with their difficult, frustrating

position and to try and fend off insanity as they did their time within the strict confines of the camp.¹⁰³ Some men would not settle for this waiting existence. They cut the barbed wire and tramped across the moorland in an attempt to reach the coast, despite the severe punishments they knew would be conferred on them when they were inevitably returned to the camp. On 3 September 1917, a War Office official, possibly the same man that described the large number of German prisoners in Britain, gave his opinion as to why the prisoners escaped. He summarised the attitude of these restless German prisoners: they knew that they had little hope of escaping the country, yet they overcame the security measures of barbed wire and patrolling armed soldiers and, in the case of the Stobs Germans, made off towards the coast 'in a spirit of adventure'.¹⁰⁴ It appears that this government spokesman was unaware that, on the very day that the newspaper published his quotation, a Royal Navy destroyer was steaming towards Newcastle-upon-Tyne with six Germans who had been captured far out in the North Sea.¹⁰⁵ The spirit of adventure of these prisoners had very nearly resulted in a successful return to the Fatherland.

Acknowledgements

The author is grateful to Andy Jepson, the Archaeology Scotland Project officer at Stobs Camp, for information regarding the extent of security measures at the camp, and to staff at the Scottish Borders Archive at the Heritage Hub, Hawick.

Notes & References

- 1 *Weekly Despatch*, Sunday 26 August 1917, p.2.
- 2 *Hull Daily Mail*, Saturday 25 August 1917, p.4; *Birmingham Daily Post*, Monday 27 August 1917, p.8; *Sunday Mirror*, Sunday 2 September 1917, p. 2.
- 3 *The Globe*, Wednesday 29 August 1917, p.4.
- 4 P Panayi, *The Enemy in Our Midst: Germans in Britain during the First World War* (Bloomsbury, London, 1991), p.11.
- 5 S Manz, 'New Evidence on Stobs Internment Camp 1914-1919', *Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions* 1988, pp.59-65.
- 6 D Robertson, *Hawick and District and the Great War 1914-1918* (Hawick Archaeological Society, Hawick, 2018).
- 7 *Stobsiade*, 1 December 1915.
- 8 Scottish Borders Council Museum and Gallery Service, *Stobs Camp* (Scott and Paterson, Hawick, 1999), p.1.
- 9 *Hawick News*, Friday 30 October 1914, p.3.
- 10 *Hawick News*, Friday 6 November 1914, p.4.
- 11 *Berwick Advertiser*, Friday 30 October 1914, p.6.
- 12 Manz, op cit, p.59.
- 13 EJ Murray, 'Stobs Camp, 1903-1959', *Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions* 1988, p.15.
- 14 G Bennett, *Naval Battles of the First World War*. Rev ed (London: Penguin, 2001), p.105.
- 15 *Ibid*, p.108. The eighteen men rescued constituted just six per cent of the crew.
- 16 *Ibid*, p.145.
- 17 *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, Monday 21 December 1914, p.3.
- 18 *Hawick News*, Friday 12 March 1915, p.3.
- 19 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 6 May 1915, p.3.
- 20 *Hawick Express*, 28 May 1915, p.3.

- 21 I Passingham, *All the Kaiser's Men* (Sutton, Stroud, 2003), Chapter 4.
- 22 Max Heinz, *Loretto: Sketches of a German War Volunteer*. Trans by C Ashleigh (Horace Liveright, New York, 1930), pp.72-3.
- 23 Passingham, op cit, p.70.
- 24 Ibid, pp.124-5.
- 25 Manz, op cit, p.59.
- 26 *Stobsiade*, 15 October 1916.
- 27 JM Horne, 'The German Connection: the Stobs camp newspaper 1916-1919', *Hawick Archaeological Society Transactions* 2002, p.28.
- 28 *Stobsiade*, 15 October 1916.
- 29 *Hawick Express*, Friday 15 October 1915, p.3.
- 30 *Stobsiade*, 5 November 1916.
- 31 P Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain: German civilian and combatant internees during the First World War* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2012), p.183.
- 32 www.secretscotland.org.uk/index.php/secrets/StobsCamp (accessed 28 March 2022).
- 33 *Stobsiade*, 26 November 1916.
- 34 *Hawick News*, Friday 2 July 1915, p.4.
- 35 *Hawick Express*, Friday 15 October 1915, p.3.
- 36 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 21 September 1915, p.3.
- 37 Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, p.140.
- 38 Scottish Borders Council 1999, op cit, p.4.
- 39 *Hawick News*, Friday 24 September 1915, p.3.
- 40 *Hawick Express*, Friday 12 November 1915, p.3; *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 2 December 1915, p.5.
- 41 *Hawick News*, Friday 16 June 1916, p.3.
- 42 Robertson, op cit, p.51.
- 43 National Records of Scotland, Edinburgh. Register of Deaths, District of Kirkton, County of Roxburgh, 1918, No.13.
- 44 Ibid, 1918, No.15, and 1919, No.10.
- 45 Ibid, 1919, No.8.
- 46 Manz, op cit, p. 62.
- 47 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 23 September 1915, p.3.
- 48 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 3 October 1915, p.3.
- 49 *Jedburgh Gazette*, Friday 29 August 1919, p.3.
- 50 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 20 May 1915, p.5.
- 51 *Hawick Express*, Friday 9 July 1915, p.4.
- 52 The author is grateful to Andy Jepson, Archaeology Scotland Project Officer at Stobs Camp, for information regarding the extent of the security measures at Stobs Camp.
- 53 *Stobsiade*, 30 January 1916.
- 54 *Hawick News*, Friday 4 January 1918, p.3.
- 55 *Hawick News*, Friday 2 August 1918, p.3.
- 56 *Hawick Express*, Friday 18 October 1918, p.4.
- 57 *Berwick Advertiser*, Friday 25 December 1914, p.7.
- 58 Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, p.264.
- 59 *The Telegraph*, Thursday 31 January 2013, p.3.
- 60 G Pluschow, *My Escape from Donington Hall* (Bodley Head, London, 1922).
- 61 Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, p.265
- 62 www.theconversation.com (accessed 29 March 2022).
- 63 Feature films concerning allied troops escaping from German prisoner-of-war camps were very popular in the 1950s and 1960s, including *The Wooden Horse* (1950), *The Colditz Story* (1955) and *The Great Escape* (1963).
- 64 *The Scotsman*, Thursday 28 October 1915, p.6.
- 65 *Hawick News*, Friday 29 October 1915, p.3.
- 66 *Jedburgh Gazette*, Friday 15 November 1915, p.3.
- 67 *Hawick News*, Friday 7 January 1916, p.3.
- 68 *Hawick News*, Friday 14 January 1916, p.4.
- 69 *Hawick Express*, Friday 14 January 1916, p.3.
- 70 The National Archives, London (TNA) Germany, Prisoners FO 383/190, 1916.
- 71 Panayi, *Prisoners of Britain*, p.271.
- 72 *Daily Mirror*, Monday 3 September 1917, p.2.
- 73 *Sheffield Evening Telegraph*, Friday 20 October 1916, p.6.
- 74 *Berwickshire News*, Tuesday 31 October 1916, p.3.
- 75 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 2 November 1916, p.6.
- 76 *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, Monday 11 June 1917, p.4.
- 77 *Jedburgh Gazette*, Friday 15 June 1917, p.3.
- 78 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 16 August 1917, p.6.
- 79 *The Globe*, Wednesday 29 August 1917, p.4.
- 80 *Hawick Express*, Friday 31 August 1917, p.3.
- 81 *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, Thursday 28 September 1916, p.6.
- 82 *Berwick Advertiser*, Friday 31 August 1917, p.3.
- 83 *Hawick Express*, Friday 21 September 1917, p.3.
- 84 *Berwick Advertiser*, Friday 7 September 1917, p.2.
- 85 *The Globe*, Thursday 6 September 1917, p.8.
- 86 *The Scotsman*, Monday 17 September 1917, p.4; *Western Times*, Wednesday 19 September 1917, p.4.
- 87 *Kelso Chronicle*, Friday 21 September 1917, p.3.
- 88 *Hawick Express*, Friday 19 October 1917, p.3.
- 89 *Berwick Advertiser*, Friday 2 November 1917, p.4.
- 90 B Tilley, *Tynedale in the Great War* (Pen and Sword, Barnsley, 2016), p.37.
- 91 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 9 May 1918, p.6.
- 92 *The Scotsman*, Thursday 11 November 1915, p.4.
- 93 Robertson, op cit, p.52.
- 94 *Southern Reporter*, Thursday 20 January 1916, p.5.
- 95 TNA Germany, Prisoners, FO 383/285, 1917.
- 96 Robertson, op cit, p.53.
- 97 Murray, op cit, p.18.
- 98 *Stobsiade*, August 1917. The poem is entitled 'Stobs Dog Days'.
- 99 Manz, op cit, p.59.
- 100 *Stobsiade*, May 1917.
- 101 *Stobsiade*, February 1918.
- 102 *Sunday Mirror*, Sunday 2 September 1917, p.2.
- 103 Manz, op cit, pp.64-5.
- 104 *Daily Mirror*, Monday 3 September 1917, p.2.
- 105 *Hawick News*, Friday 7 September 1917, p.3.

Dr David M Smale served in the Royal Marines and as a constable in Lothian and Borders Police, working in both the city of Edinburgh, at Portobello and Craigmillar, and in the Scottish Borders, at Selkirk and Lauder. He studied with the Open University and at the University of Edinburgh and worked as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Edinburgh. He has contributed to books and has written articles for academic journals. He is presently researching various aspects of the history of policing in Scotland: in particular, the introduction of motor vehicles in the police between 1900 and 1930. His book, The Radical War of 1820: Police Spies, Government Spies and Willing Informers, is intended for publication during 2024.