Knockaloe First World War Internment Camp: A Virtual Museum and Archive

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Abstract

During the First World War Knockaloe Farm on the west coast of the Isle of Man became an internment camp home to almost 25,000 'enemy aliens'. These men, interned for the duration of the war turned their place of incarceration into a unique and productive community with facilities for work, sports and entertainment. The material culture of Knockaloe is wealthy in both quantity and style. Sources include postcards, camp newspapers, journals and photographs along with large collections in public and private ownership of craftwork produced for sale throughout Europe by the internees.

This research aims to draw together the material culture of Knockaloe providing interpretation and accessibility through the creation of a virtual museum and archive. By drawing the material together and considering objects, documents and images collectively it is hoped to reconnect with the internees and their experiences within the camp. Through studying aspects of camp life such as the use of space, activities and broader issues such as identity and control and the consideration of other sites of designed and controlled settlement it will be possible to show if Knockaloe was a stereotypical representation of incarceration or if its constraints were relaxed allowing the internees to manipulate their environment.

Contents

List of illustrations

crafting napkin ring.

List of accompanying material

CD1   Pdf of thesis

CD2   Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive website data

This thesis is accompanied by a website, the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive which can be viewed at www.knockaloe.org.uk.

The material provided on CD2 is the data for the website exported from Drupal, the open source content management platform that has been used to construct the site. The data represents an offline archive and the site can only be viewed online.

Both discs can be found at the back of this volume.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my dad Mike Corkill and my granddad Alf Corkill. Without you both I would never have begun this journey.

Also, to my mentor Daisaku Ikeda. Nam Myoho Renge Kyo.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to my supervisors Mark Edmonds and Anthony Masinton and to Pat Gibbs for his technical help and advice in the development of the website which was truly invaluable. Also, to Dan Karran for his help with the maps and models.

I would also like to thank Manx National Heritage for me allowing me to illustrate my thesis and website with their incredible collection of glass plate slides. Thanks to Yvonne Cresswell for sharing so much knowledge and to the staff of the Manx National Archive and Library for helping me access so much wonderful material.

Enormous thanks must also go to all those who have shared with me their passion and interest in Knockaloe, the collectors, the relatives and the enthusiastic people whose lives have been touched in some way by the camp. Without you this thesis would not be what it is. In particular I would like to thank all those who have welcomed me into their homes to show me their memories, collections and connections with Knockaloe and for allowing me to include material in the archive.

To my friends, for listening, encouraging and believing in me even when I didn't. And to the beautiful Buddhas of York for your continued support and for helping me see the moon rise on the twelfth day.

Finally, thank you to my parents for never giving up on me, your unwavering love

and support has been incredible. And to Ray, my rock, you are my hero.

Declaration

This thesis and the accompanying website are the result of my own research.

Assistance has been given by Pat Gibbs in the construction and development of the website, most notably in the coding for the archive. The design and all content of the archive is of my own creation. Some further assistance has come in the form of coding of a small number of design elements on the website; again these were carried out to my specification.

Use of material from private collections within the website and database has been done so with the permission of the owners, who for their privacy have been kept anonymous within the online archive.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The people of every country during the war were taught to believe that they were treating their prisoners of war—whether military or civilian—with the greatest humanity, while their enemies were using prisoners with the utmost cruelty. The purpose of such teaching was, of course, to arouse the fighting spirit.

R.W. Hughes in A. Braithwaite Thomas, 1920, 43

Internment as a concept is a complex and ever evolving term. Broadly, it can be defined as the imprisonment of a person or persons in order to restrict their movement. As such, internment can be used to describe a variety of experiences including the detention of immigrants, political prisoners and religious or ethnic groups. Many sites of internment have now become infamous, particularly those involving the detention of political prisoners such as Long Kesh in Northern Ireland (McAtackney 2006), South Africa's Robben Island or the USA's Camp Delta at Guantanamo Bay (Gregory 2006). Nazi Germany's concentration camps of the Second World War are perhaps the most striking and extreme examples of internment, and their unprecedented scale has ensured they retain a significant place in world history and will never be forgotten (Myers 2008). Sites such as these,

many of which have been transformed into visitor centres, stand as constant reminders of the isolation, fear, discrimination, hatred and even death that internment can represent.

The implementation of internment as a tactical manoeuvre has become a well-used practice in modern warfare acting as a useful propaganda tool. The detention of individuals, who may otherwise have been fighting for the opposition, provided a boost to morale for the host nation, and a blow to the opposing forces. Similarly, allegations of the opposing forces poor treatment of internees or the suggestion that foreign nationals may be a threat to their host country, as spies or military personnel in disguise, were also used to rally home support for the war. In practice this method meant the implementation of large scale operations in order to facilitate the detention of so many individuals and saw the development of the internment camp, a site of confinement designed to hold large numbers of people behind its borders of barbed wire and armed guards.

Focusing on one particular camp used during the First World War, this thesis aims to look at the implications of internment for those involved. Knockaloe Internment Camp was located on the Isle of Man and detained over 20,000 men during the course of the Great War. The large scale of such a site has ensured that a significant archaeological record remains and it is on this record, along with the documentary sources that also survive, that this thesis will focus. Through this, the implications of large scale internment and the legacy it leaves behind will be

considered, while also telling the stories of individuals, highlighting the fact that despite being often perceived as a group experience, each person's internment experience was unique. With so little remaining above ground on the site today, coupled with the fact that the majority of the surviving material culture is privately owned, public knowledge of the camp is minimal. Described as Britain's 'forgotten prisoners of the Great War' (Panayi 2012), many residents of the Isle of Man today are unaware that the island was home to Britain's largest internment camp during the First World War, or, if aware of the camp know very little about those who were held there and the reasons for their detention.

With 2014 marking the centenary of the outbreak of the First World War interest generally in the conflict has piqued, while on the island exhibitions, such as Manx National Heritage's '*This Terrible Ordeal*', look not only at those who left the island to support the war effort but also the role the island played in internment. Alongside the written component of this thesis a website, the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive (www.knockaloe.org.uk), aims to make the findings of this research publicly accessible, drawing on the results of fieldwork and the study of material culture to present a suggestion of what life was like for those interned. Crucially the site is designed to be open for comment and contribution enabling interested parties to contribute new material, ask questions and inform the rational for new content. This flexibility is designed to allow the site to grow and evolve as new material is uncovered but also to encourage the user to take an active rather

than passive role in learning about the site; encouraging them to realise the significance of the material culture, stories or document they own.

Figure 1: Reconstruction of Knockaloe hut in *This Terrible Ordeal* exhibition, Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man. ©KA

The transient nature of Knockaloe Camp, which was demolished following the war, and the dispersal of its many inhabitants means that much of the material that survives is dispersed, held in private collections, museums or by family members of internees or guards who may or may not know the history of the object(s) they possess. A significant part of this research therefore is the recording of available data into one central archive. This database draws together a variety of object

types from a large number of sources providing a detailed description and images in order to create a central catalogue that provides a much broader view of the surviving Knockaloe material. The archive will be accompanied by a virtual museum which will draw upon the data collected to attempt to interpret the camp in a number of ways, exploring how the internees lived and experienced their time at Knockaloe.

The purpose of this research is therefore two fold. Firstly, to develop wider understanding of Knockaloe Internment Camp through the archaeological material that remains in order to retell the forgotten story of these internees. Through this, wider issues relating to the implications of internment and the detention of civilians will be highlighted. Secondly, the intent of this research is to show how the multi-faceted remains of Knockaloe can be drawn together in a virtual space to allow exploration and interpretation. This will also highlight the potential of this format for other transient sites or events, particularly those with a dispersed data set and limited physical remains within the landscape.

This thesis will begin by outlining the methodology (Chapter 2) before providing in Chapter 3 an historical overview of the period immediately preceding the outbreak of war, the reasons behind the decision to implement internment and the immediate consequences of the British Government's decision to do so. A wider study of archaeological approaches to internment (in Chapter 4) will provide context for this research and highlight previous approaches to material from both

civilian internment camps and prisoner of war camps from a variety of conflicts and locales. Chapter 5 will give details and results of the fieldwork carried out during the research which will then be used in Chapter 6 to tell the story of Knockaloe Camp. The narrative of the camp will be based around a variety of themes which highlight various different aspects of camp life and the day to day running of such a large scale site. Individual stories will also be told to show how, despite being part of a group, each person has their own unique experience. This chapter will also show how the various types of evidence work together to create a vibrant and complex representation of the camp. Following on from this, Chapter 7 will focus on the website through which the research will be presented to the public. Consideration will be given to other sites that present archaeological material to the public, with the emphasis placed where possible on sites that also deal with the study of internment. A tour of the website will be given with explanation of the various features, areas and the development of specific areas such as the forums and archive. Finally, to conclude the thesis, Chapter 8 will provide a closing summary of the work along with a discussion of the future potential for the website and the possibilities for further research.

The remainder of this chapter will provide a a brief introduction to the Isle of Man and its situation politically and economically leading up to and during the war, providing the backdrop for the impact of internment policy on the island.

The Isle of Man

Located in the Irish Sea between the United Kingdom and Ireland, the Isle of Man is a British Crown Dependency with a population of approximately 84,000. Covering 572 square kilometres (Isle of Man Government 2013) the landscape is dominated by two upland ranges, with the highest peak, Snaefell, reaching 621 metres (Chiverrell 2002, 1). These ranges are separated by the central valley running between Peel and Douglas (Dackombe and McCarroll 1990, 10). To the north are low lying plains of glacial drift providing a dramatic contrast to the island's undulating fertile south, with its rocky shores and cliffs.

The island's location within the Irish Sea has made it a focal point of the British Isles throughout history and it is these connections that have enabled the island to develop a unique identity. Links with surrounding Celtic nations remain strong particularly through the Manx language and music while politically, Tynwald, the Manx parliament retains the island's Norse roots (Wilson 2008, 122).

Prior to the outbreak of the First World War the Isle of Man's economy centred on more traditional industries such as agriculture, fishing and mining, alongside a boom in tourism from the end of the Edwardian period. The development of passenger vessels to and from the island coupled with the development of the annual week's seaside holiday for the working classes saw visitor numbers to the island soar, reaching 635,000 over the summer of 1913 (Norris 1994, 147). Given
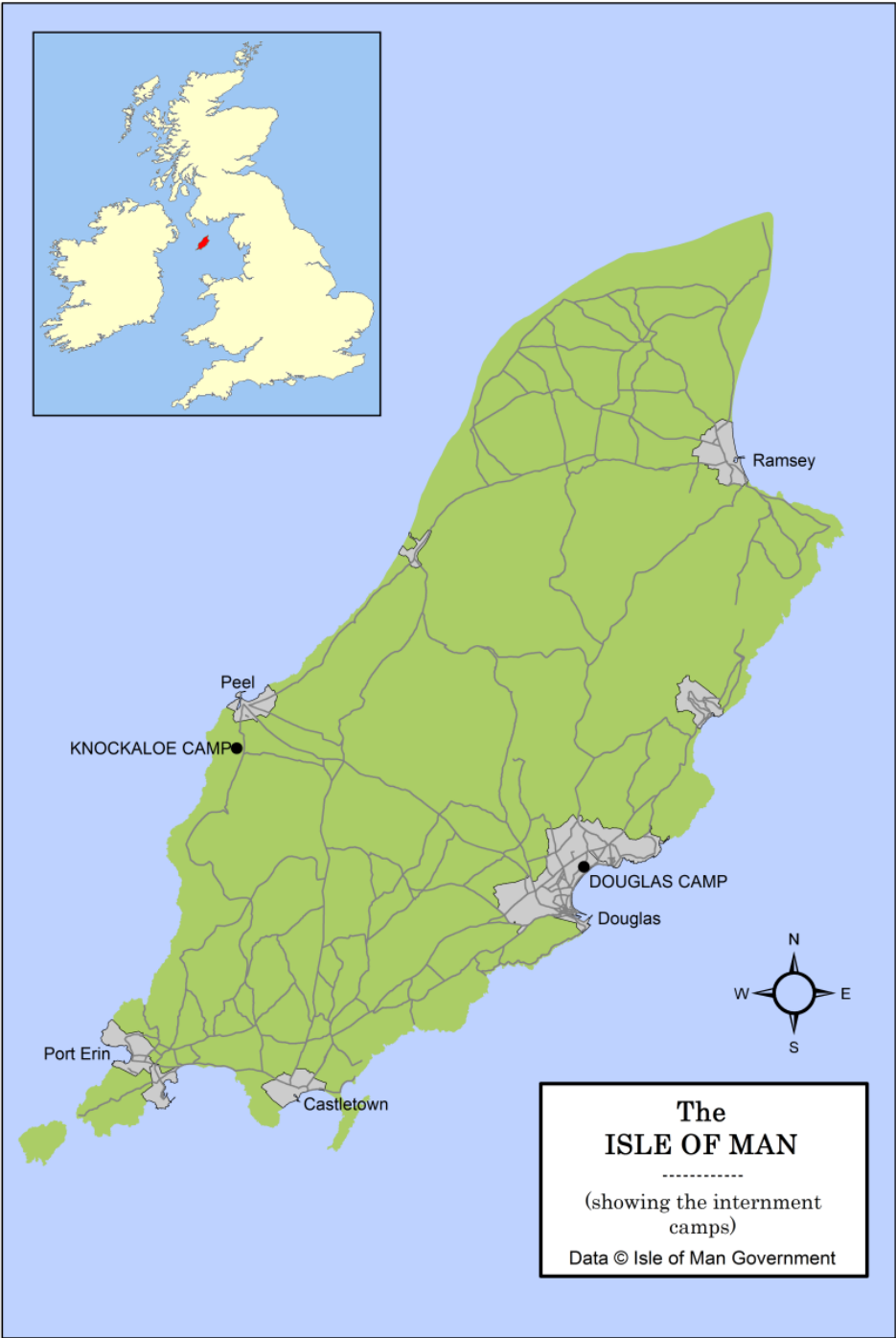
Figure 2: Location map of the Isle of Man and Douglas and Knockaloe First World War internment camps ©Isle of Man Government

that the island had a population of little over 55,000 at that time (55,608 in 1891), this was to have a significant effect and saw the development of boarding houses and hotels, particularly in the capital Douglas (Robinson 1990, 140-141).

During this period the Isle of Man, saw a number of men enlisting in the British Army and Navy in order to fight in the Second Boer War (1899-1902), while in July 1910 around 12,000 members of the Territorial Army travelled to the island for training, camping in Ramsey in the north of the island and at Knockaloe, just outside Peel on the west coast (Isle of Man Examiner Annual 1911).

Figure 3: Territorial Army Camping Ground, Knockaloe, Isle of Man, 1910 ©KA

An island at War

The outbreak of the First World War rapidly impacted upon Manx lives as a considerable number of men within the fishing community were also naval

reservists and soon called to duty. Others were eager to do their part and signed up as soon as the Douglas recruiting offices opened (Norris 1994, 147). The island's three companies of Manx Volunteers, affiliated to the King's Liverpool Regiment, were also called to duty although initially their responsibilities were home based guarding the island's internment camps. When Lord Raglan (Governor of the Isle of Man, 1902-1918) realised that this decision would cost the island £30,000 per year he disbanded the volunteers and they were later to see active service (Norris 1994, 147-148). In total, over the course of the war, the island was to send 8,621 men to fight (82.3% of the male population) (Winterbottom 2000, 236), a vast contribution given the size of the nation. Richardson contextualises the Manx role in the conflict stating that

> Its men folk fought on every continent and in every campaign; Manxmen were present when the first angry shots were fired in 1914, and were still in harm's way after the general close of hostilities in 1918; their casualties were appallingly high (2013, 39).

It was not only the Manx men who were to leave the island for the war effort. Soon after the outbreak of war the island's only shipping line, the Steam Packet Company, was forced to put a number of ships in dock due to the downturn in visitor numbers. By the end of the 1914, nine of the company's fifteen ships had been requisitioned by the Navy (Winterbottom 2000, 236) seeing action in various campaigns. The *Ben my Chree*, one of the Steam Packet's fastest ships, was converted to function as a seaplane carrier and made aviation history when it

became the first ship to launch an airborne torpedo attack on an enemy vessel (Richardson 2013, 53).

For those who had invested in the tourist boom of the last 30 years, war brought significant hardship. The owners of tourist attractions, boarding houses and hotels were left without custom, and many lost their businesses as a result. In 1915 Tynwald, the island's government, introduced a Loan Scheme for Distressed Boarding House Keepers. This offer of support was founded upon strict terms and agreements including the pledging of all furniture and possessions as security against the loan (Winterbottom 2000, 240). There were, however, some opportunities for Manx workers, particularly women who were employed by the War Office in the production of socks, clothing and balloons (Winterbottom 2000, 243). The other major boost to the island's war time economy came in the form of internment and the island's two camps, Douglas on the east coast and Knockaloe, almost directly opposite on the west (see Figure 2).

The wider impact of internment, in particular that relating to Knockaloe camp, will be discussed later in the thesis (see Chapters 3, 4 and 6), but the significance of internment can clearly be seen in the island's wartime income, which, in 1915 was higher than at any time in the past at a total of £93,000 for the 1914-15 financial year of which £10,900 was surplus (Norris 1994, 163). This was due to the fact that the island did not have to contribute anything financially to the construction,

upkeep, wages or other associated expenses relating to internment while also receiving duty on all the excisable items consumed by the camp and its guards.

As a result, the Isle of Man during the First World War was a complex mix of promise and despair to both the government and the population at large. The impact of internment on such a small island was intense; the numbers of internees and guards increased the population by around a third, and it was seen as good and bad in almost equal measure. For the majority of internees the Isle of Man was unknown, isolated and a place of dread and fear, full of the threat of captivity for an unknown period away from family and friends.

Knockaloe camp was one of a series of camps set up throughout the British Isles designed to accommodate the high numbers of civilian internees detained during the conflict. The UK government's decision to implement the widespread internment of so-called 'enemy aliens' provided a number of challenges to a country with limited experience of handling large numbers of prisoners on home soil. Overcrowding of existing camps, many of which were developed on a makeshift ad hoc basis, prompted the government to make the decision to develop a further large scale purpose built camp to facilitate the increasing number of detainees.

Douglas camp, the only other internment camp on the island was located at Cunningham's Holiday Camp, and selected as it would be able to immediately accommodate internees. The camp, which had a capacity for approximately 2,400

internees, was soon full and overcrowding along with an increase in the numbers of

men being detained meant that further accommodation was needed to ease the

pressure (Richardson 2013, 86). Knockaloe, a purpose built facility, was the answer.

By its very nature, Knockaloe Camp is a site of imprisonment, a site where civilians

were detained away from their families, friends and homes. Based on this alone,

the images that materialise when picturing what life would be like for those

interned there would be dark, severe and depressing. For many that may well have

been the case, in fact it is likely that many, if not all men interned would have

suffered periods of depression, loneliness and home sickness. Despite this, there

was another side to Knockaloe which saw the men encouraged to partake in

activities and develop a sense of community in an attempt to make their detention

a little easier. This led to the development of an intricate society which goes

beyond the traditional ideas of internment, and shows how despite the desperation

of their situation the internees used art, culture, education and imagination to

transform a negative situation. This thesis will attempt to show how, in conjunction

with the Knockaloe Virtual Archive and Museum, it is possible to utilise the

surviving material culture to present a multi-layered representation that reflects

such a diverse and unique case study.

Chapter 2

Aims, Objectives and Methods

The creation of a website comprising of a virtual archive and museum narrative draws on a number of elements in order to develop an accessible and comprehensive record that will contribute to the archaeological record, whilst also providing a platform for further development. This chapter will consider both the wider research objectives of this thesis and look more specifically at the objectives and methodology involved in each of the individual elements. The reasons behind the elements of dissemination will be considered as well as the selection of Knockaloe as a case study.

The study of an internment camp, in particular Knockaloe, as the focus of this research fits solidly into the current growth in military archaeology, particularly First World War archaeology, with 2014 marking the centenary of the outbreak of the conflict. With the war increasingly in the public eye via the introduction of special exhibitions, television programmes, websites, art projects and numerous other activities and presentations, it is difficult for the public not to be drawn in to the commemoration (websites such as *First World War Centenary*, which acts a daily events guide for 1914, highlighting just how much is happening across the UK). As is to be expected, the emphasis of the majority of these exhibitions is on those

who fought in the war, recounting the horrors of the Western Front and remembering the incredible numbers of men who lost their lives.

Emphasis on home often focuses on the role of women, munitions factories and the land army. Internment has frequently been the forgotten element of Britain's war. The reasons for this are unclear, although the transient nature of many of the camps means there are few obvious physical markers in the landscape to trigger memory and prompt enquiry. The fact that the vast majority of internees were repatriated at the end of the war also has an impact as there are few left behind to pass their stories on to the next generation in the landscape where the events took place. A further possibility is Germanophobia. For many Manx people the realisation that the internees were no different to themselves created a sense of shame at their detention on the Island. For others, particularly elsewhere in the UK, anti-German feeling remained and memorialisation of the conflict focused only on Britons who died fighting (Panayi 2014, 736).

When considering internment on the Isle of Man, the relationship with the United Kingdom is a further factor to consider. The sense of Manx identity and its uniqueness is something the Manx people have consistently been proud of. Images of Manx cats, the 'three legs of Man' and traditional thatched cottages have long been utilised by the tourist industry to present an image of the Island that is different from the rest of Britain. Figure 4, below, highlights this with the use of typically 'Manx' symbols along with the phrase '*Kys ta Shiu*?' which is Manx for

'*how are you*?', while the inclusion of the steamer acts as a reminder that the Island is a separate body of land. In parallel to this separateness is a contrasting desire to retain close British connections; with economic links and the British Government taking overall responsibility for international affairs affecting the Island (Travers and Heathorn 2008, 434). From the seventeenth century the Island's elite modelled themselves upon their Lancastrian neighbours, with the Manx language relegated to the language of the lower classes (Belchem 2000, 227-228).

Figure 4: Postcard depicting typical Manx imagery including a Manx cat and the 'three legs of Man'.

©Claire Corkill

The cultural revival of the nineteenth century sought to reaffirm Manx traditions at a time when, politically, the Manx workers were suffering through a lack of social and workplace reforms already implemented in the United Kingdom (Belchem 2000, 236). These conflicting and contrasting ideals and identities are a constant undercurrent throughout Manx history and continue in the present day with the

Manx attempting to find equilibrium between the desire to be seen as unique, with a distinct cultural identity, and, the political, economic and social benefits that come with being closely associated with the United Kingdom.

Upon the outbreak of war this complex balance came to the fore, as the Manx Government encouraged people to see themselves as British and support the war effort; whilst the UK Government's decision to locate two internment camps on the Island brought with it much resentment as well as benefit (for more on this issue, relating specifically to Knockaloe, see Chapter 6: Building the Camp). As Travers and Heathorn note:

> "in times of crisis the British Government could and did forgo its usual hands-off policy towards the Manx (2008, 437)."

This approach was implemented during both the First and Second World Wars, and was a source of unhappiness for many who believed that internment had a negative effect upon as many islanders as it benefitted.

The exact reasons why internment camps from the First World War throughout Britain are such a minor element in society's memory may never be fully understood. It is likely to be a combination of reasons, depending upon the place, landscape and people surrounding each camp. For the Isle of Man however, it seems almost to be as a result of its liminal nature. A transient camp, on an island with a fluid and complex identity is all too easily forgotten, particularly when there are other greater, and perhaps more acceptable, memories of wartime to retain.

Physically, Knockaloe has been relatively undisturbed since the end of the war, ensuring that any archaeology left behind following the camp's destruction may still be in situ. The sheer size of the camp, with almost 23,000 internees provides much scope for potential physical remains in the landscape as well as a larger body of material culture to have potentially survived. Perhaps more significantly, is the fact that the site is owned by the Manx government, meaning that for the majority of people public access to the site is denied. Although a sign marks the entrance to the farm driveway there is little other evidence that can be seen from the roadside to inform anyone about the site and its history. As a result the very existence of the camp has been forgotten by many, or, if remembered, knowledge is limited to the simple knowledge that a camp existed with a rough estimate of how many men were interned.

The study of, and interest in internment is changing however. As part of the recent growth in conflict archaeology there has been a shift in emphasis to the study of more contemporary warfare, including that of internment and prisoner of war camps (see Chapter 4 for a literature review of this material). While the legacy of programmes, such as *Time Team*, have inspired an enthusiastic public keen to learn more and get involved. Community archaeology has as a result become ever more popular with a growing emphasis on the value of community interaction and participation. With these factors in place, the potential to engage people in the archaeology of internment is high, particularly when in conjunction with the aforementioned centenary celebrations. By embracing this public enthusiasm it is

possible to reconnect a community with a forgotten landscape. As Schofield points out

> 'the past will shape a community's sense of identity, its belonging to or ownership of a particular place, landscape or tradition' (2010, 326).

If we consider the Isle of Man as a whole to be the community, perhaps through reasserting the Manx people's 'ownership' of Knockaloe it would be possible to begin a process of wider awareness throughout Britain.

For some, however, Knockaloe already has significance. Collecting memorabilia in the form of the camp's material culture has become a very selective and niche market with prices for well-made or rare pieces being sold at auction for hundreds of pounds. For others, their Knockaloe artefact(s) may be a family heirloom or something they came across by chance in an antique shop or even found in a box in the attic. Along with these individual collections comes varying degrees of knowledge about the camp. Often focused around the material culture or documents owned by the individual, the information may be common knowledge, but, in many cases, is unknown to others and contributes to the untold stories of the camp. With few internees remaining to keep their stories alive within Britain, it is the surviving material culture that becomes the storyteller and making this material more widely accessible is crucial to the revival of the internment story.

The forced repatriation of the camp's inhabitants at the end of the war have created a very different scenario to that seen in North America's Second World War

camps, such as Manzanar, California (http://www.nps.gov/manz/index.htm) or New Denver, British Colombia (McAllister 2001). Following the war, many of the interned Japanese-Americans stayed within the country, often close to the site of their internment. As a result there was a united body of people who kept the memory of the camps alive, often returning to the sites in pilgrimage and, in the case of Camp Amache, preserving and excavating the remains to ensure they survive, to memorialise those who were detained there, and to inform future generations (Hays 2003; Slaughter 2012).   At Knockaloe, the very community the camp facilitated is lost and acts as another contributing factor to the camp's lack of presence in living memory.

This research hopes to redress that issue, facilitating a return to public memory and on a platform that will enable people to return to the camp virtually, no matter where they may physically be. It also hopes to utilise the knowledge that the collectors and owners of material culture and, by drawing them together in a central location, enable others to learn from them and inspire people to find out more. It should be pointed out however that the focus of this research focuses very much on Britain at this juncture. Linguistically the website will exist only in English and therefore the focus will be on English speakers. Although input is welcome from any interested party wherever they may be located, the audience focus is most likely to be based within the British Isles. The development of a bilingual site goes beyond the scope of this PhD, although, it is hoped that if successful, in time

the website will be able to expand to incorporate a wider range of audiences and to include Knockaloe material held outside of the British Isles.

Research Questions

In order to reconstruct the camp in people's memory and to provide the most rounded understanding of what the camp was like, the research will draw on a number of different elements. Data collection will draw from the archaeology of the site itself alongside material in collections and libraries. The basis of these results will then be used to develop the website which will interpret and aim to engage people in the reconstruction of the camp through their contribution of knowledge. In order to achieve this, the research will be based around the following research questions which will inform the narrative and results presented both within the written text and the website.

- What physical remnants of the camp still remains in situ, both above and below ground?
- What physical remains of the camp still exist elsewhere, and in what form?
- What documentary sources and material culture survive from the camp and where?
- What can the physical remains tell us about the construction and development of the camp?
- What do the archaeological remains including the in situ remains, material culture and documentary sources tell us about the camp, its inhabitants and the subsequent use and value of the site?

- How can they be utilised to present an interpretation of Knockaloe to the public?

- How can the archaeological record of a site that has limited public access be made accessible?

- Can a website provide a suitable platform to present an interpretation of Knockaloe while also providing basic data to inform, engage, and facilitate the ease of use for the public?

The following sections will provide the aims and objectives for the various different elements that will be utilised within this research in an attempt to answer the research questions posed above. The methodology used will also be provided, although that of the fieldwork and the website design will be expanded upon in Chapters 5: Fieldwork, and Chapter 7: Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive, respectively.

Archive Material

One of the objectives of this thesis is to try and assess how much of the material is available on the Isle of Man and throughout the British Isles, and to draw the material held in a variety of locations together in one central database. For the purposes of this thesis the term "archive material" will be used more generally to cover documentary sources and material culture and will incorporate material held in public and private ownership. The collection of data within this section

comprises two main elements: the study of material in public places such as museums and libraries and the recording of material in private ownership.

An assessment of where material relating to Knockaloe was made by contacting a variety of libraries and museums around the country. The response was limited with the vast majority of material being held on the Isle of Man, in particular by Manx National Heritage. This comprised documentary and photographic material held in the Manx National Heritage Library and the material culture within the Manx Museum. The second largest collection was held in the Leece Museum, Peel, Isle of Man and again was a mixture of documentary, photographic and material culture. Elsewhere, the National Archives in London held the main body of surviving official documents although much of this material was lost through bombing during the Second World War.

A significant element of the site's material culture are the digitised glass plate slides from the Manx Museum (World War 1 Internment Glass Plate Collection). This large collection of images taken by local visiting photographers to the camp over a series of years provides quite literally a snapshot into camp life. It is difficult to say how accurate an experience these images portray and whether they were manipulated either by the camp officials to try and create a positive image of internment or by the internees who were able to purchase copies of the photographs which they could then send back home. There no doubt that a lot of the men were collecting and acquiring material which they used to decorate their spaces but how many and

to what degree is unclear. Images from the same collection show very similar scenes from Douglas Camp, suggesting that this was a strong feature of the internees' experience. Mytum's study of the Douglas Camp images from MNH's World War 1 Internment Glass Plate Collection suggests that although the images are constructed by both the photographer and the subject, the changing selection of locations, objects, and the use of group photographs, provide an insight into the internee's experiences throughout their detention.

The material held privately was much more difficult to locate, and was facilitated by an article in the Isle of Man Independent newspaper which asked for anyone with Knockaloe material to make contact. A number of responses were received while further contacts were made through connections with Manx National Heritage, the Isle of Man Natural History and Antiquarian Society and the Anglo-German Family History Society. The collection of material within private ownership was limited from the outset to within the British Isles in order to provide a defined search area, although it is likely that a considerable body of material exists throughout Germany, the rest of Europe and North America. This is due to the repatriation of the internees after the war as well as the sale, during wartime, of Knockaloe craft material throughout allied nations (see Chapter 6 for more on this subject).

From the outset it was clear that a complete data set of Knockaloe material held within the British Isles would not be possible to achieve. As the vast majority of Knockaloe craft work is unmarked there is much that has not been identified. The

emphasis upon individuals to come forward also has limitations, as people may be unaware of the research or choose not to come forward. The aim of this collection is not therefore to provide a definitive data set of Knockaloe finds. It is, however, designed to represent the wide range of the material available and show the diversity of object types, materials and sources that survive. In reference to the privately owned material it is hoped that the collection will act as an enabler, allowing others to identify objects in their possession and encouraging people to add their own contribution to the Knockaloe record.

All the material viewed was recorded using a prescribed recording system and entered into a database as discussed below. A written description was taken of each object alongside a photographic record of each item where possible. The complete record of material is presented on the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive website, and material can be searched via 'location' providing results for a specific archive or collection. For the purposes of privacy and to meet the requirements of some owners, all items held privately are simply listed using the title private collection followed by a numerical identifier to differentiate between the different collections.

Fieldwork

The decision to undertake fieldwork as part of this research was to ascertain what and if anything survives on site at Knockaloe. This was also designed to contribute

another element to the research that was not publicly accessible. By presenting the landscape through a variety of mediums it becomes more feasible to try and imagine what the site would have been like when the camp buildings were still present. The small size of the farm makes it difficult to imagine how such a large number of men could be accommodated.

The fieldwork can be split into two main elements, field walking and geophysics. The full details of the methodology used along with the results can be found in Chapter 5. The field walking was carried out following the ploughing of a field to the south west of the farm which had been unturned for over fifteen years. The field was systematically walked and all small finds were collected and recorded. Assessments were made of other fields immediately following ploughing to check for the potential benefit of field walking but no other fields yielded any finds during the initial survey.

Prior to beginning any geophysics, aerial photographs of the site from 1972 (see Figure 5 below), 1982, and 2007 were assessed for any evidence of the camp buildings. Selection of fields was limited due to the requirements of the farmer although the two selected both showed potential remnants of the camp, particularly in the 1972 aerial images (DOI). Geophysics, using a fluxgate gradiometer, was undertaken on two fields within the farm. One field was located on the site of Camp 1 and the other on the site of Camp 2. The aim of the

geophysical survey was to ascertain the extent to which any of the underlying

infrastructures of the camp may remain. This would also allow comparison with any

plans of the site to see how the official records of the camp compared to the

reality.

Figure 5: 1972 Aerial photograph of Knockaloe with the camp located to the left of the main road

running through the centre of the image. © Department of Infrastructure, Isle of Man Government.

During the time spent on the site any upstanding or aboveground remains were noted and added to the database such as the walls on either side of the farm driveway which are constructed using the remains of the concrete rafts on which the camp huts were built. The farm house and outbuildings were also standing when the camp was constructed but were not recorded for the purposes of this research. Images of the buildings are held within the archive.

An additional element which should also be mentioned within the fieldwork section is the upstanding remains off site. These take the form of huts which were sold following the deconstruction of the camp and have been reused for a variety of purposes such as homes and auxiliary buildings. A survey of surviving Knockaloe huts has been carried out previously by Manx National Heritage (Johnson, n.d.) and as a result a further survey was not carried out as part of this research. Photographic records were obtained of two huts prior to their demolition and the images are recorded within the archive (www.knockaloe.org.uk/database/1196 and /1195).

Although the fieldwork carried out by no means represents a complete assessment of the site, the aim was only to assess the potential of archaeological remains and therefore the potential for future fieldwork which would be more beneficially carried out as part of a community project enabling local and interested parties to

connect first hand with their landscape and create a new community narrative at Knockaloe.

Database

The incorporation of a database was fundamental to the management of the large quantities of data expected to be recovered during this research. As has already been highlighted above, the archive material comes from a wide range of sources in both public and private ownership. In order to be able to sort and process the data, it has been collated in one central database which was later amended and adapted for inclusion in the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive.

Unlike the museum, which will represent a more traditional narrative presentation, the archive has a slightly different function acting more as a facilitator for the creation of new and drawing out of old memories. These memories will encompass those of the creators as well as the individual user and the collective, all of whom are actively involved in 'practices of belonging and organised forgetting' (Santos 2001, 183). The archive does not therefore provide a narrative of the archive material (although it may have its own narrative); instead this is something that must be created through interaction. There is however a level of interaction that does take place during the initial creation of the archive, which cannot be carried out without the involvement of the archivist's memory, impacting upon the records selected for inclusion or exclusion and creating, by default, a memory. Users of the

archive create further narratives based upon their interpretations and interaction with the archive and influenced by the aims and objectives of their research.

With awareness of this, the Knockaloe archive has been created with the aim of being as inclusive as possible in order to allow the user to limit any potential bias to the narratives created. Rather than be selective in terms of what may or not be important or significant to the story of the camp, all objects and documents have been included as far as possible to try and limit how far the creator of the archive has already pre-determined the narrative. The one exception to this rule however is the inclusion of the fieldwalking finds. The sheer number of items recovered has meant that only a proportion has been recorded within the database. The finds that have been included are those which have been accessioned and deposited with Manx National Heritage.

For the initial process of data collection a database was developed using Microsoft Access 2010. This programme was selected as it would allow the data set to be easily searched and controlled. A series of recording fields were selected to cover all necessary fields for data collected from a variety of sources including museums, libraries and private ownership. These fields were then used to create a basic recording form. Each entry was given a unique ID number which could not be duplicated within the database, while the remaining fields were selected and limited by parameters where necessary. For instance, object type was defined by a

drop down menu created in a separate table. This was in order to ensure standardisation of language and enable accuracy when searching the database.

In contrast, the description was created as a free text field so as not to restrict text length when describing a complex artefact. The ability to search within the description field and the limitations on the previous fields ensured that it would still be possible to find a particular item whilst allowing for a comprehensive description where necessary. This was particularly important as the MS Access database did not facilitate the inclusion of images. Instead, all images were given a unique identifying number which were associated within the database via a sub-table which linked the artefacts' unique ID to any associated images.

It is also important to note that the field walking finds were recorded in a separate table to the main data archive. The reasons for this were two fold. Firstly, the field criteria were slightly different for these objects with the addition of 'grid square' and 'material type' field. The 'grid square' field in particular was uniquely required for the recording of the field walking material (for more information on the recording methods used during field walking see Chapter 5). The second reason for separating the field walking finds was to facilitate the requirements of Manx National Heritage with whom the finds were deposited following the completion of fieldwork. This called for the addition of an 'accession number' and 'box number' fields and the complete field walking finds table was deposited in the Manx

Museum alongside the finds. Where possible, as in the case of the 'object type' and 'location' fields the same look-up tables have been used to ensure continuity between the tables.
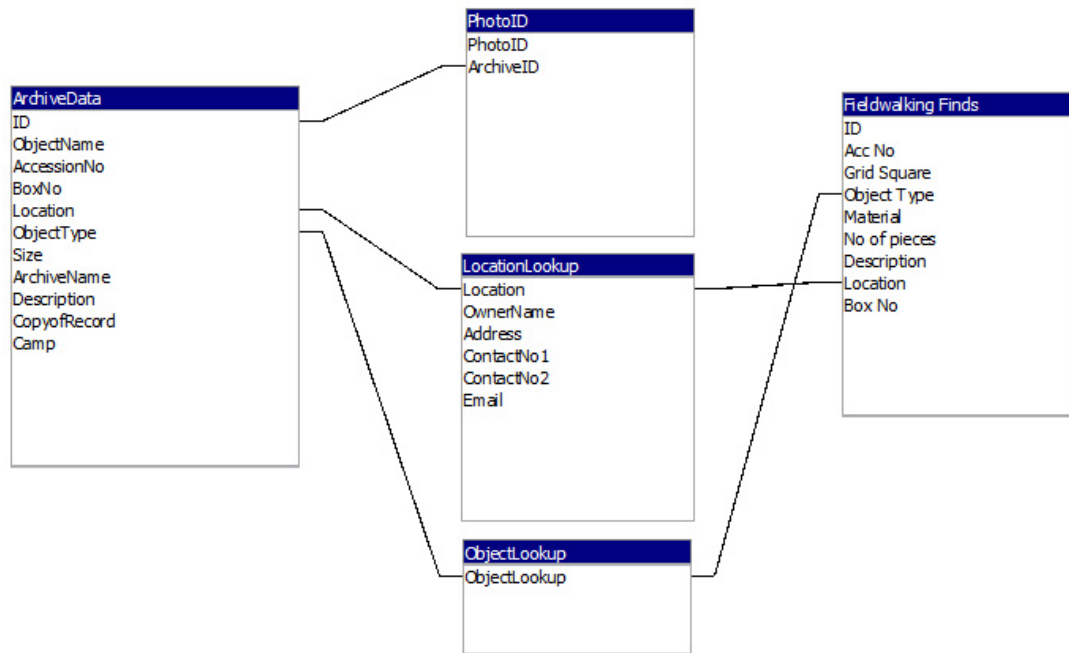
Figure 6: Screenshot of database relationships of Archive Data table and Fieldwalking Finds table.

©Claire Corkill

The database was then uploaded to the website. The data fields were altered slightly in order to facilitate this and to simplify the search for users and the option for the user to search via keyword or description was provided. All relevant fields regarding the accession number, location and any other necessary information that would enable the relocation of the item in its physical archive are present. Images

have also been added to the database. In terms of future development the archive can be added to when necessary. This can only be carried out by an administrator of the website. For simplicity and to prevent complications with the recording system, such as duplications or missed records, subsequent additions have been made to the online archive alone.

Website

The collection, interpretation and display of material culture and the provision of public access to such data is integral to our desire to understand our past, present and our connection with the wider world around us. Creating a platform to display this material culture is a challenging responsibility and needs to be developed to consider a wide range of users and to educate and inform in a stimulating way. Utilising the web as a tool for the dissemination of archaeological material is not a new phenomenon, however, with many excavations hosting websites incorporating blogs, images and reports. The Archaeology Data Service (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/), meanwhile, has made archaeological data accessible to both professionals and the public. Museums have also embraced the internet with the vast majority now offering some form of online experience, with the incorporation of online collections and virtual galleries (see Chapter 7). Computer modelling is also being used more widely by archaeologists online to provide 3 and 4D visuals of small finds, objects, buildings and landscapes. The Second World War coastal defences at Walberswick

(http://www.walberswickww2.co.uk/) have been digitally reconstructed with a fly-through video taking the user on a tour of the landscape.

Schweibenz sees the virtual museum "as a means to establish access, context, and outreach by using information technology" (1998, 185), and it is this ideal that the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive seeks to achieve. As the physical site is inaccessible to the public, a virtual site provides the user with an opportunity to access the landscape in a way that would not normally be possible. While, as Beale highlights, the web

> "provides a tool through which archaeological data can be reconnected with locations via the mechanisms of online communities (2012, 617)".

A virtual site acts a medium to draw together a number of elements, and, perhaps most significantly, allows the user to contribute to and enhance them. The ability to contribute is designed to empower the user while the combination of landscape and material culture elements are designed to act as a trigger, drawing out people's memories which may otherwise not be shared. The keepers of Knockaloe's memories today are all second or third generation recipients and if, as Edge and Weiner (2006) suggest, we rely on prompts to share these experiences, it is important to create a space in which they can be shared. Unlike a static museum display the virtual museum is ready and waiting for multiple visits and multiple experiences. The site is not simply a place for those with memories to come and share (memory is defined here as anything associated with the camp, such as
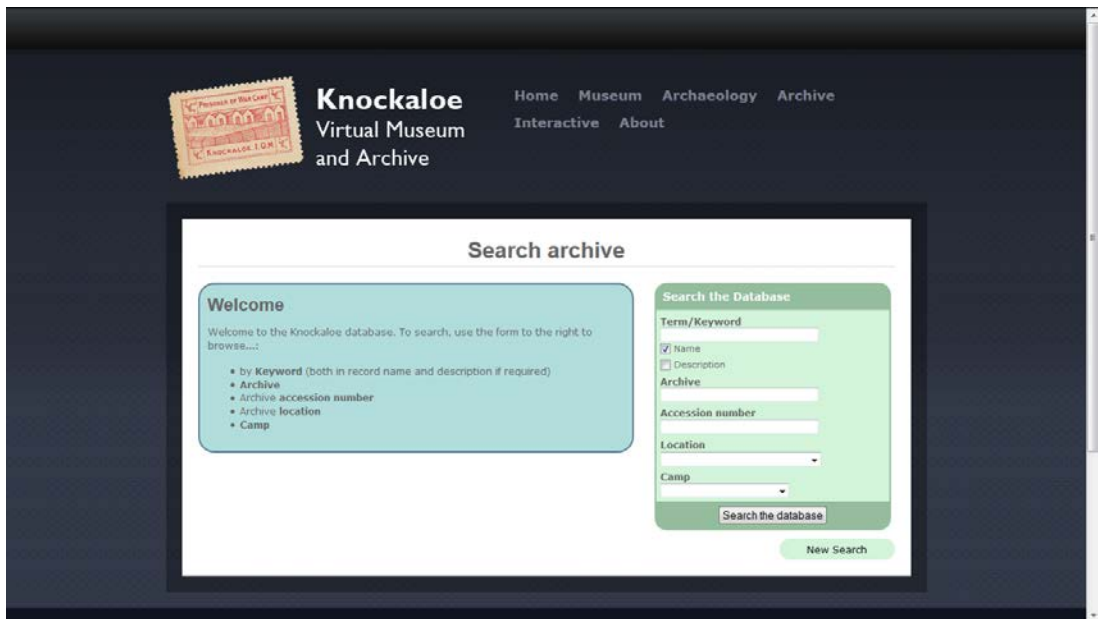
Figure 7: Screenshot of archive search screen. © Claire Corkill.
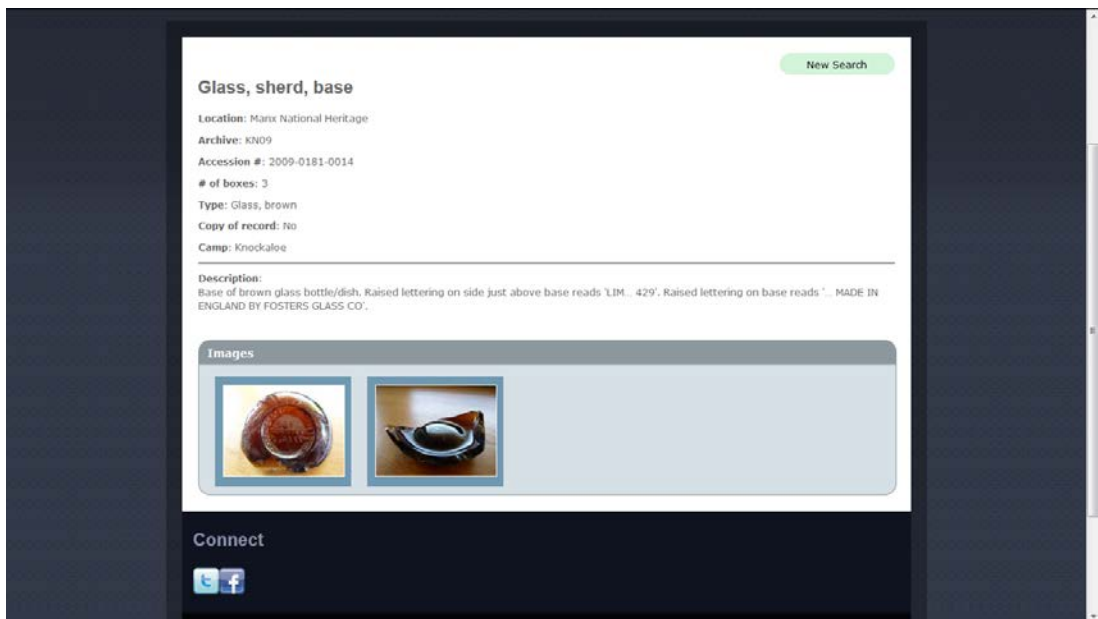
Figure 8: Screenshot of archive search result. ©Claire Corkill

stories and material culture). Rather it is a place to leave memories but also gain new ones, enabling the continued existence in space and time of Knockaloe and its inhabitants.

In order to achieve these goals the website needs to factor in several objectives. The site will effectively comprise of three major elements: the first being the virtual museum, the second, the virtual archive and the third, an interactive area with blogs and forums. The museum will act as the front end presentation of the site, providing a narrative of Knockaloe, utilising the archaeological and documentary evidence for the site to present information on key areas such as the construction of the camp and the experiences of daily life for the internees (see Chapter 6 for more on these themes). The museum will also contain personal stories of internees and guards to highlight the variety of individuals connected to the camp. Alongside these central elements are a number of pages which are not directly linked through the main menu of the site. These pages are all interwoven within the themes of the Virtual Museum, with links within the text and through images leading to more in-depth information about various elements of the camp and internee experiences. The museum area of the site will also contain a section on the archaeology of Knockaloe which will provide details of the fieldwork carried out, how it was collected along with the results and interpretation. The narrative will be designed so that it provides a background and general account of the camp for the user who has no prior knowledge while the addition of further interwoven pages provides greater detail for the user who has prior knowledge of the camp.

The virtual archive will provide the user with access to the basic data collected throughout this research (some of which will have been highlighted within the virtual museum). The user will be able to search the collection database via fields such as keyword, description and location. The third section will consist of more interactive features with blogs and forums. All sections of the site will be open for comments enabling the user to share opinions, experiences, and images or to ask questions. For more detail and information on the presentation, design, and use of the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive please see Chapter 7.

The key features of the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive are as follows:

- Presenting a museum narrative of Knockaloe suitable for users with varying levels of knowledge about the site.

- Providing a searchable archive which will enable the user to carry out specific and more general searches of the material.

- Providing a platform for the user to make their own contribution, ask questions and actively contribute to the site.

Chapter 3

'Beware Your German Neighbour' – The Historical Background to Internment during the First World War

The First World War saw the development of widespread internment such as the British camps holding Germans, Austro-Hungarians and Turks, the Canadian internment of Ukrainians (Luciuk 2001), and the Austro-Hungarian detention of Serbs (Stibbe 2006). In almost all cases, the internees were male and of fighting age, and both military personnel and civilians were detained, although typically in separate camps. Military personnel were commonly held in Prisoner of War camps specifically designed for the detention of captured enemy personnel. It should be noted that during the First World War the terms 'prisoner of war camp', 'internment camp' and 'concentration camp' were all used interchangeably as a term to describe internment camps. For the purpose of this thesis the term 'internment camp' will be used to define civilian internment, and 'prisoner of war camp' will be used to describe camps holding military personnel.

Treatment of prisoners varied, particularly in quality and quantity of food and activity, and the detainees were often used, to the advantage of their captors,

through forced labour and propaganda (Davis 1977, 625). Throughout Britain, internment camps were numerous and developed on an ad hoc basis as policy changed and the numbers detained increased. Over the course of the war larger permanent camps were developed with internees transferred from smaller, temporary, holding camps. Knockaloe Internment camp on the Isle of Man was the largest camp holding at its peak close to 23,000 men.

Before focusing on internment in Britain during the First World it is valuable to first consider the build-up to the conflict and the impact changing politics had on the British public's relationships with foreign nationals living and visiting the country. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a dramatic shift in British foreign policy. Following a declaration of 'splendid isolation' from continental European politics in the 1870s, Britain was faced with the development of a number of powers to threaten its position as European leader as the nineteenth century came to a close (Anderson 2003, 49).

The development of a German Empire began in 1862 when Bismarck was appointed as Foreign Minister and Prime Minister of Prussia. Bismarck's first aim was to regain control of territory under Austrian rule, an aim which led to the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 (Gildea 2003, 199-201). Prussian victory over Austria led to the formation of the North German Federation which included Schleswig and Holstein. Success in the northern territories prompted Bismarck to attempt a similar attack on France. Napoleon III, already struggling with a general uprising within France,

was easily overpowered by the Prussian forces at the Battle of Sedan, and forced to surrender Alsace and Lorraine. A general uprising in France ensued with the proclamation of the Third French Republic, and Napoleon was forced into exile (Anderson 2003, 324-327 and Gildea 2003, 226).

With Bismarck's dream of a German Empire now achieved, the next stage was to ensure its preservation. The negotiation of the Three Emperor's League between Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia with the pledge to help each other in times of war gave some security and was further enhanced by the Triple Alliance with Italy in 1881 (Healey and Stein 1973, 37-38 and Conybeare 1993). This security proved to be unfounded, with Italy forming a secret alliance with France to the effect that Italy would remain neutral should Germany declare war upon France. A similarly ineffective agreement was the Reinsurance Treaty between Germany and Russia of 1887 which lapsed after only three years and saw Russia also turn to France for alliance (Gildea 2003, 345-6).

Throughout these complex political manoeuvres in continental Europe Britain had remained quiet, but the power that had developed in the German Empire proved too much of a risk. The succession of Kaiser Wilhelm by Wilhelm II marked a move from developing domestic power to colonial power, particularly in Africa, while a newly commissioned naval fleet would rival that of Britain (Kennedy 1974). Britain's response to these actions was to further develop her own naval capabilities, while developing alliances of her own that would protect interests both at home and

abroad. An alliance with Japan in 1902 was intended to limit Germany's influence in the Far East, was followed by the Entente Cordial with France in 1904, and extended to the Triple Entente with the addition of Russia in 1907. The most significant outcome of this treaty was that it obliged the participants to support each other in times of war (Anderson 2003, 48-51).

These agreements were followed by a series of small but unsettling wars, most notably in the Balkans. At the same time opinions within the German Empire began to shift with the growth of socialism and Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg began to believe the only way to prevent a civil uprising was to go to war. This decision resulted in an offer of support to Austria-Hungary should they decide to go to war with Serbia following the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand (Simmonds 2012, 23-24).

The outbreak of the First World War saw a change in Britain unfathomable by many. Not only did this war see men called to fight in unprecedented numbers, but it also saw a dramatic change in the style of warfare. Unlike the Napoleonic wars, the Crimean and the Boer wars, where British troops had been sent into battle far from home, the First World War brought the threat of attack close to home. The focus of this threat was not just of invading soldiers, but for the first time the threat came from the air. Ultimately, the success of these attacks were minimal and improved British ground and air attacks alongside the Zeppelins' susceptibility to bad weather saw the force heavily depleted by the end of 1917 (Castle 2008).

Despite the limited physical impact of the German bombing campaigns, the effect on the British psyche was more profound. The fear of Germany and its people was enhanced, adding strength to Germanophobic feeling, and support for the internment of enemy aliens for the duration of the war.

Working in tandem with the political changes that were occurring in the years leading up to the First World War within Britain were changes in the attitude of the media and the arts. When Kaiser Wilhelm II came to the throne in 1888 public opinion towards him was extremely positive due to his young age, and, as the grandson of Queen Victoria, his close relationship with the British monarchy (Reinermann 2008, 471). Although the media and public did not turn wholly against him until 1914, the years preceding this became more unstable. Opinions first began to change following the Krüger Telegram incident when Kaiser Wilhelm II contacted President Krüger of South Africa in 1896 to express his congratulations regarding a victory over the British in the Boer war (Reinermann 2008, 474). This incident was forgiven relatively quickly as Germany remained uninvolved for the duration of the Boer War and, more importantly for public opinion, the Kaiser cancelled celebrations for the 200th anniversary of Prussia in order to travel to Britain for his grandmother, Queen Victoria's, funeral in 1901 (Reinermann 2008, 475).

This return to favour continued despite media reports on the growth of Germany's naval fleet followed by Germany's involvement in the First Moroccan Crisis of 1905

(Jones 2009, 2). Although this was believed to be a political move designed to 'unsettle Europe, and increase the probability of war' (Reinermann 2008, 477) there appears to have been little negative press in Britain. The Second Moroccan Crisis of 1911 which was driven, not by the Kaiser, but the Foreign Ministry's Secretary of State, Alfred von Kiderlen-Wächter, did once more see an increased anti-German feeling within the newspapers, although this time sentiment was not focused on Wilhelm who was seen as a lone peacemaker within a country eager for war.
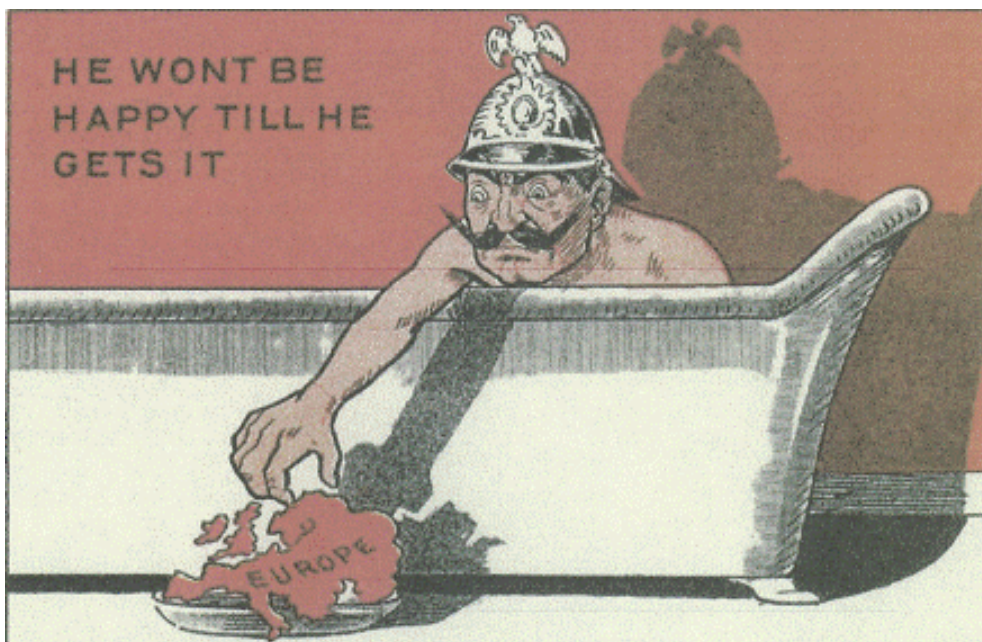
Figure 9: British postcard depicting Kaiser Wilhelm II and his desire to conquer Europe. ©KA

Following the outbreak of war the Kaiser's image was finally destroyed as newspapers used his persona as a representation for the whole of Germany, with the most extreme views making comparisons with Satan (Reinermann 2008, 481). Cartoons also became increasingly common, depicting Wilhelm in various comical scenarios, often relating to his desire to conquer Europe and the world. The Kaiser was not the sole focus of the media's attention during this period. Germans living

and visiting Britain also became a target with articles suggesting that they were involved in suspicious activity and were involved in preparations for a German invasion. The impact this propaganda was having on the British public is all too clear; in a letter printed on 6 May 1907 in the *Morning Post*, which claimed that there were 90,000 German spies at large throughout the country and that they were also amassing arms stores (French 1978, 356).

Alongside anti-German propaganda within the press came the growth of the spy novel and fictional accounts of German espionage and invasions (Stafford 1981). The most famous of these novels were T.W. Offin's *How the Germans Took Britain: Forewarned, Forearmed* (1900), which saw thousands of Germans moving to Britain in order to facilitate an invasion, and Erskine Childers *The Riddle of The Sands: A Record of Secret Service* (1903), whose hero has to prevent a full scale invasion of Britain. Stafford suggests that

> spy novels carry the message that not only is British espionage a necessary response to the behaviour of Britain's continental rivals, but that within Britain itself there are weaknesses and vulnerabilities which threaten national security (1981, 500).

How accurate an assumption this might be is difficult to prove but what does seem clear is that novels such as these dramatically enhanced the population's imagination regarding spies and espionage in Britain, drawing on the increased number of immigrants to the country and the changing politics of Europe.

Changing Britain: Pre-War Immigration

Parallel to the political changes occurring throughout Europe was the growth of immigration and the development of a lively German community in Britain, which until 1891 formed the largest foreign minority (Westaway 2009, 575). The size of this community in the nineteenth century stood at just 28,644 in 1861 (Khoudour-Castéras 2008, 213) but by the time of the 1911 census had grown immensely to 62,522 (Manz, Beerbühl and Davis 2007, 10). These individuals crossed all class divisions from the merchant bankers of the upper class to the large numbers of the working class living in 'ethnic enclaves' (Gullace 2005, 348) in the larger cities carrying out a variety of different trades (Panayi 1995, 73).

A dramatic increase in Germany's population, from 24,831,000 in 1861 to 64,568,000 in 1910 (Panayi 1995, 74) prompted waves of émigrés who began to travel to England and the U.S.A. in search of a better life and new opportunities for work. Ninety per cent of those leaving Germany between 1871 and 1913 chose America as their destination with more than 5 million crossing the Atlantic between 1850 and 1914 (Khoudour-Castéras 2008, 213). Others set out on this journey travelling the first section of the journey to Britain before realising that they did not have the means to continue further. This contributed significantly to the number of Germans living in England, particularly in large port cities such as London and Liverpool (Panayi 1995, 76) and created a continuously shifting community with individuals remaining in Britain only long enough to earn their passage to the United States (Westaway 2009, 575).

Permanent settlers typically came in the form of merchants and businessmen who settled in industrial cities, such as Manchester, where they could take advantage of trade and financial gains. Other groups, such as waiters, barbers and musicians, came to England on a temporary basis with the desire to develop their language skills and enhance their employment prospects when they returned home (Panayi 1995, 76), while some came with the aim of more permanent settlement. The number of German staff working in restaurants around Britain totalled ten per cent of the workforce. Soon German restaurants began to open in larger cities to accommodate the migrant community and those interested in experiencing German culture and cuisine. German chefs, such as Alfred Walterspiel, held positions in some of the country's best hotels including The Ritz and The Savoy in London.

A smaller group of migrants was formed by individuals who moved to take advantage of Britain's open asylum policy and the political freedom not afforded to liberals and socialists in Germany. Difficulties for these groups were most prominent following the passing of the Anti-Socialist Laws in 1878, which supressed the Social Democratic Party, and which continued until the resignation of Bismarck in 1890 (Maehl 1952, 23). This was also the case for minority cultural and religious groups within Germany, such as the Jewish and the Polish communities, who felt excluded by the changes developing in the new Germany Empire which strove to create unity through language and religion (Westaway 2009, 576). Similarly,

Catholics were also affected with the Kulturkampf of the 1870s which saw the expulsion of Jesuits from Germany in 1872 and the creation of the May Laws to limit the power of the Catholic Church (Ross 1984, 460).

Once settled in Britain, areas of concentration developed, most notably in Whitechapel, St George's and Mile End in London, which developed due to their proximity to the docks where many would first arrive. A secondary area of settlement also developed around the West End of London where working-class tradesmen living in close proximity to their place of work (Panayi 1995, 78). Although grouped by their shared German origins, there were significant divides within these groups in terms of social class, religion and political affiliation. Divisions were also seen in social activities and of course in the selection of London's German newspapers (Panayi 1995, 86).

Initially the influx of German immigrants appear to have been fairly well accepted by the native British population and they were not subjected to the same violence and negativity faced by Russian Jewish and Irish immigrants who arrived in Britain during the latter part of the nineteenth century. This integration may have been facilitated by the development of an interest in all things German throughout the nineteenth century and the theory that Germans and Britons shared the same racial origins (Panayi 1995, 88). Thomas Carlyle, best known for his translations of Goethe and introduction of Kant and Fichte, was instrumental in popularising German culture in Britain (Major 2008, 459). Similarly George Bernard Shaw was known for

his love of Wagner and interest in the writings of Nietzsche (Major 2008, 460).

These individual passions for German culture were compounded with the

development in 1905 of the Anglo-German Friendship Society led by Lord Avebury

and Lord Courtney (Weinroth 1970, 661).

As the waves of new arrivals increased opinions towards immigrants began to

change, particularly as unemployment grew following the Great Depression of 1873

to 1896 (Macenczak 2010, 3). This period saw changing agricultural markets which

left large landowners struggling financially (Swinnen 2009, 4). Wages to farm

workers had to be reduced and the willingness of immigrant labourers to work for

lower wages in poorer conditions made them an appealing commodity to the

business man but equally made them the enemy of the native Briton in search of

work. Britain's Prime Minister, Herbert Asquith also worried that alongside the

employment issues the foreign workers also brought with them problems with

sanitation and increasing crime rates (Macenczak 2010, 9) and believed that the

time was right to reconsider the status of foreigners living in Britain which would

ultimately result in the Aliens Act of 1905.

The changing feelings towards German immigrants in Britain were enhanced by the

rise in spy fiction already discussed and the changing views of the Kaiser, who was

often used to personify this shift. Panayi describes the changing public opinion

towards Germans as being

Transformed into a 'military figure of imposing build, uniformed and

spurred, with upturned moustache, a commanding eye, and a powerful arm

encased in mail'. Fear of German militarism replaced admiration of German

culture (1995, 90).

This personification of Germans as a military enemy marked the beginning of the

transition from diplomatic difficulties to the development of full scale

Germanophobia.

Throughout this period Austro-Hungarians and Turks were also migrating to Britain.

From 1846-1924 4,878,000 Austro-Hungarians emigrated, ten per cent of the

country's total population in 1900 (Massey 2003, 36). As seen with nineteenth

century German immigration many went to the United States, while some chose to

settle in Britain. Smaller numbers of Turkish immigrants also moved to Britain

during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries motivated by

opportunities for work, political asylum and education.

The first attempts by the government to react to the rising tensions within the

German Empire came in the passing of the Aliens Act of 1905 (Wray 2006, 302).

This Act saw, for the first time, restrictions imposed on those who could enter

Britain, although the restrictions at this time were focused on limiting numbers of

criminals and the lower classes rather than, as some extremist groups had hoped,

implementing restrictions on entire ethnic groups. As a result, rather than appease

those who took issue with immigration, the Act simply infuriated the activists in

society who believed it had not gone far enough and served only to deepen anti-Germanic sentiment.

Britain's declaration of war on Germany (and by association on Austria-Hungary) finally saw the introduction of changes in the treatment of German's residents in Britain that the right-wing extremists desired. The assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June 1914 sparked the onset of the First World War, with the July Ultimatum resulting in Serbian troops crossing the border and Austria-Hungary declaring war (Ponting 2003). Russia's support of Serbia led France into the war as a result of the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1892 and prompted the rapid escalation of the conflict. Britain entered the war on 4 August 1914 in a display of support to both France and Belgium (*ibid.*).

After entering into the conflict Britain immediately began to make preparations to deal with the number of German and Austro-Hungarians living within Britain (Turkey did not enter the conflict in support of the central powers until 29 October 1914). Planning for such an event had begun as early as 1910 when a subcommittee was formed by the Committee of Imperial Defence (Commons Hansard 1914, vol. 66, col. 563-7). The planning from this committee enabled the rapid introduction of The Aliens Restriction Act on 5 August 1914, which allowed the introduction of Orders in Council to control the activities of all aliens entering and residing in Britain (Panayi 1996b, 116). The first of these Orders in Council was issued the very same day and prohibited aliens from entering, or leaving, the country without a

permit. Failure to comply with compulsory registration could result in a £100 fine, or a six month prison sentence. Movement was also controlled with aliens forbidden from travelling more than five miles from their home without a permit, while social institutions and social activities were also controlled (Panayi 1993a, 56). Germans and Austrians were also prohibited from entering or living within areas classified as 'sensitive'; obvious areas included the military bases and munitions factories alongside coal mines, railway tunnels and telegraph stations, all of which were put under police guard (French 1978, 364) and ultimately covered vast areas of the British coastline.

From this point on all German and Austro-Hungarian citizens living in Britain were classed as 'enemy aliens' and all men and women over the age of sixteen were obliged to register with the police. Classification as an alien was not limited only to those who had recently moved to Britain. Individuals who had been in the country for many years were still obliged to register as were British-born citizens with German parentage.

Soon after this the government embarked on an intensive investigation of potential enemy threats from within the country. A report to the House of Commons from the Commissioner of Police states that

> Since the declaration of war the police, who have been strengthened
>
> for the purpose, have thoroughly investigated all cases where they
>
> had reason to suspect espionage, as well as some 8,000 or 9,000

reported to them by members of the public. Searches have been

made, and all documents found have been scrutinised. As a result, in

about ninety cases only was the suspicion of espionage sufficiently

strong to warrant detention (Commons Hansard 1914, vol. 66, col.

563-7).

The Commissioner continues to state that 50,633 Germans and 16,141 Austro-

Hungarians have been registered in the United Kingdom and that their movements

and communications are being supervised (Commons Hansard 1914, vol. 66, col.

563-7).

The high level of reported espionage cases within such a short time following the

outbreak of war is unsurprising; after many years of anti-Germanic feeling and the

suggestion that the enemy was ever-present by the media and fictional

publications. Heightened awareness to strangers led to reports of enormous

variety, with the greatest number coming from the southern coast of England.

Equally, people also felt the need to act and for many keeping watch on foreign

neighbours and strangers in town enabled them to 'do their bit'. The potential for

espionage worked both ways though and in April 1914, prior to the outbreak of

war, Roger Blackburn, a young man from Blackpool, was arrested after a letter he

sent to the German Embassy offering his services as a spy was intercepted. During

his trial Blackburn admitted that the idea of becoming a spy had come from his

collection of British spy novels (French 1978, 362).

Controlling the Enemy

Immediately following the outbreak of war on 4 August 1914, the decision was taken to intern all German men between the ages of 17 and 42 (Panayi 1993a, 56). Men within this age group were classified as military age and therefore perceived as the greater threat. The high numbers of men within this age bracket also contributed to the decision not to repatriate the majority of Germans living in Britain. Their potential deportation was seen as a gift to the enemy, providing them with thousands more men able to fight. As a result only very small numbers of men were repatriated throughout the duration of the war and in the majority of cases these men were classed as too old or unfit to fight.

This initial policy of full scale internment was retracted almost as soon as it had been issued with a replacement order which demanded only the arrest of those acting suspiciously. By 13 August 1914, 980 men had been interned and by the 28 August this figure had grown to 4,300 (Panayi 1993a, 56-57). Numbers continued to increase and widespread arrests were implemented until the end of September 1914 when all available camps had reached capacity. By November 1914, wider internment of civilian enemy aliens had begun with 14,500 detained in camps around Britain (Commons Hansard 1914, vol. 68, col. 178-9). This was approximately one third of the total number of registered aliens and debate was on going regarding continued policy and whether exceptions could be made for nationals of more friendly nations such as Hungarians and Poles (Commons Hansard 1914, vol. 68, col. 178-9).

An increase in anti-German hostility followed by a series of riots in Deptford in London on 18 and 19 October 1914 prompted the government to reintroduce their policy of full scale internment "in the interests of public safety and public order" (Panayi 1993a, 57). In reality the camps were still overcrowded and time was needed to find further locations and construct the new camps and, with the exception of the vulnerable south coast of England, further internment was limited until May 1915 (Panayi 1993a, 57).

The initial camps were makeshift, using buildings that could be easily converted to accommodate the internees, with the first men detained at Dorchester Camp in August 1914 rapidly followed by York, Edinburgh, Olympia in London and Lancaster. Alongside these camps were a series of ships, including the 'Saxonia' and the 'Royal Edward', docked in the Thames and at Southampton which were used as temporary camps (Newton 1999, 107). Stobs Camp, near Hawick, Scotland was used as an internment camp from November 1914. The site was already a military training ground and so was easily converted to hold significant numbers of men. Accommodation was provided in tents and military issue, pre-fabricated wooden huts, each sleeping thirty-three men. Despite initial plans to develop Stobs into a large civilian camp it seems to have held only 6,000 men at its peak, and by spring 1915 had already changed from a solely civilian to a mixed camp (Manz 2002, 59). By July 1916 all civilian detainees at Stobs had been transferred to other camps

(Manz 2002, 59), predominantly Knockaloe, Isle of Man, and instead became an entirely military prison camp.

Conditions in the camps varied, and the holding camps, where men were initially transferred before being moved on to one of the large permanent camps, were often the worst. Paul Cohen-Portheim, a German national who was not interned until 24 May 1915, was initially taken to Stratford Camp. The night before his internment he was visited by a police officer who asked him to report to the police station at 10am the next morning from where he would be taken to a camp. When Cohen-Portheim asked what to bring he was told to pack as if he were going on holiday (Cohen-Portheim 1931, 21). Stratford Camp was overcrowded and provided only the most basic of provisions for the men: the food was poor, sleeping space was crowded, and there was only a small courtyard in which to exercise. Newbury Camp was also a holding camp and had equally poor conditions, constructed on a race course with accommodation provided in horse boxes where up to eight men would sleep on a bed of straw (Braithwaite Thomas 1933, 46). Lancaster Camp, set up inside an old waggon factory provided even worse conditions for the internees. Seven hundred men were housed in one large room with a dirt floor and spent the winter of 1914-15 there without heating or lighting. Catering facilities were severely limited and a shortage of plates and cutlery meant many of the men ate straight from the cooking pots (Braithwaite Thomas 1933, 46).

On the 7 May 1915 the situation of German's living it Britain and not yet detained took a dramatic turn for the worst. Government desire to drum up support for the war led to the encouragement of propaganda in the media, which in turn fuelled the increasing need of civilians to have someone to 'blame' for a conflict that had taken so many brothers, sons and fathers away from their families. The sinking of the Cunard liner the RMS Lusitania by a German U-boat of the Old Head of Kinsale, Ireland, proved to be the event that brought the underlying tensions of the British public bubbling to the surface. The Lusitania sank within eighteen minutes of being hit by a single torpedo and 1,153 passengers and crew lost their lives (Gullace 2005).

The British people decided enough was enough and that it was time to take matters into their own hands. The desire for revenge grew with the publication of descriptions of events and images of the mass graves in Queenstown, Ireland, where many of the bodies were washed ashore (Gullace 2005, 350). Rioting began and shops, businesses and homes of anyone believed to be German came under threat. Windows were smashed, premises looted and, in some cases, people were also physically attacked. Liverpool in particular was affected by this tragedy as a number of men from the city had been crew on board the 'Lucy'.

> On the corner of Scotland Road ominous gangs were gathering –
> men and women, very drunk and very angry. Suddenly something
> crashed up the road… A pork butchers had had its front window
> knocked in with a brick and a crowd of men and women were

wrecking the place… everything suggestive of Germany was being

smashed to pieces (O'Mara 1934, 225).

Scenes such as this were seen throughout Britain's major cities. In London alone

rioting caused over £200,000 worth of damage (Gullace 2005, 346).

Although the aim of the riots was to seek revenge against the German nationals,

the violence often spilled over to other migrant communities as Viscount Sandhurst

recalls in his diary:

The rioting in E. London shops continued with great violence to-day –

any German shops being wrecked and in some cases any with a

foreign name (Sandhurst 1928, 197).

In some instances people were even seen to turn their back on their own relatives,

whether they were naturalised Britons, or were considered to have 'fraternised

with the enemy', as in cases where women had taken German husbands and

therefore rescinded their British nationality.

The government's response to the Lusitania riots of May 1915 led to a permanent

change in policy – the introduction of full scale internment for all men between the

ages of 17 and 55 (Panayi 2005, 30). This move was designed to calm the volatile

situation around the country following the Lusitania riots, and it was argued that

the decision was taken on the basis of the safety of the aliens. This decision did not

cover women, approximately 10,000 of whom, with their children, were permitted

to live with restricted freedom. Such freedom came at a price however, with their husbands interned many women struggled to provide for their families, particularly as anti-German sentiment made it difficult to find employment and friends were few and far between. It was during this period that the only major effort to repatriate was undertaken and between May 1915 and June 1916, 10,000 enemy aliens left the country (Panayi 1993a, 60). Women, children and men above military age were eligible, while single women who had lived in the Britain for less than five years formed the only group forcibly repatriated (Panayi 1993a, 60).

Reporting at a police station for internment was a truly intimidating idea. Having to say goodbye to wives and children, not knowing when they would see each other again, how long detention would last or where they were going to be held were all daunting thoughts. Many men then faced a night in a holding camp before being marched through the streets often lined with crowds shouting abuse and throwing rotten food. Paul Cohen-Portheim recalls his own journey from Stratford through the streets of London at the start of his journey to Knockaloe Camp on the Isle of Man:

> We were marched through the streets to the station, flanked by soldiers with drawn bayonets. The population must have known this was due, for in spite of the early hour the streets were full of a hostile crowd. The memory of a recent Zeppelin raid was fresh with them; this must have appeared to them as a sort of revenge. They spat, they insulted, they jeered, they threw things. I had been so

utterly unprepared for this that I could hardly believe it was

happening. Perhaps it was happening to somebody else, or was it a

nightmare? Only one face stood out from the crowd, horribly real,

that of an old woman with wild wisps of white hair blowing about it.

She grimaced furiously and shouted ' 'Uns! ', then she grinned and

nodded and said in a lower tone and with a curious sort of

satisfaction, as if to herself: ' Biby-killers! 'Then again the furious

'Uns,' the smug ' Biby-killers! ' Her voice seemed to follow me all the

way. She was quite drunk. I don't know what the actual distance to

the station may have been, it seemed many miles to me (Cohen-

Portheim 1931, 29).

As the numbers of internees steadily increased, the need for permanent camps

increased. Lofthouse, near Wakefield, along with Alexandra Palace, London and

Stobs, near Hawick, were the largest and best developed camps, but camps were

also created in Douglas, and later Knockaloe, on the Isle of Man.

Cunningham's Camp, Douglas

The first internment camp on the Isle of Man was located in Douglas, in an area

known as Little Switzerland, in the requisitioned Cunningham's Holiday Camp. The

businessman Joseph Cunningham had moved to the island in the 1890s, looking to

benefit from the lucrative tourist industry. Cunningham's first camp was located in

Laxey, but moved to Howstrake, near Groudle Glen on the outskirts of Onchan, in

1894. This all-male camp was open from May to October and provided tented

accommodation and activities for 17/6 per week. The success of the camp

prompted Cunningham to obtain land on Victoria Road, Douglas and this new five

acre site housed a large dining pavilion and 122 tents (Drower 1982).

In September 1914 Cunningham's Camp was requisitioned by the British

Government to be used as a civilian internment camp. The camp was easily

converted to meet the growing demand for accommodation which was provided in

a combination of tents and wooden huts and to satisfy security demands with the

addition of barbed wire fencing and sentry posts. The main camp was then divided

into three, an ordinary camp, a 'Jewish camp', and a privileged camp for those who

were able to pay for additional facilities, including personal servants. The holiday

camp was designed to accommodate 2,800 tourists, but demands for space saw

over-crowding as numbers swelled to 3,300 (Cresswell 2005, 45). Overcrowding,

the onset of winter and complaints regarding the quality and quantity of food,

including weevils in the rice, led to a riot in the camps dining hall in November 1914

(Newton 1999, 107). Guards opened fire on the rioting internees which resulted in

the death of five men. Officials quickly realised that changes needed to be made

and a new camp developed (Cresswell 2005, 45 and Mytum 2011, 37).

Figure 10: Douglas Camp. Internees' standing outside their tents. ©MNH

Figure 11: Douglas Camp. Privilege camp dining hall. Note the silverware and waiting staff. ©MNH

Knockaloe Camp

Knockaloe Moar Farm is located on the west coast of the Island, and is a small farm of approximately 331 acres. Located one and a half miles from Peel, the site was chosen in October 1914 due to its former use as a military training camp. Plans were rapidly developed to construct a camp suitable for 5,000 internees. This capacity was rapidly exceeded as men were transferred from other camps around Britain including Stobs, Douglas, York and Frimley and, as a result, 4 sub-camps were constructed taking its capacity to over 22,000. Indeed, at its peak a total of 22,769 men which formed roughly two thirds of the 35,000 men held in total throughout Britain.

A description of the camp by Anna Braithwaite Thomas of the Society of Friends adequately sums up its unique nature and desolate appearance:

> Round this moorland farm of Knockaloe… grew a vast temporary wooden town... No woman or child was to be seen in this town; it contained no cottage or mansion, but a haze of smoke by day and a blaze of electric light at night time showed from afar where lay the ranks of black huts in which its folk were to eat and sleep together for three or four weary years. Outside, the fences of barbed wire and the pacing sentries, were an everlasting reminder that the world was at war and the inhabitants of Knockaloe Camp must be kept out of the world until the was ended (1920, 66).

Local men were employed in the camp construction and as soon as the first accommodation huts were habitable, the first wave of internees were moved to provide further assistance in the construction and development of additional accommodation and facilities (Cohen-Portheim 1931, 56). A report from the Friends' Emergency Committee describes the camp as it was on their first visit, and states that the initial arrivals were brought in "before the camp was complete. Sanitation was bad, huts were leaky and unwarmed" (Braithwaite Thomas 1920, 67). The autumnal weather brought further problems as the fields became increasingly muddy and artwork by internes shows men using wooden blocks as stilts to avoid standing in the mud. This problem was eventually resolved with the laying of sleepers to provide board walks across the site (Braithwaite Thomas 1920, 68), while porches were eventually built onto the doorways of the huts to stop the men tracking mud into their living spaces.

The layout of the camp was systematically arranged with guard's buildings, offices and other organisational buildings located around the edge of the camp and alongside the central driveway of the farm. The camp was then divided into four sub-camps forming defined units, each edged with barbed wire, within the larger area. Each of these sub-camps was then further divided into a number of compounds. Camp 1, the first constructed, had six compounds each with sleeping huts, kitchen, dining room and latrine. Compounds 1-3 and 5-6 within this camp were constructed with sleeping huts designed and built locally on the Isle of Man. These buildings proved to be too time consuming to construct and with the bunk

style sleeping accommodation they provided were too crowded. As a result compound 4, along with the rest of the sub-camps, were built using military issue prefabricated huts.

With a circumference of some three miles when completed, some idea of the enormous scale of Knockaloe once fully built can be seen in statistics relating to the building materials. A total of 50 million feet of timber, 1 million bricks and over 700 miles of barbed wire were used (Mark 2007, 121). All four camps followed the same basic principles, with an area of around four acres divided into compounds measuring 100 by 150 yards, each with a minimum of five sleeping huts. The War Office issue huts were small and a series of six were connected together to form one large structure (Reports of Visits of Inspection Made by Officials of the US Embassy 1916, 20 and 22, MNHL) accommodating approximately 200 men (Cresswell 2005, 46). The only exception to this rule was camp 4, the privilege camp, which alongside its 7 compounds had a tennis court. On the north-west edge next to Camp 3 was the isolation hospital which housed men with infectious diseases such as tuberculosis, venereal diseases and mentally ill patients whose cases were not extreme enough to warrant hospitalisation at Ballamona, the Isle of Man's lunatic asylum.
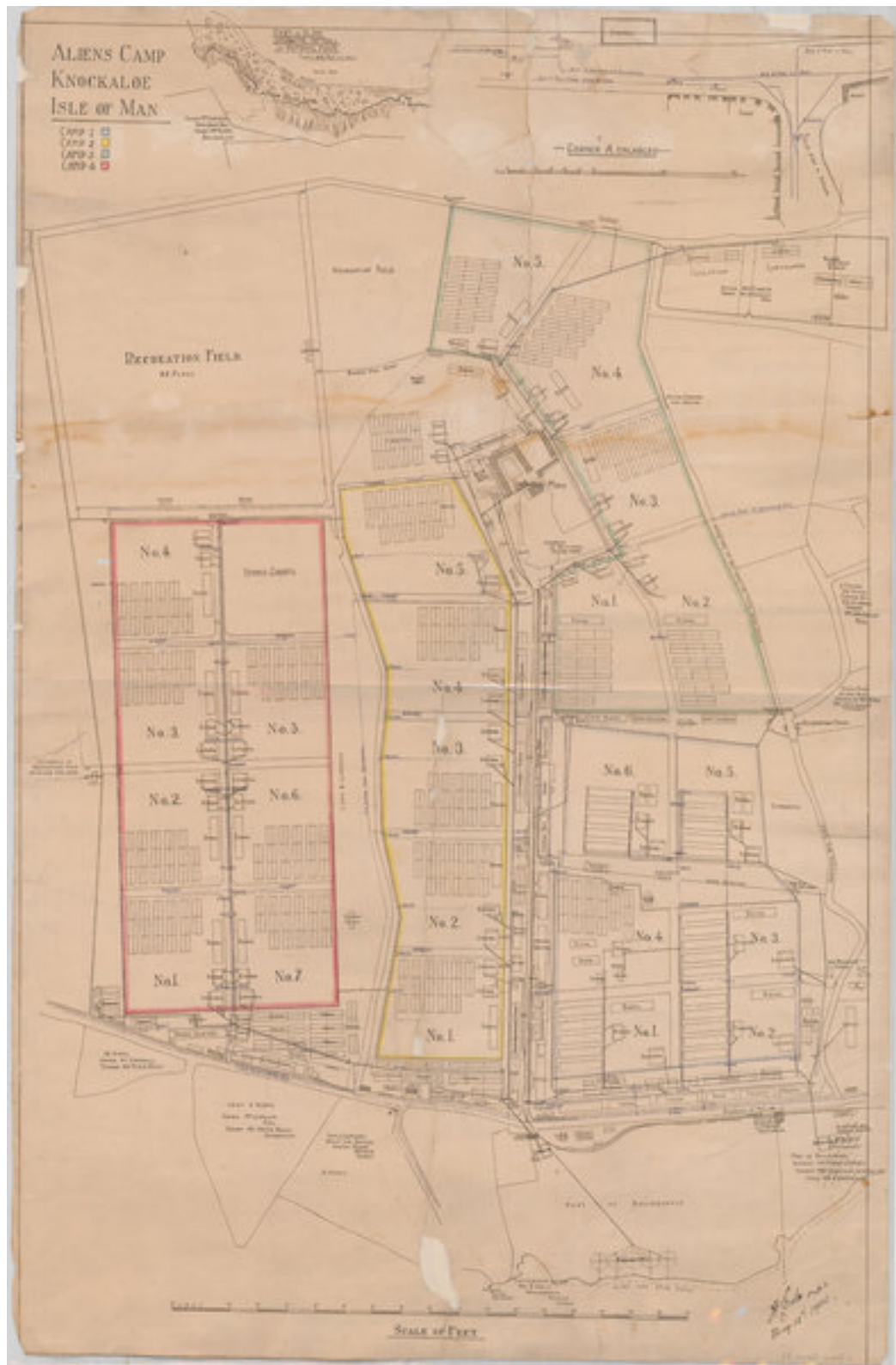
Figure 12: Plan of Knockaloe Internment Camp. The coloured lines mark the boundaries of each of the sub-camps. The layout of the compounds and huts is depicted within each sub-camp.. ©MNH

Figure 13: Knockaloe Camp. Hut interior. ©MNH

Figure 14: Knockaloe Camp. Woodwork room. ©MNH

Figure 15: Knockaloe Camp. Theatrical production. ©MNH

Figure 16: Knockaloe Camp. Field bakery. ©MNH

Provisions for the camp were provided by local suppliers, with the majority of food supplies distributed by Mr Cunningham of Douglas. Throughout the war the camp was kept well supplied and the dry canteen found in each of the camps compounds was able to meet almost any demand if payment was available. Food supplies were well maintained throughout the war with reasonable daily rations including 5oz bread and 4oz meat (Government Circular No. 514, 23 July 1918, MNHL) supplemented with vegetables grown in the camp gardens.

> "… baking for the Camp of 26,000 (i.e. Staff, Troops, 'Blue Staff', and Prisoners) was conducted in a central bakery containing all the most modern appliances. Prisoners were employed as bakers, and 15,000 two pound loaves were baked daily when the camp was full." (Sargeaunt 1920, 79)

The camp provided all basic necessities for the men including clothing and bedding and over the course of the war huge numbers were required:

The following passed through the Camp Quartermasters stores:-

125,000 Blankets	88,000 Shirts
90,000 Clogs	1000, 000 Towels
145,000 Socks	539 Tons of Soap
204 Miles of Flannel	113 Miles of Moleskin
	(Sargeaunt 1920, 75)

In order to deliver such a large quantity of material to the camp a railway branch line was set up from the Douglas to Peel line. This travelled the 1.2 miles from Glenfaba, on the outskirts of Peel, to Patrick village where the line continued up the

driveway to the heart of the camp. The train line opened in September 1915 and remained in use until after the camp was closed in October 1920 (Boyd 1994).

Daily life within the camp was basic, with regular twice daily role calls and meal times creating a monotonous routine for all. Once the initial shock and frustration of internment subsided the men rapidly became weighed down with boredom and began to do all they could to look for work. Positions were available in the camps kitchens and gardens, and there was also a considerable amount of administrative work that could be carried out. Those with trades began to set up shop, with numerous barbers and shoe shine boys offering their services (Cohen-Portheim 1931) along with tailors, shoemakers and anyone else in a line of work that could be put to use. This system also benefitted some of the poorer men in the camp, particularly as the men were allowed to access their personal finances with those wealthy enough able to procure almost anything they desired. The exceptionally wealthy also had the opportunity to buy billets in Camp 4. This was the privilege camp and provided more spacious accommodation, servants if desired, and was segregated from the lower classes.

For those who did not have those skills to set up shop in camp the lack of activity was enhanced by the other restrictions imposed by camp life. An almost complete lack of privacy was enhanced by the limited amount of personal space allocated to each man, alongside the constant movement and noise which made it challenging to find a moment's peace and quiet. The remote nature of the island limited the

possibility of visits from family and friends and the feeling of helplessness led many

internees towards depression. This depression became known as 'Barbed wire

disease' or 'barbedwirelitis' and

> ...the symptoms of this were moroseness, avoidance of others, and the
>
> aimless promenading up and down the barbed-wire boundary of the
>
> compound, like a wild animal in a cage. (Baily 1959, 93)

The cure for this disease was thought to be distraction, as by stimulating the mind

and body the internees would be able to focus on something other than the

difficulties of their situation for at least some of the time and pass their days more

positively and productively.

James T. Baily, of the Society of Friends, was brought into the camp as Industrial

Superintendent to bring about just such a change. As a craftsman and teacher he

was given the task of encouraging the men to learn skills and produce craftwork

which would not only remove the problem with barbed-wire disease, but also

produce a saleable commodity to raise money for the war effort. Baily and his team

of Quakers embraced this challenge and soon had the men producing carved bone

work, marquetry, baskets and even some small white metal figurines and medals

(Baily 1959). As the war continued the interest in craft production grew to the

extent that the men chose to use the dining halls as workshops. The high quality

workmanship meant that the Society of Friends were able to produce a catalogue,

and sell the materials throughout Europe and the United States to raise money for

the war effort. Indeed a number of exhibitions were also held within the camp to

display the material produced. Photographic evidence shows that these items were also kept by the internees in an attempt to personalise their living space, and to keep as gifts for wives and families.

Alongside the craftwork, other activities to pass the time were encouraged. Sporting activities were particularly popular and each of the compounds had a football team competing in the camp league. Gymnastics, boxing and even golf was played and a number of large scale sporting events were held with small white metal cups and medals produced as prizes. Education was also important and the large number of well-educated men including teachers and academics were able to provide a diverse range of lessons including a number of languages, veterinary science, mathematics and literature. For many men in the camp this provided an opportunity to learn that they had never had before.

Entertainment unsurprisingly became a fixed part of camp life. The large number of professional and amateur musicians saw the growth of several camp orchestras, as well as smaller ensembles and folk bands. Musical performances were a daily occurrence, and well known orchestral pieces including Wagner were played alongside newly composed works. Theatre was equally popular with regular dramatic productions with full sets and costumes, including a somewhat ingenious suit of armour made from tin cans.

Following the end of the war the internees expected a quick release and to be allowed to return to their homes and families. Instead the British Government decided that the vast majority of these interned men should be repatriated to Germany which promoted a wave of appeals. As a result of these men detained pending appeal, most of which were unsuccessful, it was not until October 1919 that the last group of men left the camp. For many the thought of deportation was worse than internment as having lost much, if not all, of their possessions and money during the war they now faced the prospect of starting a new life in a country which was culturally and socially alien and which was suffering tremendous poverty as a result of the war.

The nature of internment is transient and ever changing and the complex nature of the experience has been highlighted here. Without doubt, the experience was difficult and there is much to suggest it was an unnecessary and poorly designed policy that ultimately led to the breakdown of many families (Dove 2005, 11). The true number of individuals in Britain preceding and during the First World War who were indeed a threat to national security is entirely unknown. What is clear is that the vast majority of men who experienced life at Knockaloe were of no threat at all and given the opportunity would probably have opted to support the Allied forces.

Chapter 4

Conflict and Captivity: The wartime detention of civilians and military personnel

Daily routines, allocated sleeping, eating and recreational spaces, roll calls, identification numbers and boundaries defined by barbed wire fences formed part of everyday life at Knockaloe internment camp. These controls were designed to implement structure and order in a temporary world where everyday life was transformed. Knockaloe Camp is only one of many examples of internment throughout history. This chapter seeks to consider the various approaches to the study of internment and the variety of camps that have been created, most notably in the First and Second World Wars. Prisoner of War camps and the experiences of the men detained in them will also be considered although their detention as military personnel does mean that in some aspects they do differ from civilian camps and as such they will have minimal focus here.

Considering a variety of camps from different conflicts and locations will provide a platform from which to begin understanding and interpreting Knockaloe internment camp. Incorporating a variety of approaches and experiences here enables the site to be situated among other examples, highlighting the diversity of the internment experience. Equally, while every experience is different, it is hoped

to draw upon other sites to try and find parallel experiences and assistance in understanding areas of camp life where little evidence remains.

Interpreting experiences of internment is challenging, particularly when dealing with experiences outside of living memory. Accounts, journals and records of individuals' time in camps do exist, particularly from the First and Second World Wars, but it must be remembered that these memories only account for the experiences of one individual. As Brück attests

> Because part of people's self-identity and way of viewing the world is constituted outside of the building or landscape in which they find themselves at any one moment, interpretation within that context cannot be precisely controlled, making a variety of different "perspectives" possible. People bring with them a range of pre-understandings that influence their interpretation and experiences of the spaces they encounter (2004, 142).

The memories and experiences an individual has had prior to internment must have an impact upon how they approach and engage with the experience of internment. Although this description could be fitted to any experience that involves a dramatic shift in life experience, what makes it particularly relevant for the internment experience is the fact that such experiences involve large numbers of individuals for a short period of time. Prisons and other institutions can expect similar individual responses but their constant presence in the landscape creates a much greater

awareness of what to expect when entering as well as leaving more fixed memories and remnants in the landscape post-use.

The very nature of the sites also add to the challenge of studying the internment camp; it must be remembered that these sites and objects all form part of what Klausmeier (2006, 8) describes as 'uncomfortable monuments'. Internment camps were sites of imprisonment and although the inhabitants may have been 'humanely treated', many questions can and have been asked regarding the need for such large scale and long term incarceration of civilians, and the experiences for many internees were far reaching, lasting many years after they regained their freedom. Their implicit connection, and often confusion, with 'concentration camps' of the Boer War (1899-1902), and particularly the 'death camps' of the Herero Genocide (1904-1907) and Nazi Germany (1933-1945) have certainly hindered an engagement with these sites and objects. Whilst interest in the military history of the First World War has led to a celebration, even fetishisation, of the archaeological and artefactual remains of the conflict, comparative reactions to civilian internment are considered less acceptable.

For the British and Irish at least, this can in part be attributed to an inherent physical dislocation from these remains, with the physical remains situated in geographically remote locations that cannot be experienced in the everyday. This physical separation, augmented by a chronological dislocation, has led to a conceptual disjuncture with the realities of war, allowing the archaeological and

artefact remains to become sentimentalised and heavily romanticised. It is the dislocation from 'reality' that has made the construction of narrative less complicated. In contrast the geographical and chronological 'presentedness' of the internment camp within the everyday landscape, even if its physical remains are obscure, makes the construction of similar narratives problematic. In part this can be attributed to a wider social anxiousness over how to react to this facet of history: should internment be celebrated for its role in helping win a war or should it be regarded as a historical 'embarrassment' due to its questionable ethics and morality. It is perhaps for this reason that the 'dark tourism', so prevalent throughout Europe, is much less visible in Britain. As such it is not simply important that these sites are recorded but that they are placed in a wider context and understood both individually and collectively (Klausmeier and Schmidt 2006, 8). The more recent approach by archaeologists to address these 'thorny issues' marks the start of a new period which seeks to address this imbalance and confront these challenging histories.

Unlike the study of internment, the study of conflict has long formed part of archaeology's repertoire; in fact in the opening chapter of *Combat Archaeology* Schofield suggests that

> Archaeologists typically engage new periods by first examining evidence for
> warfare and conflict, taking note of military artefacts and architecture,
> before moving onto other themes and topics (2005, 13).

Conflict within historical archaeology is well developed, particularly in the area of battlefields with the work of Pollard (2009; Banks and Pollard (2011); Freeman and Pollard (2001) and Sutherland (2010, 2009) highlighting just some of the work being carried out in a European context, while the American Civil War continues to be a well-studied aspect of historical conflict archaeology (for examples of material on this subject see Blight 2002 and Geier, Orr and Reeves 2006).

Contemporary archaeology has also followed Schofield's model and, although still a developing area of archaeology, has already achieved a considerable body of research relating to military sites and events. The twentieth century was in many respects a century of conflict with the two World Wars, followed by the Cold War and numerous others such as the Vietnam War, Falklands War, Korean and continuing and complex conflicts in the Middle East. As a discipline, contemporary archaeology emerged out of the 1970s and changing perceptions of the nature of archaeology, shifting from an emphasis on excavation and artefacts to a broader consideration of the interaction between people and things (Buchli and Lucas 2001, 3). As a result it is those relationships that become the focus of the archaeology, not the point at which they occurred. As Harrison and Schofield point out

> We do not recognise the distinction between that which is old/ancient and matters and that which is new and does not. Rather we recognize all material culture, the artefacts and sites as being suitable for archaeological enquiry and potentially holding value for this reason: not just the objects of

the deeper past threatened with destruction but also the contemporary

office building that now occupies the site (2010, 184).

Approaching contemporary issues from an archaeological perspective provides the

opportunity to effectively learn about ourselves now. Engaging with this concept

ensures less tangible places and experiences can be captured in the archaeological

record, enabling a more accurate interpretation (Harrison and Schofield 2010, 147),

and where necessary ensuring their preservation (Fiorato 2007, 148). Equally, it

enables debate and discussion about the meaning and creation of our 'past' and

facilitates the public's desire to engage with and discover their own past, or pasts

(Thomas 2008, 145).

Alongside the opportunity to engage with the public at large, contemporary

archaeology also enables interaction with individuals who experienced the places

we as archaeologist are attempting to understand. This provides a unique

opportunity to record and discuss their meaning as well as the ways in which they

will be disseminated and interpreted. Active participation in recording the

contemporary past was carried out at the Greenham Common Peace Camps.

Engaging with women who had lived in the camps opened the study to a new level

of understanding and interpretation. The impermanent nature of the sites meant

that although material culture survived, evidence of the layout and function of the

camp and use of objects would have been difficult to interpret without the

involvement of the women (Schofield and Anderton 2000; Marshall, Roseneil and

Armstrong, 2009). As Schofield and Anderton note

What we do not see without the documentary and oral evidence of the

women is the idea of what the land at Greenham symbolises for this group...

a site occupied for over a decade; peaceful, physical protests and symbolic

actions. We can see little of these issues within the currently available

physical evidence (2000, 246).

This approach to the Greenham Peace Camps shows the potential of contemporary

approaches to archaeology working on multiple levels. The creation of a lasting

record of the camps ensures their legacy, while the incorporation of the women's

experiences personalise and enhance the interpretation of the record giving it a

multidimensionality that would not have been explicit in the material culture and

landscape alone.

More broadly, work on conflict of the contemporary past has drawn on material

culture, buildings and landscapes with numerous motivations. In many cases the

emphasis is placed on preservation both as a way of ensuring that events are not

forgotten, but also to provide interpretation, acting as both a place of

remembrance and as a reminder of the impact of conflict (Schofield 2005, 81-114).

Aspects of the Cold War have been widely studied, most notably by Schofield (2010;

2009), while Myers has considered the implications for more recent sites such as

Guantanamo Bay (2010a), and Wilson, the impact of sites of terrorism in New York

(2011). For many sites of conflict, politics and emotion are inherently interwoven.

The Berlin Wall, for example, still evokes strong feelings from the people of Berlin

as to whether it should be retained as reminder of a difficult period overcome or

removed, as its presence only serves as a reminder of a dark a and challenging time (Klausmeier and Schmidt 2006). As a result archaeological approaches to conflict archaeology must remain sensitive to the communities and audiences involved.

Archaeological research into the First and Second World Wars have perhaps been the biggest boom areas in the development of conflict archaeology. After long being the subject of research for amateur archaeologists and enthusiasts recent shifts in perceptions have seen a growth in academic research. The very scale of these events and the shift, not only in the number of places involved in the conflict at any given time but in the adaption of 'total war' (Schofield 2005, 25), has ensured lasting global reminders of the conflicts. Archaeological research of the two conflicts has tended to focus on battle sites and defence structures alongside the material culture associated with them. Trench archaeology has obviously played a major role and research has also been carried out into the memorialisation of war (Saunders 2003a, Saunders 2003b, Batten 2005). Saunders has written extensively on the material culture of the First World War, particularly that of the western front (2004, 2003b, 2001). While Sichelbaut (2006, 2005) has focused on aerial mapping and non-invasive approaches to studying the landscape and Schofield's Modern Military Matters (2004) covers the range of military structures in Britain. Prisoner of War (POW) camps have been studied to some level, particularly those of the Second World War in Europe and Asia (such as Early 2013).

The introduction of internment

It is difficult to give an exact beginning of internment as it is possible that methods of holding civilians captive have existed as long as conflict between people. Earlier examples of prisoners of war do exist such as those from the American Civil War. As they relate specifically to military prisoners they will not be discussed here but for more details see Jameson (2013), Avery and Garrow (2013) and Bush (2013).

The suggested beginning of internment, in the form of the large scale detention of civilians during times of conflict, lies in the late nineteenth, early twentieth century with two conflicts notably implementing such a strategy. The first of these conflicts is the Cuban Insurrection and Spanish-American War of 1895-1898. Following the Cuban *insurrectos* successful scorched earth campaign, which effectively destroyed the island's sugar economy the Spanish military decided to implement a new tactic in an attempt to bring down the Cuban guerrillas (Smallman-Raynor and Cliff 1999, 334-335). On 17 February 1896, the Spanish General Valeriano Weyler y Nicolau implemented a mass relocation of the Cuban people inhabiting more than half of the island (Smith and Stuki 2011, 420). This move to counteract the guerrillas' scorched earth policy saw the Cuban population forced to move into urban centres, their movements restricted and access to food limited. Less than a year later almost 400,000 civilians had been forced to leave the countryside for the cities (Smith 1994).

For many, eight days was all they had to relocate from the country to the town and anyone who rejected the orders was to be treated as a rebel. Many who did not hear the order were given a sharp shock when they were forced from their villages, their homes often torched (Unknown 1898, 93). The *reconcentrados*, as they were known, were to find life challenging in the overcrowded urban centres. Living space was limited and the sudden influx of people overwhelmed an already poor sanitation system. Disease was rife, there was little work and with no money the *reconcentrados* could rarely afford what little food was available (*ibid*). In 1897 the situation had become so bad that the Spanish created 'zones of cultivation' to increase space and initiate farming, while food and work was also made available (Smallman-Raynor and Cliff 1999, 335). These revisions came too late and ultimately conditions did not improve until the US annexed Cuba in 1899. Ultimately, this conflict was to see the death of approximately 400,000 men, women and children (*ibid*). The numbers of military and civilian casualties are unknown but the conditions within the fortified towns were such that the civilian casualties must contribute to a significant proportion of this figure (Offner 2004, 51).

Although in some respects this does not represent the perceptions of internment that come to mind with the First and Second World Wars, the movement of Cuban civilians acts in a very similar way. Controlling the population was designed to limit the ability of the local people to help the guerrillas, much in the same way as internment was. What is significant in this early example is the treatment of the

civilians, with violence used to force them to relocate, and followed by their

prolonged suffering due to inadequate conditions. For the Spanish military at the

time, the concern was for victory in the conflict not the welfare of the Cuban

people.

Closely following this conflict is the second Boer War (1899-1902) which saw

civilians once again used as pawns in a conflict, removed from their homes in order

to prevent the guerrilla fighters gaining the support of their civilian population

(Smith and Stuki 2011, 419). The introduction of camps here was presented as a

form of protection for the local population by the British Army who claimed the

people would otherwise suffer at the hands of the local guerrillas (Stibbe 2008, 54).

It was claimed that these protection camps would provide food and shelter for

women and children and, as a result, were even supported by some of the

surrendered Boers (Smith and Stuki 2011, 425). The British hoped that removing

people from their land and property would in fact lead to a faster end to the

conflict. As the war continued however, the British implemented a more and more

sinister scorched earth policy, rounding up any civilians and housing them in

temporary camps.

The camps during this conflict were separated into 'black' and 'white' camps. In the

'black' camps some supported the British, believing that their victory could lead to

better circumstances for them. Unfortunately, many of these camps had poor

facilities and were often treated as work camps. The 'white camps' were also poorly

developed with insufficient sanitation, lack of food and overcrowding problems leading to disease. A measles epidemic saw many die yet, despite this, new arrivals of women and children continued to be brought to the camps. The lack of discipline within the 'white' camps is what has led to them being defined as the first internment camps which emphasised government custody over punishment (Weiss 2011, 27). Instead of forced labour, control was meted out in these camps through the rationing of food and limitation of privacy and basic provisions.

One significant feature of these camps that differentiates them from a more typical perception of an internment camp is that many were not fenced off, and that those who lived there were not actually imprisoned (Smith and Stuki 2011, 429-430). People were free to come and go as they pleased although as many people's homes were destroyed during the conflict it would seem that for the majority there were few other places to go. This is perhaps compounded through the high mortality, which at rates of up to 400 in 1,000 people would suggest that anyone who was in a positon to leave would have done so (Smith and Stuki 2011, 428). Ultimately deaths in both sets of camps were extremely high. Exact figures are uncertain but have been suggested at around 25,000 for each group of camps (Van Heyningen 2009, 32).

Other implementations of internment policy were also seen during this period with the US utilising it in the Philippines (1899-1902) to try and starve guerrilla forces of local support (Smith and Stuki 2011, 424). The Germans also used a policy of

internment in West Africa (1904-1907), advancing it further to implement a programme of genocide which saw 40,000-70,000 of the Herero tribe die (Stibbe 2008, 54).

Whether these camps can be labelled as the first internment camps is a question of debate. There are many similarities between them and later examples, and if they did not function as the first internment camps themselves, they certainly led the way for their implementation in later conflicts. It must be remembered at this time that civilian internment did not have any legislation to dictate how people should be treated, allowing those driving the conflict to use civilians in any way they saw fit to help them claim victory.

The First World War

The implementation of internment during the First World War was a widespread phenomenon. As the first conflict on a truly global scale, the experiences of those held in Prisoner of War and internment camps are wide ranging and vary enormously depending upon the culture, politics and climate of the countries in which they were detained. For the first time also, there were landscapes of unprecedented destruction with areas of France having over 1,000 shells per square metre and 375,000,000 square metres of barbed wire (Saunders 2004, 8). The lasting legacy of these battlefields in the landscapes and material culture mean that the internment is often a forgotten element of the conflict. It did, however, have a

significant role to play, with countries using the internment as a means of propaganda:

> "the 'facts' about internment were repeatedly contested, as each of the warring states represented themselves as 'civilised' and the opposite side as 'barbaric' (Stibbe 2008, 56).

In an attempt to police these camps the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) attempted to gain access in order to ascertain how civilians were being treated, as the lack of international law or guidelines for civilian internment afforded a great degree of flexibility in interpretation with regards to the conditions under which an individual could be held (Stibbe 2006, 7).

The numbers of those interned were significant although varying greatly from country to country. The figures within Europe are astounding with an estimated 100,000 French prisoners deported to Germany; the same number of Germans to Russia; and 32,440 Germans, Austrians, Hungarians and Turks in Britain (*ibid*). This amounts to over 230,000 in just three of the countries involved in the conflict; on a global scale the number must have been close to millions. The reasons for their detention varied between countries but often went beyond manipulation for propaganda purposes; for example, in Germany and Russia internees were used to provide a much needed workforce.

Archaeologically the study of the internment camps from the First World War is limited. Numerous historical accounts and studies are available, but unlike the

wider study of First World War battlefields, trenches and to a degree prisoner of war camps, much less consideration has been given to the sites and material culture of internment. This section will provide some examples of internment camps that existed around the world during this conflict, although associated archaeological evidence may be limited.

Upon the outbreak of war, Canada had approximately 120,000 nationals from an enemy nation living as un-naturalized residents. In September 1914 a public notice was issued stating that anyone of German or Austro-Hungarian nationality (although the majority were actually Ukranian with Austro-Hungarian citizenship), attempting to leave the country, or, anyone engaging in hostile acts on Canadian soil would be detained (Kordan 2002, 6). Despite this 7,762 men would be interned in Canada in 24 camps while also being used as a labour source (Kordan 2002, 5). The men's detention in camps located in Western Canada's Dominion Parks and British Columbia was in order to continue the work started prior to the outbreak of the war on the development of national parks. The decision by The Hague to change internee status from enemy alien to de facto prisoner of war meant that the internees could now be put to work as long as they were not contributing in any way to the war effort (*ibid*).

Despite being far from the conflict physically, the Canadian government strove to implement a relatively strict policy of treatment for the internees. Unlike other allied countries who strove to ensure the men were not made to do forced labour

and were given a degree of autonomy, the Canadian policy was to treat the men essentially as prisoners of war, believing that if they were not a threat they would not need to be detained.

The work the men carried out was hard physical labour, clearing areas of land and constructing roads. Coupled with the harshness of winter in the Canadian Rockies, life for the internees was not an easy one. There was comfort for some however, as Spirit Lake and Vernon camps were set up to facilitate families and some of the men were joined by their wives and children (Parks Canada http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/pn-np/ab/banff/natcul/histoire-history/internement-internment.aspx). Despite this the challenges of an eight hour working day coupled with several hours marching to and from the work site meant the men had little time to rest. In the winter months men at higher altitude would be moved to different camps to enable them to continue working despite the snow.

Records telling the experiences of these internees seem to be few, and their role in the creation of Canada's national parks has only recently been recognised. Time and perspective lead many to believe that the internment of these men was unjust, particularly as it has become evident that the treatment they received was in many ways harsher than their counterparts in other allied countries. As a result the experience is a forgotten part of Canada's First World War history, seen as an embarrassment and therefore not promoted as part of the war story. As with many of the First World War internment camps, no evidence of their presence remains in

the landscape making it difficult for visitors to the parks to find out about the landscape's creators. A permanent exhibition to remember these men has however been created close to the location of Banff camp (Derworiz 2013, internet).

Australia also implemented an internment policy during the First World War to control the country's 100, 000 German minority population (Tooley 2003, 217). Propaganda and fear of spying led to a similar development of anti-German feeling to that seen in Britain and as a result a number of internment camps were set up. Initially, the policy was to only intern visiting German nationals, but in time even German Australians were detained, combined numbering over 4,500 men (Tooley 2003, 218; see also Saunders 2012).

A number of camps were set up around the country catering for various types of internee, from the naval and merchant camp at Berrima, New South Wales, to the privileges of the elite camp at Trial Bay, New South Wales. Women and children who had been detained in East Asia were also deported to Australia and housed in camps at Bourke and Molonglo near Canberra. Accounts of the camps suggest a very similar lifestyle to that seen in Knockaloe for the majority of internees who were encouraged to set up committees and engage in sporting activities and stage entertainments to pass the time (Helmi and Fischer 2011). Holsworthy camp, near Liverpool, Sydney was the largest camp holding several thousand individuals and appears to have been slightly different to many of the other camps. Accounts suggest that although arts and entertainment were present, the camp functioned

much more like a prison. This, it would appear, is due to the nature of the internees

in the camp who rioted, produced alcohol and even had a criminal gang, the Black

Hand Gang, who extorted other internees (Holsworthy Internment Camp

http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/holsworthy/holsworthy-

internment-camp-liverpool/).

Historical research into the First World War internment experiences of Australia

seems to be much stronger than that seen in Canada. Once again, however, there is

little archaeological emphasis. The online photographic collection of Paul Dubotzki

(http://www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au/exhibition/enemyathome/paul-

dubotzki-gallery/), who was interned at Torrens Island, Holsworthy and Trail Bail

Gaol camps, provides a glimpse into the life of the Australian internee. Dubotzki

took photographs throughout his internment setting up a studio and selling images

throughout the war. His collection bears a striking resemblance to the images of

Knockaloe and Douglas camps on the Isle of Man with regard to the entertainment,

set up of the camp, representations of the internees and exhibitions of craft work.

Following the outbreak of war in Europe, as in Britain, all foreign nationals had to

report daily to the German police. In October 1914 British women were repatriated

and the following month internment began. Germany's best known internment

camp from the First World War is Ruhleben, a converted race course just outside of

Berlin. For the first arrivals at the camp conditions were poor with little preparation

made prior to the men's arrival. As time passed conditions improved and a system

and routine were developed within the camp. A German speaking captain was assigned to each barracks and these captains came together to form a committee to coordinate the day to day running of the camp (Foreman 2011, 29).

Documentary sources are rich for Ruhleben as are photographs, programmes and art work, depicting life in the camp and highlighting the range of education and arts activities the men participated in while interned (see The Ibberson Photographs http://ruhleben.tripod.com/ibberson/) .

In Austria, in contrast to the camps elsewhere around Britain, enemy aliens were confined rather than interned. In theory they could enjoy much greater freedom but the limitations that came with this were great. Without being interned the men and women were not candidates for Red Cross assistance and as enemies in society were ostracised and charged excessive amounts for accommodation and food (Stibbe 2008, 60).

Rhuleben in many ways represents a typical internment camp in Europe during the First World War, while the situation in Austria is the exception to the rule. In some ways this highlights the difficulties of the wives and children who were not interned, as they were still considered enemies and were often left in a worse position than the men who had the support and protection of the camp.

British Internment Camps

The fact that the Isle of Man has been the focus of internment studies during the First World War cannot solely be attributed to the large numbers of men interned there. Many of the other camps around the country provide scant evidence of their use as such today. There is no definitive list of internment camps in use during this period (Schofield 2004), although there were several large, relatively permanent internment camps in use throughout the country between 1914 and 1919. Many more were temporary and, as a result, not only are they poorly preserved within the documentary and photographic records, but many have also been physically removed from the landscape. Newbury Camp was unusual as it was set up on a race course using the horse boxes as accommodation, similar to the camp at Rhuleben (Panayi 2005, 32). Many were housed in buildings or on existing sites deemed fit for the purpose of internment. Other sites such as Lofthouse Park, near Wakefield, were demolished for redevelopment (Stoffa 1933), or as is the case at Knockaloe, Isle of Man, was purpose built and systematically dismantled following the end of the conflict.

This apparent lack of structural evidence is perhaps a smoke screen hiding the wide range of material that does survive. As Shanks suggests

> For archaeologists it is not enough that their collections of artefacts make cultural sense, whether it is in terms of artistic value or marker of identity; they must also be linked to a place, a setting. The key term here is landscape

and the pivotal concept mediating archaeology and culture is identity.

(2002, 286)

Perhaps it is a lack of context that prevents the archaeologist connecting with the archaeology of these internment camps. Only a handful of museums hold an assemblage of internment artefacts, and rarer still are they publicly displayed with more than a passing reference to their origins. Much greater quantities of material reside in individual private collections disassociated both from the camp and other associated material culture. Similarly the lack of physical presence and the transient nature of these sites mean that they are not only disconnected from the artefacts but in a sense also from the landscape. As the sites are lost from the collective memory they begin to lose their identity. The challenge these camps present therefore, is to reunite these elements, the artefacts and the landscape, enabling them to reinstate their identity.

Although dispersed, large quantities of material culture do survive, particularly from the larger camps, most notably craftwork made by the internees. As much of this was made for general sale to support the war effort it is widely spread not only within Britain but also throughout Europe and the United States (Braithwaite Thomas 1920, 71). Photographs, postcards and ephemera give a glimpse of the camp's layout and structures but also provide faces to go alongside the names written in surviving documents such as the Douglas Camp register which details the names of all the internees that passed through the gates during its existence. Art

work, camp newspapers, journals and letters also survive and add significantly to the wealth of material available.

On the ground there are still camps which can provide tangible evidence of their existence be it above or below ground. Stobs Camp, near Hawick, Scotland, was a military camp used for internment of civilians between November 1914 and Spring 1915 (Manz 2002, 59) and considerable remains of the camp survive. Although much of the structural remains are from a later camp, pre-fab huts of the type used during the phase of civilian internment still remain and it is possible to correlate many of the existing footings with maps and plans from the that period. Knockaloe may have limited structural remains above ground but geophysical survey has revealed some extant below-ground archaeology for at least one of the camps (Camp 1, see Chapter 5).

Despite the widespread numbers of camps around the world during the First World War, evidence of material culture and archaeological approaches are still limited. The value of these objects should not however be underestimated. The photographic archives mentioned above hold a wealth of information about camp life and the internee experience and the fact that it is possible to draw upon so many similarities with the camps on the Isle of Man suggests that there must be a similar repository of dispersed material culture associated with them. This is not the case for the Second World War and the section below will highlight the wealth of

material available and the quantity of archaeological research that has already been carried out.

The Second World War

The internment of the Second World War contrasts in many ways to that of the First World War. With relation to this thesis perhaps the most significant is the treatment of the material culture. As in the previous war, vast quantities of material were produced in order to find a way to pass time and find a way to mentally and physically cope with the challenges of confinement. The sheer extremities of the Second World War have provoked a much greater body of research into material culture than seen in previous conflicts. The fact that the war remains in living memory must also contribute to that fact, with individuals and groups providing first-hand accounts of experiences associated with the material. The nature of the material will be highlighted in this section, providing an insight in to the potential value of the Knockaloe material.

The internment of Japanese Americans in February 1942 saw the families forced to sell their businesses and possessions in preparation for relocation in 6 days (Burton and Farrell 2013, 240). Only allowed to bring what they could carry, the departure for the camp must have been a terrifying journey into the unknown. With almost 120,000 Japanese Americans interned the relocation programme was carried out on a huge scale, despite two thirds of the people being American citizens (*ibid*). A

total of sixteen relocation centres were set up, 13 in California and one in Washington, Oregon and Arizona (Dussellier 2012, 81). Conditions in the camps were poor, with badly constructed accommodation and little comfort. In an attempt to make the camp feel more personal and more like home, the internees began to produce craft work. The items made were wide ranging including tissue paper flowers, rag rugs, mailboxes and utilised skills such as crocheting and woodcarving (Dussellier 2013, 82, see also Dussellier). The combination of utilitarian and more artistic objects enabled the internees to recreate practical items they would have had back home along with more special pieces to transform the barren landscape of their relocation into something more special. The outside spaces were also transformed with the development of gardens with incredible effort going in to the production of community spaces that reflected traditional Japanese beliefs (Beckwith 2013).

The development of a sense of community was crucial within an internment camp. Working together with fellow internees meant a united front against the captor, which took away some of the inevitable sense of longing and homesickness and enabled large groups of people in close confines to function together with the minimum of disputes and disruption. The value of community can be seen through the effort and commitment put into the various activities and entertainments carried out in the camps. An example of this can be seen in the theatrical performances at Chungkai hospital camp, Thailand. These were designed to

encouraged and entertain those recovering from the brutal experiences building the Thailand-Burma railway, boosting moral and aiding healing (Eldredge 2012).

The internment camps on the Isle of Man during the Second World War utilised the Island's boarding houses to create a variety of camps around the Island's seaside towns. The most famous of these was Hutchinson Square, Douglas, which was home to a community of artists and intellectuals, the most famous of whom was the artist Kurt Schwitters (MacDougal and Dickson 2009). Supplies for the creation of art were in constant demand and even the wallpaper and lino of the boarding houses was removed to be used as canvases (Cresswell 2010, 53). For a number of these artists the internment experience was not necessarily a negative one, providing time for artistic experimentation and the development of new techniques (Hinrichsen 1993). Examples of the men's expression of their internment experiences can be seen today in the Manx Museum, Douglas, Isle of Man.

In a similar way the women interned throughout the Far East used embroidery to express their experiences of internment. The designs detailed events such as a tray cloth showing the civilians' march, upon their detention in 1942, to Changi Jail (Archer and Jefferies 2012, 246-247). Personalisation of embroideries was a key influence in the items made with names, dates and specific details incorporated to represent individuals that have become part of the internment experience. Often the very material used in the creation of the pieces acted as a specific reminder or memory trigger for events within the camp. The work also acted as a way to

defiantly create something with hidden meaning that the guards may not have understood (Archer and Jefferies 2012).

The expression of defiance was also expressed at Amache Japanese American internment camp with the drinking of saké (Slaughter 2012). The consumption of alcohol was strictly forbidden and yet the internees chose to continue to do some, embracing traditional Japanese cultural activities but also facing serious consequences if they were caught. Further expressions of rebellion can be seen with the evidence of graffiti at Manzanar Japanese American camp (Burton and Farrell 2013). Such acts represent defiance and anger towards the internees' situation but also represent an individual's identity; by inscribing a comment or name they are expressing their presence and fixing themselves in this new landscape.

The ownership of private space was another import facet of the internee's experience. Carr's work on internees from the Channel Islands in German camps such as Wurzach and Biberach highlight this, describing the bed as personalised and personal (2013, 194). The knowledge that a place existed where one could retreat no doubt eased the pressure somewhat when constantly surrounded by others. The personalisation of space around the bed has a huge significance in the assertion of an individual's identity. The use of everyday objects which could be decorated and personalised, art work, or even simply the space to put one's belongings comes with an element of empowerment as the internee exerted control over a

personalised space. This personalisation also recreates the idea of home, something that the internees would have felt the loss of significantly. The recreation of a new home may exist around the bed, but the bed itself acts as a facilitator to reconnect with the internee's true home. This space where they are undisturbed is a space where they can dream about home and the people, places and things they miss. This is seen in artwork from Wurzach, where internees are depicted lying in bed with their dreams of home shown in bubbles (Carr 2013, 194).

The examples presented here are only a small quantity of the Second World War internee experiences which have been presented to highlight the various ways and means civilians used to process and cope with their situation. The experiences of each individual is of course unique and this selection only presents an idea of how the internment experience could be manipulated to create positive experiences or at the very least to try and distract and accept the situation that these enemy aliens found themselves in.

Notably missing from this discussion of Second World War internment are the Nazi concentration camps. These sites are so unique that they have not been included here. In many ways, the experiences of the Holocaust fall outside the remit of internment with the justifications for their existence and the treatment of those involved being much more complex and destructive than the internment camps considered here. For a discussion on material culture and Auschwitz however see Myers (2005).

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a background to internment, variety of sites, types of material culture and the extent to which they have been researched. It is clear that internment of the last World War has been much more extensively studied. It also highlights the similarities between the internment experiences with individuals having similar needs to find an identity and be part of a community whilst struggling with feelings of homesickness, isolation and loss. The following chapter will go on to look specifically at Knockaloe, in particular the fieldwork carried out on the site as part of the process of understanding and recording the site prior to the development of the Virtual Museum and Archive.

Chapter 5

Fieldwork

During the course of August 2009 and August 2010, fieldwork was carried out at Knockaloe. This fieldwork was not designed to be a comprehensive survey of the site; rather, an assessment to ascertain the potential archaeology remaining, particularly below ground.

Knockaloe camp was situated on the 331.26 acre Knockaloe Moar farm, Patrick, Isle of Man. Today the site is owned by the Department of Environment, Food, and Agriculture (DEFA), Isle of Man Government, who ran it as an experimental farm until the end of 2010 when it was let out to tender. The fieldwork was all undertaken with the permission and cooperation of DEFA.

Geophysics

Prior to beginning fieldwork a study of maps and aerial photographs was undertaken to see if there were any significant features visible. Aerial photographs were obtained from the Department of Infrastructure (DOI) for 1972, 1982 and 2007 (all aerial photographs can be viewed in the Knockaloe archive). The colour aerials from 2007 showed little evidence of archaeology present below the surface; however the 1982 and 1972 images were more suggestive. The 1972 image (see

Figure 18) showed potential linear features in field 334931, while the 1982 oblique

enlargement (see Figure 19) showed possible linear features running east-west and

north-south across field 330135, which fell within Camp 1.

As a result, two fields at Knockaloe were surveyed as part of the geophysical

assessment of the camp. The first, in 2009 was field 334931 (see Figures 17 and 20)

which formed part of Camp 2 and is located to the south of the central driveway.

This field will, for the purposes of the survey, be called Field 1. A baseline was set

up parallel to the northern boundary of the field and a series of 20x20m grids were

set out across the 9.12 hectare field. A metal feeding station was present near to

the centre of the field and as are result a small area around it could not be

surveyed. The field was then surveyed using two GM 36 Fluxgate gradiometers with

readings taken at 0.25m intervals along 1m transects following a zigzag traverse.

Readings were recorded to a resolution of 0.1nT. Grey scale plots were then

produced using GeoPlot. The survey was carried out with the assistance of local

volunteers.

The results from this field (see Figure 21), show limited amount of activity below

ground. A strong linear feature runs the length of the northern edge of the survey

area while a shorter parallel linear feature runs east-west across the field for c. 50m

approximately 25m from the northern extent of the survey. It is likely that these

represent elements of the camp infrastructure (see Figure 22). The north-south

feature along the northern edge may well correspond to the water and drainage
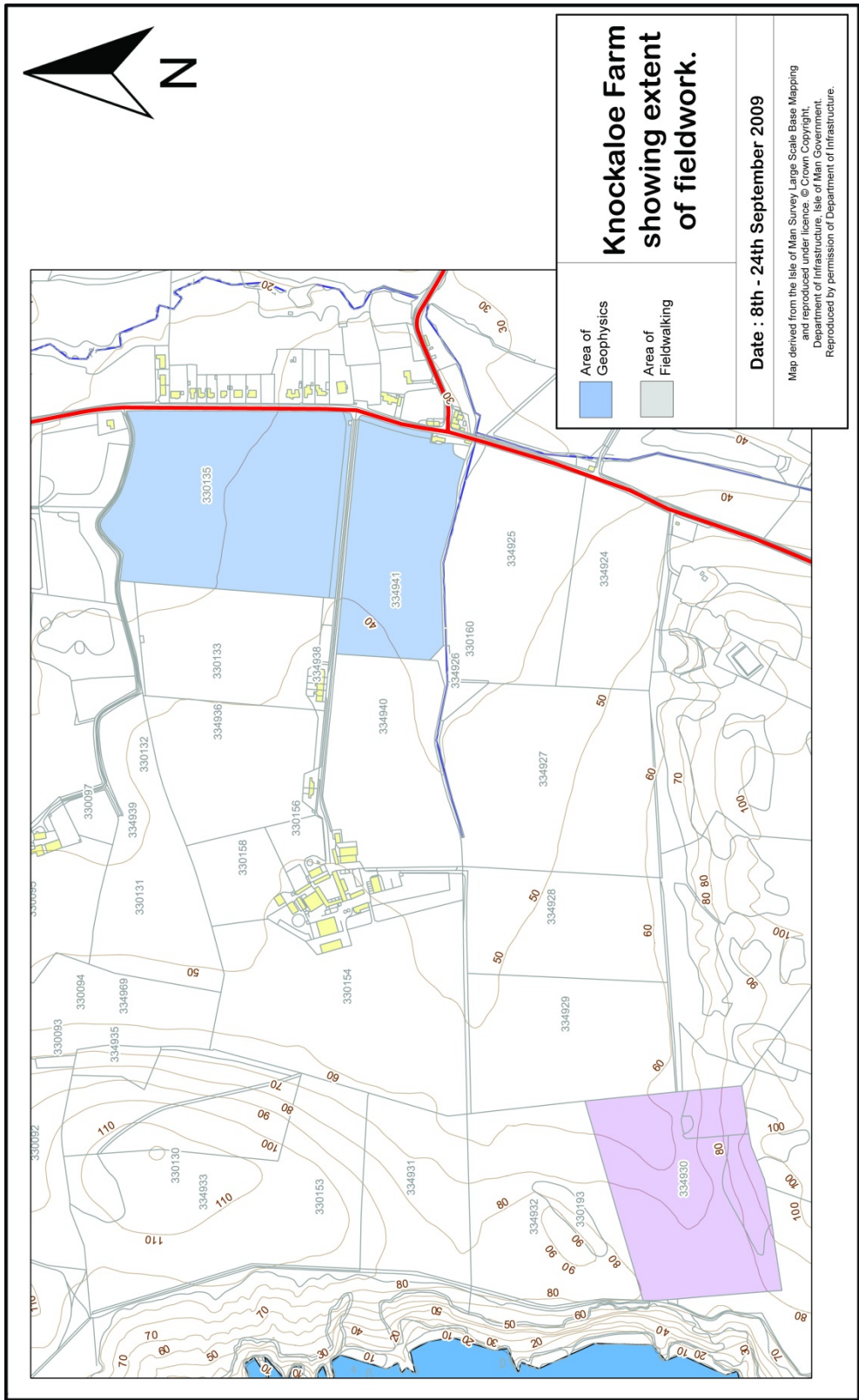
Figure 17: Map showing layout and location of Knockaloe with the geophysics and field walking fields highlighted. © Claire Corkill

Figure 18: Aerial Photograph 18 July 1972. Number 1710. © DOI

Figure 19: Aerial Photograph May 1982. Enlargement from 083. © DOI
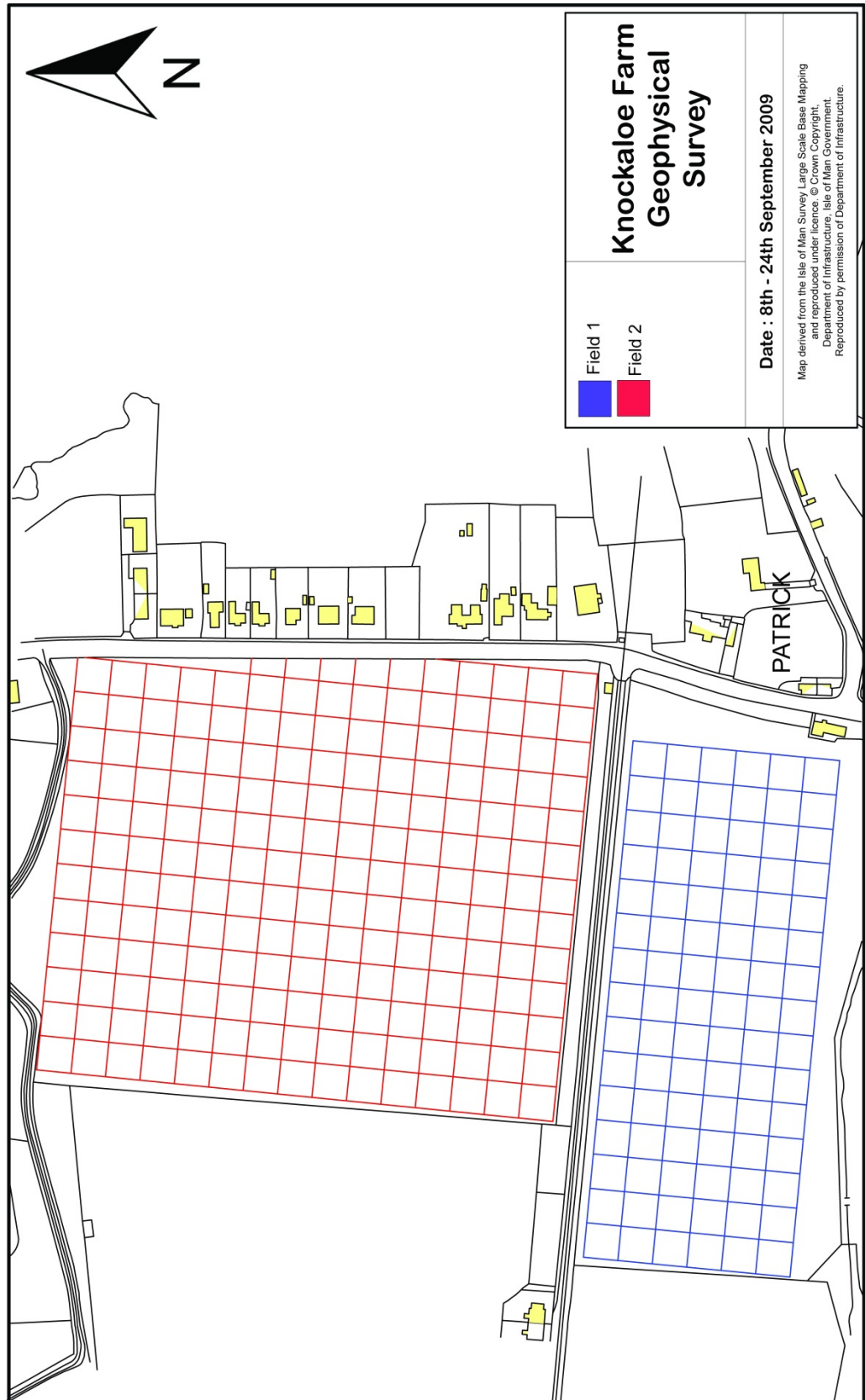
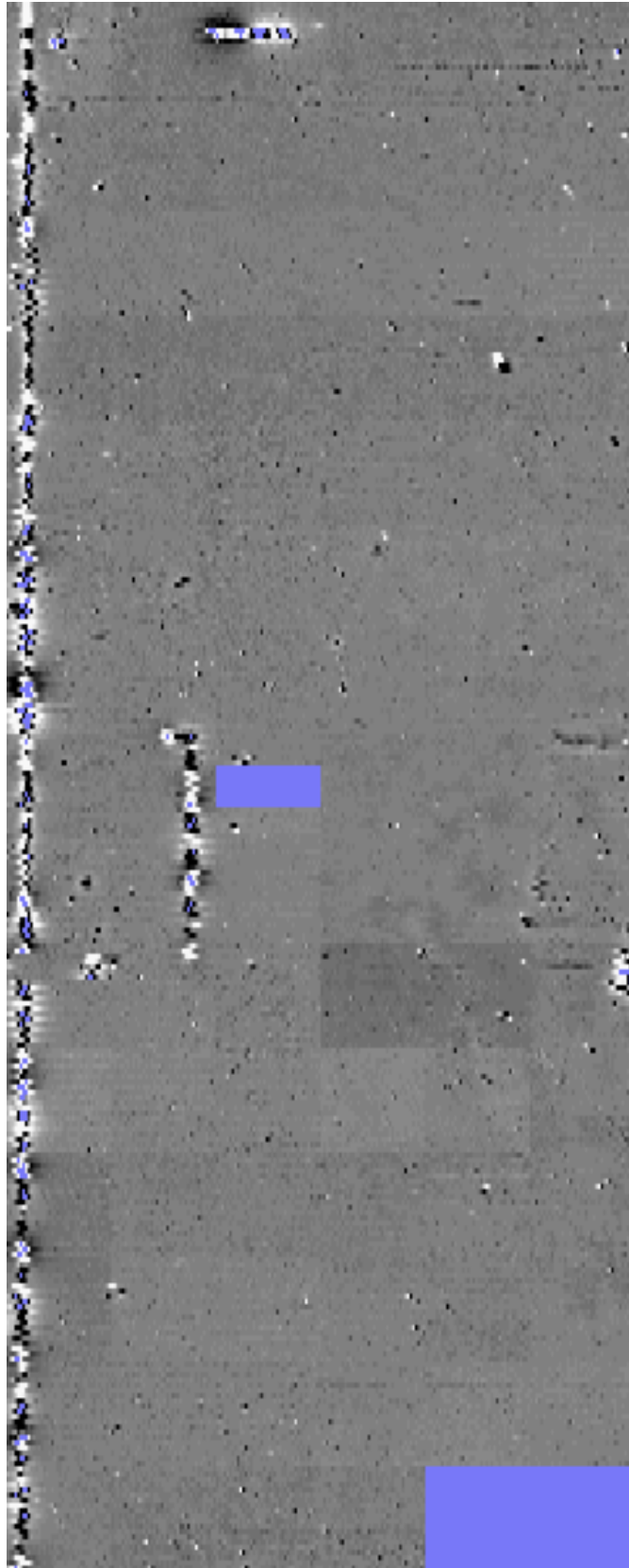Figure 20: Geophysics grids for Fields 1 and 2. © Claire Corkill

Figure 21: Geophysical results of Field 1. Image aligned east-west. Base line located along north
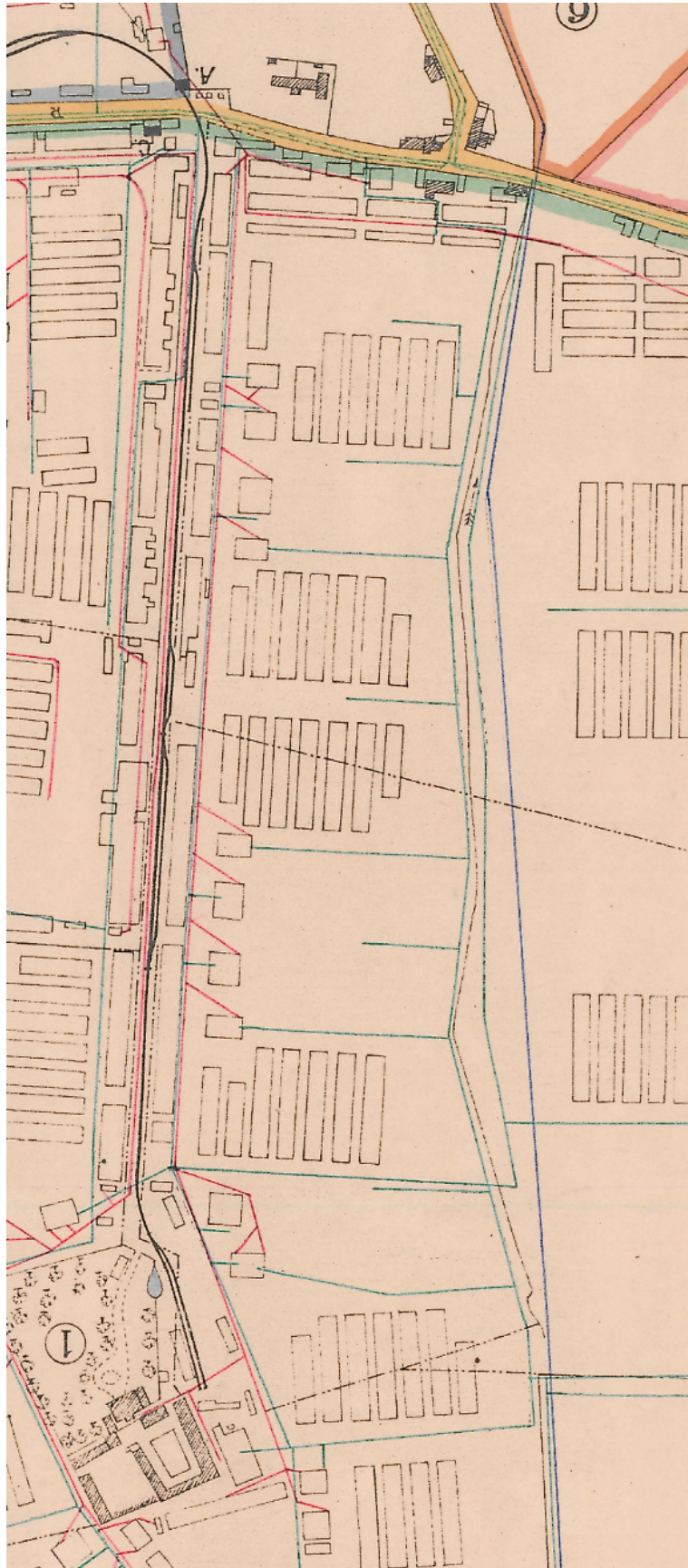
extent of survey area. © Claire Corkill

Figure 22: Detail of services in Field 1. From Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Isle of Man 2 of 3. Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Maps, LMS 3. © MNH
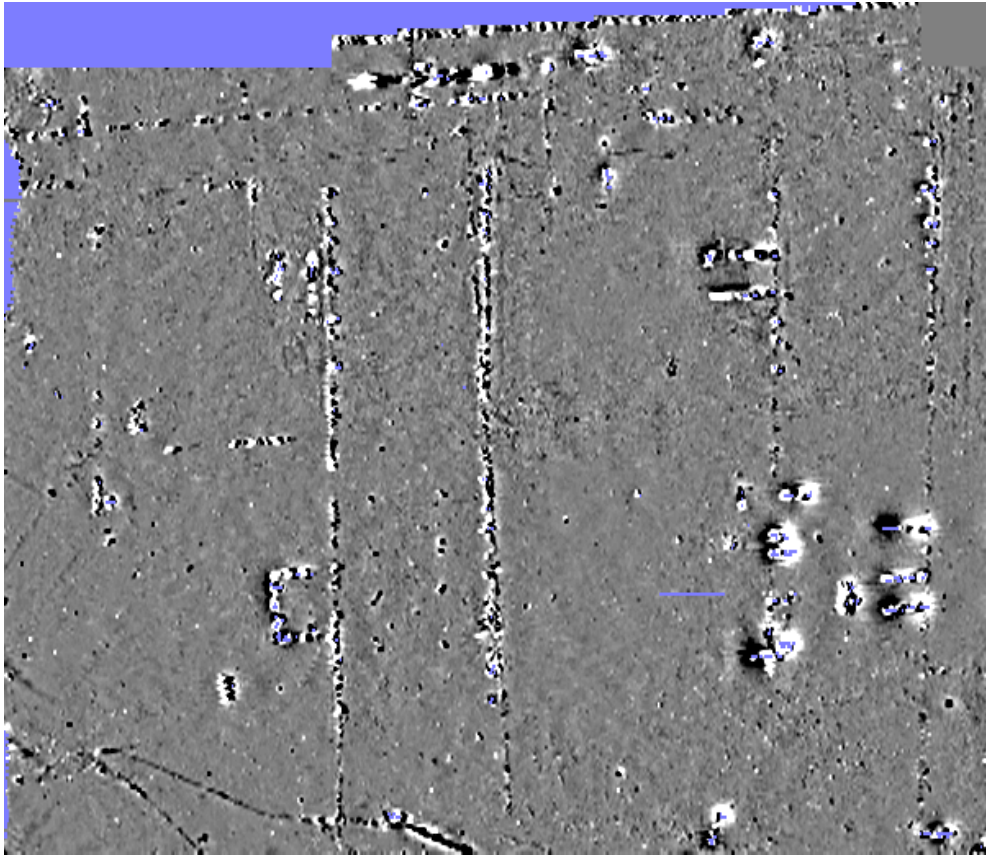
Figure 23: Geophysical results of Field 2. Image aligned east-west. © KA
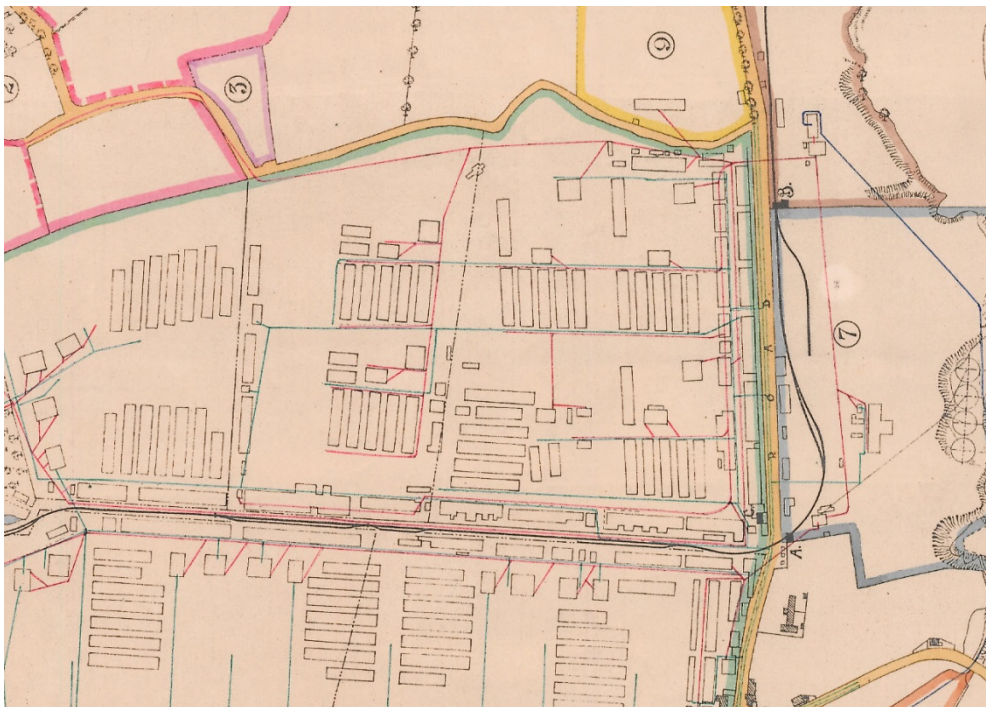
Figure 24: Detail of services in Field 2. From Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Isle of Man 2 of 3.

Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Maps, LMS 3. © MNH

system of the site as represented on Figure 22 by the pink (drainage) and green (water mains) lines. The blue lines also shown on the plan represent the 10" Pumping Main. The two further, much shorter linear features are likely to also be similar service pipes although they cannot be as easily compared with the services marked on Figure 22.

The second field to be assessed was field 330135, which, for the purposes of this survey, will be called Field 2. This field was located on the north side of the main driveway and formed part of Camp 1. This survey was carried out in 2010 and followed the same survey methods as for the 2009 season. The assessment of aerial photographs showed this field to have the most potential for camp remains, with the enlarged 1982 image suggesting linear divisions across the field (see Figure 19).

The geophysical results (see Figure 23) showed a significant number of features, including four strong north-south linears. Although it is difficult to tie these in accurately to the plan (see Figure 24), they may well be indicative of the remains of services from the camp. A further sub rectangular feature can be seen in the south-west portion of the field and may represent the remains of a camp structure.

Field walking

Field walking was carried out in field 334930 (see Figure 17) in September 2009. The work on this field was carried out following the ploughing of the field for the

first time in fifteen years. The farm staff noticed while working that there were large quantities of glass and other material appearing as the soil was turned. The farm staff also recovered a number of complete glass bottles and jars.

The field was steep sided with a central depression which widened significantly at the eastern end of the field. The eastern end of the field was also heavily waterlogged with the remainder of the field draining into this area. A baseline was set up along the eastern end of the field and a system of 10x10m grids set out. The concentration of the material clearly visible on the field surface was based in the eastern end of the field and the decision was made to undertake a 100% collection from this area. 20% collection was undertaken for the remainder of the field (see Figure 27). The field walking was carried out by a number of local volunteers.

A total of 2,443 finds were recovered during the field walking. The finds were cleaned and recorded in an MS Access database. Due to the large quantity of finds recovered it was impossible to keep every object and the decision was made in conjunction with Manx National Heritage to retain a selection of all the different find types along with anything particularly unusual or containing any information or identifying features. 449 finds of a variety of material types including ceramics, leather, wood, bone and glass were then deposited with Manx National Heritage. The database entries for these finds can be found in the online archive (www.knocklaoe.org.uk/database).

Given the concentration of finds within the field and the vicinity of the field to the location where the sites waste pipe enters the sea it seems likely that the field represents some kind of rubbish dump or tip for the camp. This is compounded by the very high levels of cinders and fire waste found in amongst the finds. Local opinion suggests that there was indeed a tip in this area although opinions were divided as to whether the tip was from the camp or a later dump from the nearby city of Peel. The discovery of a number of finds with German text would suggest the material is in fact from Knockaloe. Further discussions with local people suggested that much of the general waste was thrown over the cliffs at the rear of the camp just beyond this field, although there is no evidence to substantiate this. What is possible, however, is that the material uncovered in this field may represent the clearance of the camp at the end of the war.

The range of finds is vast with glass being the predominant material type, although many of these finds are very small fragments. There are however a number of complete bottles including ink wells, medicine, and soft drinks bottles. There is also a considerable range of ceramics including stoneware and porcelain, and representing a wide variety of styles and purposes. Practical items are visible such as enamel bowls and metal spoons along with the remains of several toothbrushes made of both bone and Bakelite. Personal items such as possible identification tags, pipe fragments, collar studs and hair combs were recorded along with fragments of leather shoes. Evidence of daily activities can be seen in the form of paint pots, a watering can rose and even a gaming piece.

Figure 25: Eastern end of field number 334930. © KN

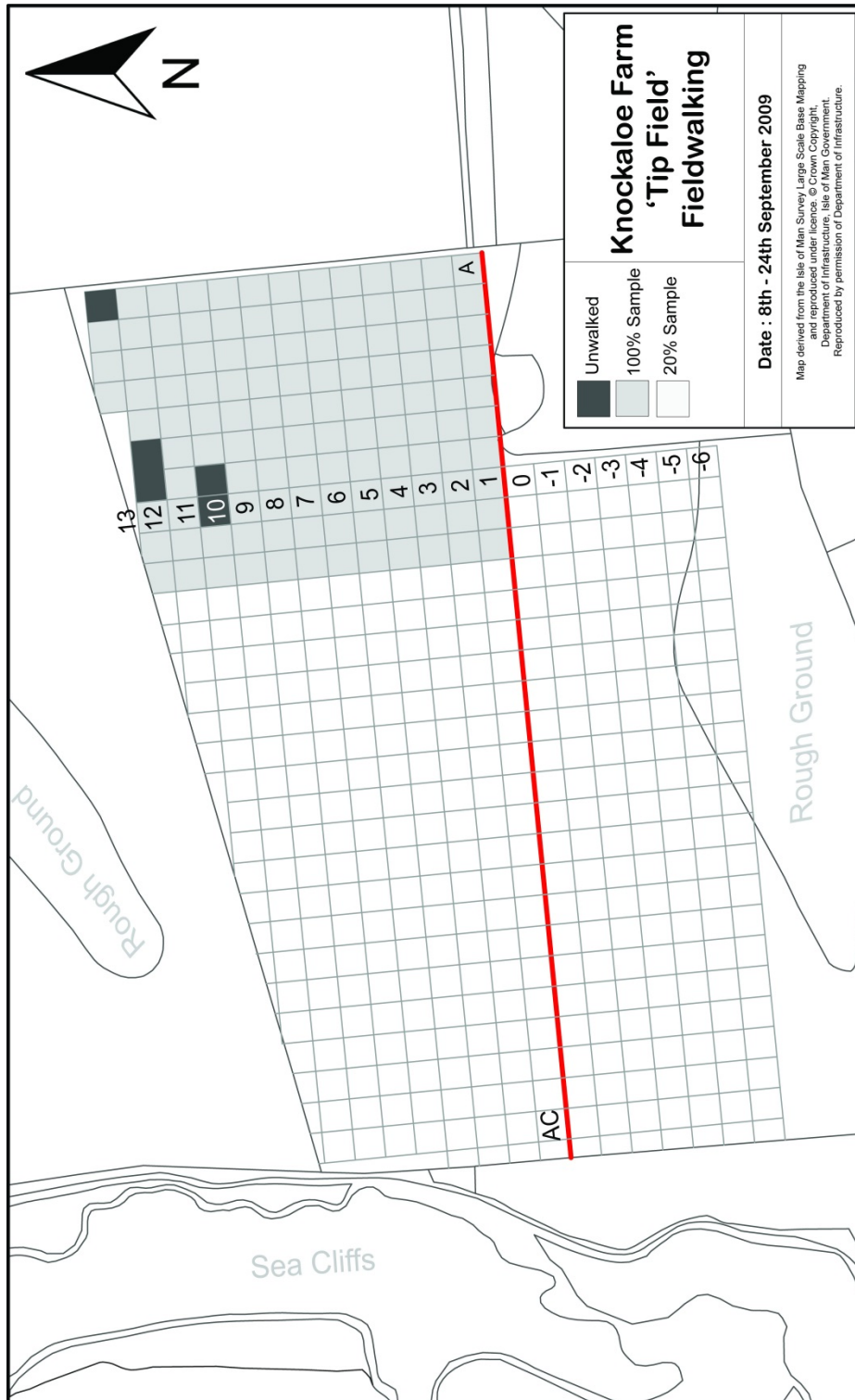Figure 26: Find in situ. Field number 334930. © KA

Figure 27: Field walking grid, field number 334930. © KA

Figure 28: Ceramic find with German lettering. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0210. © KA.

Figure 29: Fragment of hair comb. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0390. © KA

Figure 30: Fragment of German decorative ceramic pipe. Accession No: 2009-0181-0258. © KN

Figure 31: Watering can rose. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0077. © KA

Above ground remains

A small number of above-ground remains survive at Knockaloe and should be noted here. The first is the farm cottages located on the northern side of the farm driveway. These buildings were used for meat storage and processing within the camp. Following the war they were converted to domestic dwellings but still retain some of their original ventilation panels.

Also along the driveway are the remains of some of the concrete rafts on which the huts were positioned. These rafts have been broken up and used to construct the walls along the driveway.

Figure 32: Wall along main driveway at Knockaloe. Constructed of concrete rafts from the camp. © KA

The farm buildings were also in situ during the life of the camp and remain in the same format today. Adjacent to the main farmhouse is what is believed to be the

engine shed for the steam train which brought supplies into the camp. The train line, which was removed at the end of the war, was a purpose built extension to enable the delivery of supplies. The line ran into the camp following what is now the farm's driveway. The engine shed is also the location of a memorial plaque to commemorate the internees, which was erected by the Anglo German Family History Society in 1998.
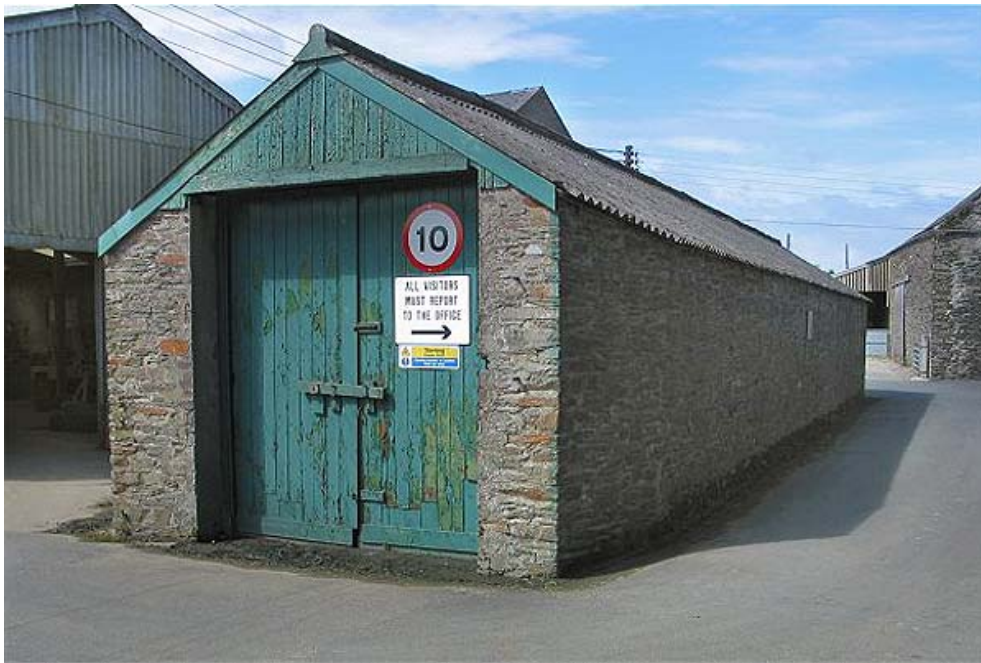
Figure 33: Engine shed, Knockaloe. © KA

To the rear of the camp, beyond field number 334930, the remains of the waste pipe from the camp can be seen running down the cliff and into the sea (see Figure 39, Chapter 6).

Finally, an image of the three legs of man can be seen on the slope of field number 334933. It is claimed that this was first created by the internees, although there

does not seem to be any evidence to confirm this. The symbol is created by using

fertiliser to produce a darker coloured grass and the outline has traditionally been

painted in white. This symbol was maintained by the farm staff at Knockaloe to

preserve the feature out of respect for the internees.

Figure34: Three legs of Man on the hillside at Knockaloe. © Claire Corkill

The range of material and the results collected during the fieldwork assessment

have been greater than expected due to the significant amount of material

collected during field walking. The potential for these finds to contribute to the

understanding of camp life is high as they provide an insight into the range of

material the internees had access to. The sheer variety of ceramics and the

inclusion of numerous items of German origin suggest that the internees had a rich

and diverse material culture and able to express their identities through this. Further discussion of this material can be seen in Chapter 6.

The geophysics has shown some evidence of potential remains of the camp infrastructure, and further, more extensive coverage of the site may be of benefit. If additional survey provides similar results it could be suggested that excavation may have limited potential, although trial trenches may confirm the nature of the features recorded and show the exact nature of the infrastructure. The results do however help the location of the camp within the landscape and further fieldwork and excavation designed with a community project in mind may help the public gain a better sense of understanding regarding Knockaloe and the sites history.

Chapter 6

Material Culture of an Internment Community:

the Knockaloe Story

Material culture has a significant role to play in the assertion of identity and the personalisation of space. The acquisition of possessions can have an impact on social status within a group, while the type of objects may go beyond the notion of simply having belongings, to having personal connections, as gifts from loved ones, or having an association to a person, time or place; taking the owner figuratively if not physically beyond the boundaries of confinement. In many cases these personal connections were often kept alive in the form of photographs. As Becker suggests they create

> …a sense of nearness to those they are separated from and, thus stimulated, to remember. Photographs in this sense are used as proof of the continuity of life (2004, 29).

The creation of artefacts also provides a sense of continuity, with the production of decorative items for loved ones. This creativity and the accumulation of objects also provided another means to assert identity with the creation, accumulation and presentation of the material being unique to the individual. Craftwork, art and other means of expression also had the enormous value of passing time, something that was particularly pertinent for internees at Knockaloe. The creation of highly

embellished objects such as carved bone work and marquetry were designed not just to highlight skill, but to extend the life of a project for as long as possible. Crafted and every-day objects all have a value which can be used to form an internal currency trading for alternative items or services (Baer 2005).

As such, it is the material culture of Knockaloe that brings the story of the internment camp to life. The objects that were so fundamental to the internees' experience from the barbed wire that defined their boundaries to the cups they drank from and the crafts they made add a personal level to the record that is not found in official documents. When combined together, however, it is possible to create a layered and detailed story of the camp and how it functioned. It is important to remember that in an environment such as an internment camp what may previously have been considered as everyday objects often change significance or purpose when used in a situation where free access to ordinary things is no longer possible. As Gazin-Schwatz points out

> "We should be led to ask not only what roles "everyday" items play in spiritual life but then also to ask what roles "special" artefacts or locations play in everyday life?" (2001, 278).

It is all too easy to forget how much the role of object can change as well as the value it is given by its user. And, if we consider the Melanesian concept of objects as "detached parts of people" and a part of an individual which "may continue to have effects after they are dead" (Gosden and Marshall 2010, 173), then perhaps,

we should treat the material culture from Knockaloe not just as objects but as a unique connection with the people who owned and used them.

The value of the material in the collection will be highlighted here. It is often suggested that objects which are from a secondary context do not have the same value as those from the primary (Jones 2010, 184); but in the case of Knockaloe, the primary source finds (i.e. the field walking finds) would contribute little to the understanding of some aspects of camp life and vice versa. It is the combination of material drawn together that enables the development of a much more rounded understanding.

The discussion of the material culture from Knockaloe that is presented here has been split into a number of different sections or themes. Each one represents a different facet of the internees' experience from the construction of the camp itself to the routines of daily life and the work and social activities developed to keep the men both mentally and physically healthy during their captivity. The presentation of the themes will incorporate all the material culture from collections and finds as well as also drawing upon the archaeological fieldwork results, upstanding remains and buildings and documents and images. Each of the themes will also be used to present the narrative within the museum section of the website (see Chapter 7). All of the objects and documents (with the exception of referenced texts) mentioned below can be found within the Knocklaoe Archive (www.knockaloe .org.uk/archive).

Building the Camp

Knockaloe Camp was a highly structured space within which movement was strictly controlled. The site was initially designed to hold 5,000 men, providing additional accommodation for the rising numbers of men being interned throughout Britain. With Douglas Camp already functioning on the site of the Cunningham's Holiday Camp in Douglas (Sargeaunt 1920, 62) the site at Knockaloe was selected on 24 October 1914 by a group of officials from the Civilian Internment Camps Committee who wanted to develop a new camp to relieve the considerable pressure on the temporary holding camps set up around the county. Knockaloe Moar farm was selected due to its adequate water supply and its previous use as a campsite for Territorial Army training (Sargeaunt 1920, 66).

Figure 35: Territorial Army Camp at Knockaloe. ©KA

Ultimately the camp was to hold at its peak 22,769 men (Knockaloe Camp Daily

Return of Prisoners Interned, MNHL), resulting in the camp developing from its

initial size to a complex of four camps (Untitled plan of Knockaloe, MNHL), each

divided into a series of 5 to 7 compounds each designed to accommodate 1,000

men (see Figure 36). The camp was designed by local architect Joseph Teare, and

construction of Camp 1 was carried out by Douglas builder Mark Carine. As a result

of the time involved in construction, the subsequent three camps were built using

pre-fabricated standard war issue huts supplied by Jewsons Builders Merchants.

The style of the huts can be seen in the numerous plans and artwork from the

camp, while the huts which survive today also give some impression of the size and

nature of the construction (see Figures 40 and 41; also see KA for images).

A suitable infrastructure was developed with sewerage system, drainage and water

supply (see Figure 37 and Figure 38), while a branch line of the island's rail network

ran from Peel harbour to the camp to facilitate the delivery of supplies (Boyd 1973,

46-47). By the time it was complete the camp had used 15,000,000 feet of timber,

1,000,000 bricks and 695 miles of barbed wire to surround the camp (Sargeaunt

1920, 74).
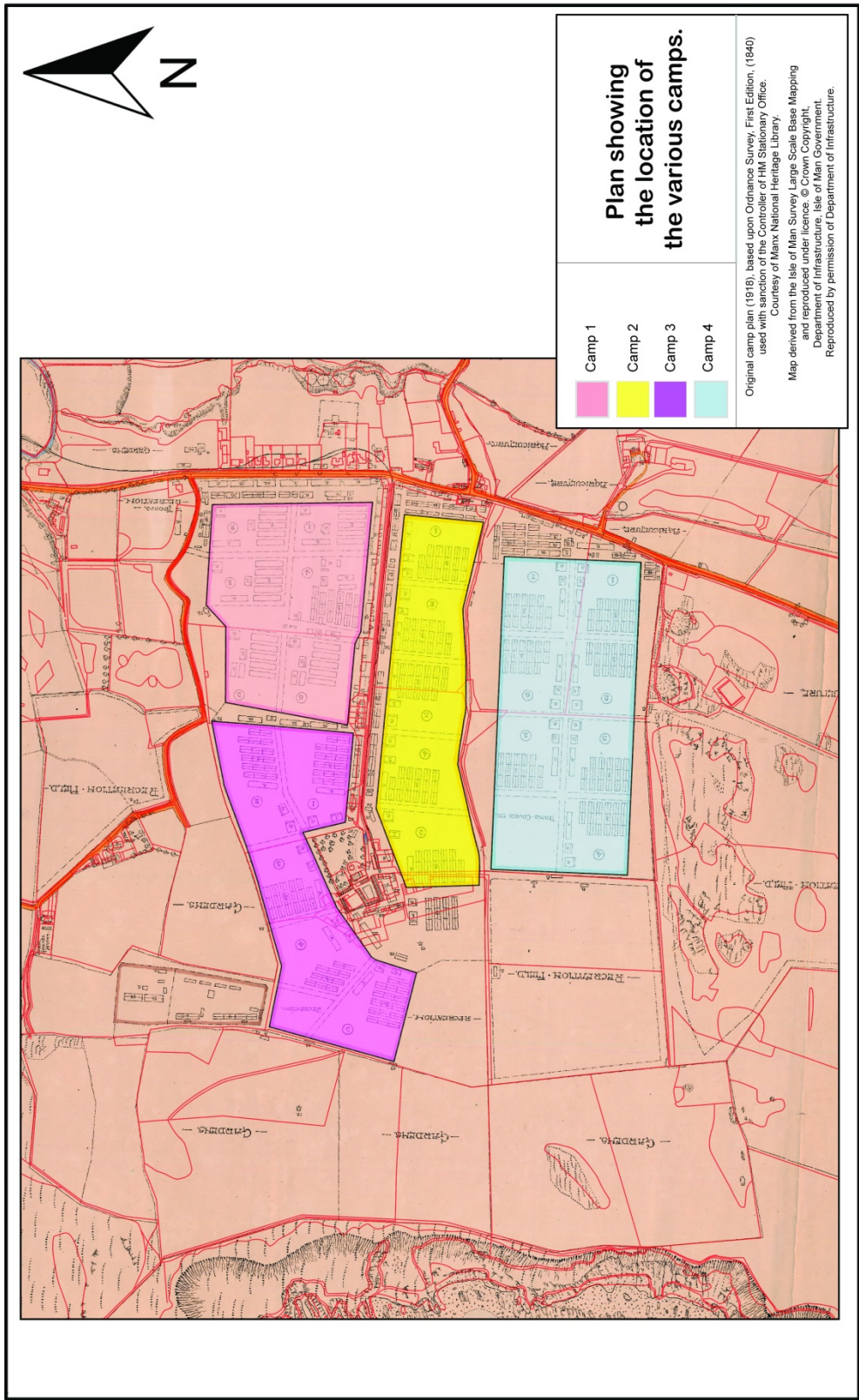
Figure 36: Plan showing location of the 4 sub-camps of Knockaloe. ©KA
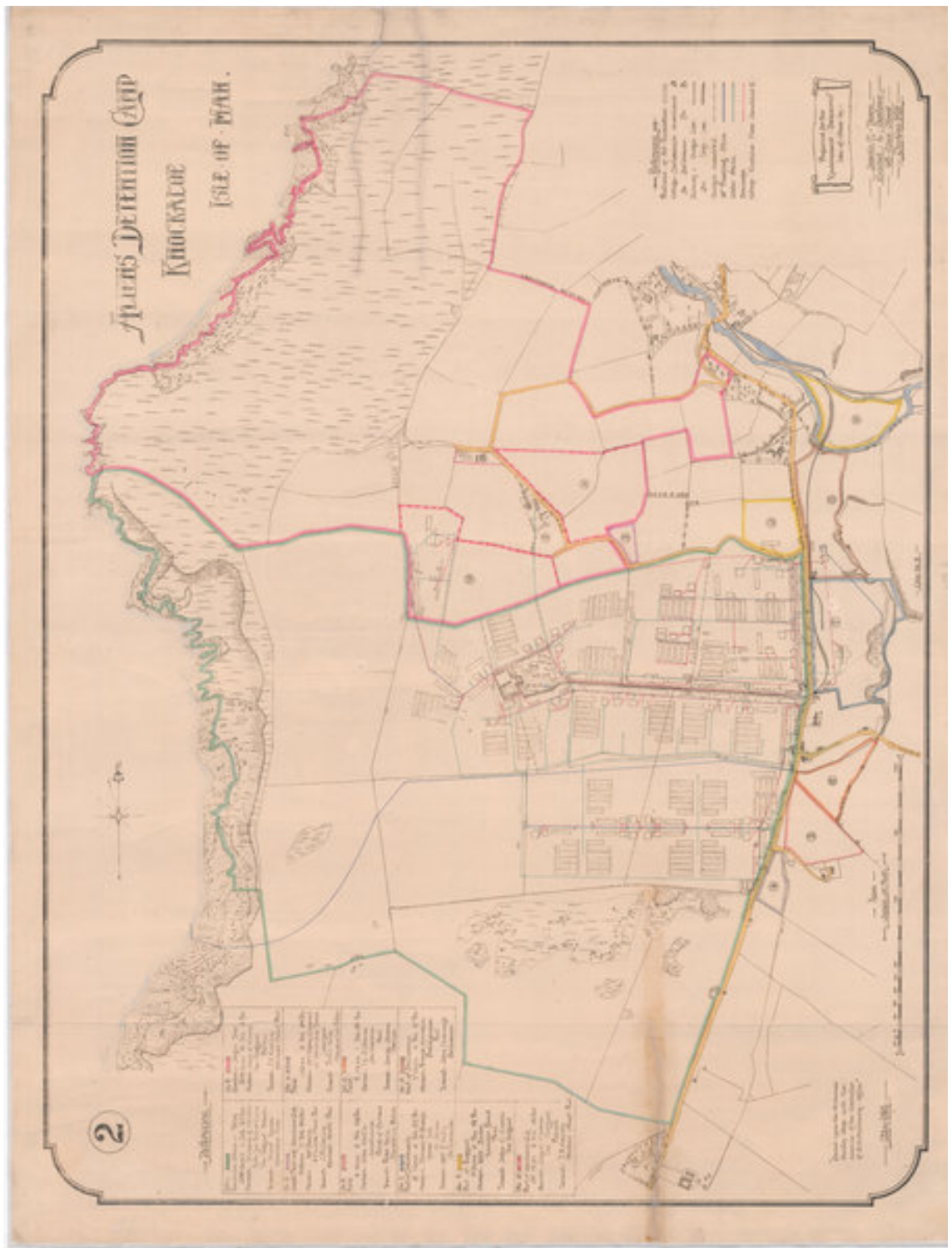
Figure 37: Plan showing Knockaloe Camp Services. From Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Isle of

Man 2 of 3. Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Maps, LMS 3. © MNH
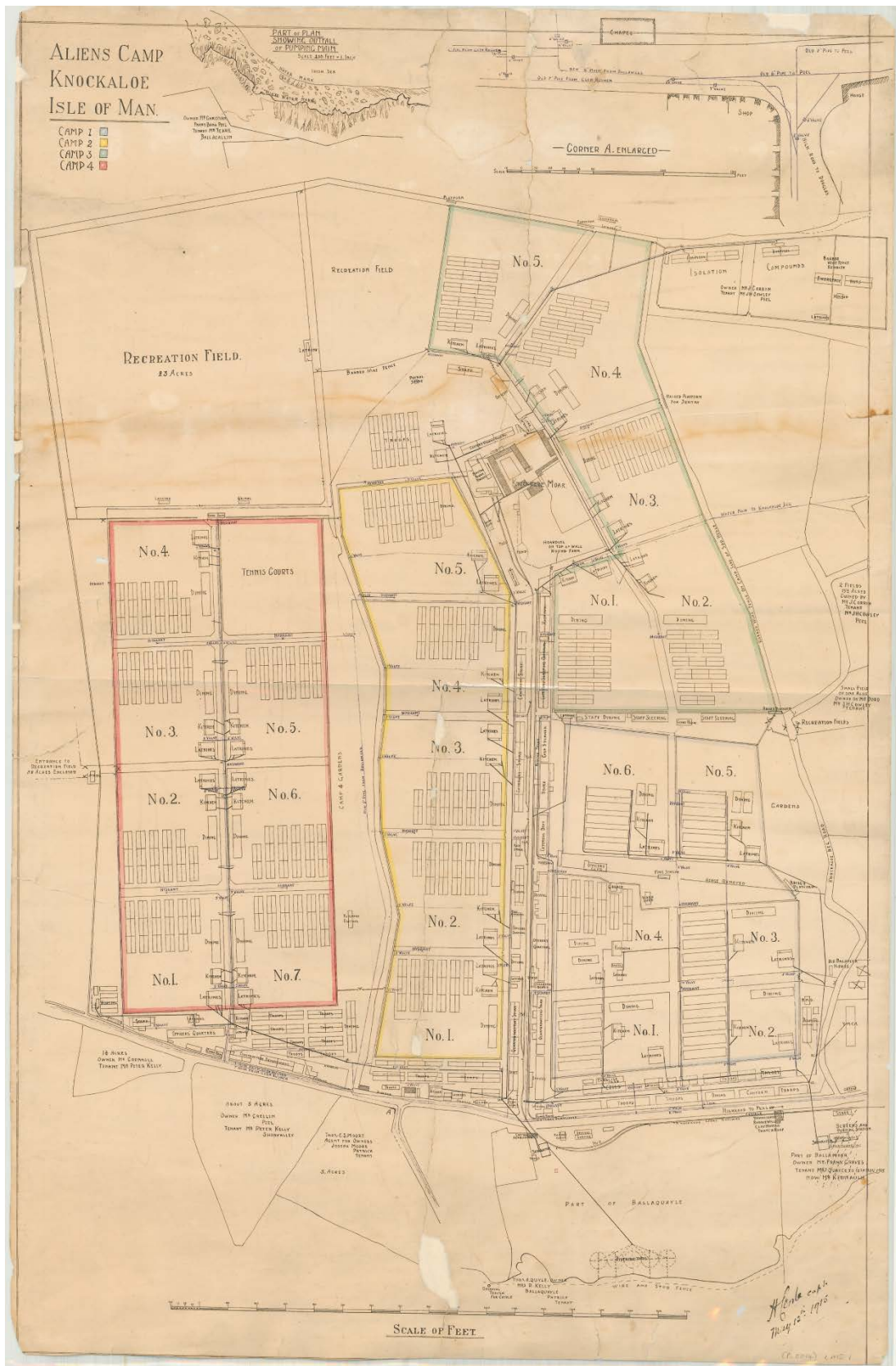
Figure 38: Untitled Plan of Knockaloe. Aliens Detention Camp Knockaloe Maps, LMS 1. © MNH.

Figure 39: Waste pipe from Knockaloe camp running down the cliff from the rear of the camp. ©KA

Figure 40: Former Knockaloe hut used as a domestic dwelling at Ballacraine, Isle of Man. © KA

Figure 41: Former Knockaloe hut used as a workshop at King William's College, Castletown, Isle of Man. © KA

Everyday life

Once confined behind the barbed wire, the internees had to learn to live within a prescribed regimen, with roll calls, set meal times and limited movement. The internees also had limited personal space and few personal belongings. The men would have felt isolated, bored and homesick. Much of what they would have used to express their identity would also be gone: their work, hobbies and families. The internees would have needed to create a new identity within this unfamiliar world in order to find a way to cope with their situation.

Removed from their physical home and families the internees were relocated to a new environment where they had the opportunity to form new connections with an alternative landscape and community (Dawson and Johnson 2001; Basu 2001; and Mytum 2013). The relationships with the concept of 'home' that developed in an internment camp must have been numerous, with some unable to connect with the camp in this sense, while for others connections were formed through creation and manipulation as well as naturally developing over time. There may also have been a sense of duality with connections to multiple 'homes': inside and outside of the camp; adoptive home (Isle of Man/Britain) and the homeland (Germany, Turkey, Austria-Hungary). Although metaphysical in nature, elements of these relationships and struggles can be perceived through study of the surviving material from Knockaloe Camp, with representations of life presented through iconography and documents.

This is particularly evident in some of the everyday items recorded in the fieldwalking (see Chapter 5). The personal, everyday objects the internees used comprised of a mix of German and British items of high and low status, highlighting the diverse and individual aspects of the creation of a new life within the camp. There is evidence of simple tableware such as enamelware bowls and plates, alongside much higher quality bone china and earthenware from Britain and Germany (see Figures 44 and 45). Glassware from food, drink and medicine bottles and jars displays a similar mix of origins and influences (see Figures 46, 73 and 74). How these items arrived in the camp is difficult to ascertain. Some may have been brought in to the camp by the individual as part of their suitcase of belonging they were allowed to bring with them. Others could have been sent at a later date by friends and family. As a result these simple everyday items take on a greater value through their connection to the outside world, to loved ones and to notions of home beyond the camps boundaries. These associations with home in turn help facilitate the creation of home within the camp, providing the same comforts, tastes, smells that someone would have associated with everyday life prior to internment.

Initially, placement in Knockaloe's camps was arbitrary, with each new group of arrivals being placed in the next available accommodation and assisting in the construction of the next set of buildings. With time this changed as Camp 4 was developed as a 'privilege camp', available to those who could afford to pay a

monthly fee of 11 shillings. In return they were provided with a better quality of accommodation include the provision of wine and a set of tennis courts. In 1917 the decision was made to separate the younger men and they were moved to Camp 4, Compound 7. It is assumed that this was designed to enable people of a similar age to associate more closely as older members of the camp found the young men too boisterous. While this scheme may have been of benefit to the older men in the camp, it was not a successful venture from the guard's point of view as they now had to contend with even larger groups of young men who, bored and frustrated, generally caused more trouble than they had previously. Ultimately the scheme was deemed a failure and the following year the young men were returned to their original compounds (Final Report on Camp IV, NA).

Within an environment such as this the internees had to learn to deal with the restrictions it involved. By default such a system treated the internees as a collective entity in terms of the general running of daily life. Men were expected to attend roll call together, eat at the same time and rules and regulations applied to every individual. Communal living took away much personal freedom.

Accommodation in the huts was open plan while the large number of men in each compound made it difficult for anyone to find a space where they could be physically alone. Such large numbers of people would also have resulted in high levels of noise, restricting privacy on a multisensory level. Numerous roll calls were kept to ensure no one had escaped from the camp and provided a constant

reminder of their restricted lifestyle. Morning inspections were also held along with

monthly inspections of the accommodation (Kenner 1929, KA). Although movement

within a compound was relatively free during the daytime, movement at night was

restricted and anyone who left their hut would be seen by guards who kept a 24

hour watch with the camp floodlit at night (Stoffa 1933, 97). Movement between

compounds was even more strictly controlled with internees having to justify their

need to enter another compound and obtain a pass to do so (see Figure 42).
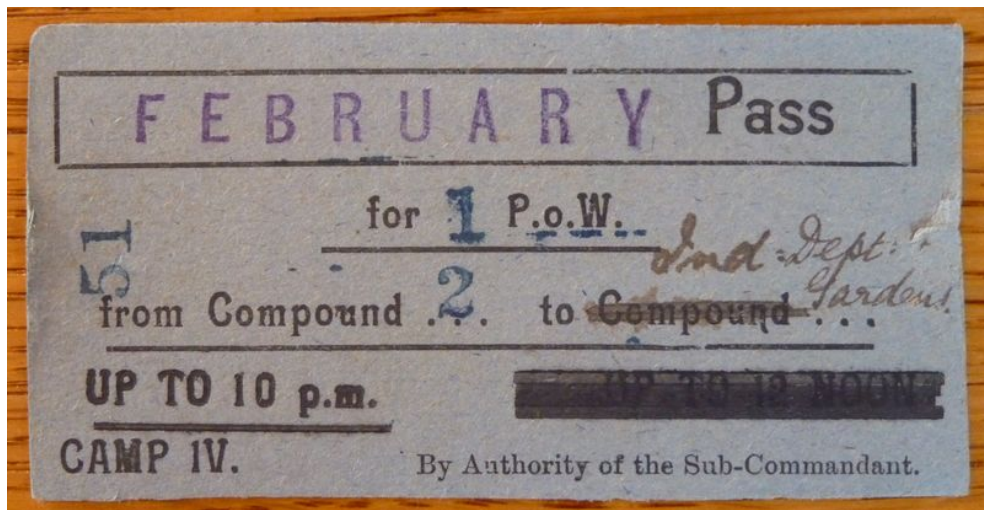
Figure 42: Knockaloe Camp Pass. © KA

In between the dictated activities in the camp were large blocks of time when the

internee did not have to do anything at all. Although this gave the men back some

semblance of individuality and personal choice, the decisions they made regarding

the passing of time were still determined to a degree by the bounds of the camp.

For some these spans of time seemed endless and acted only as a constant

reminder of their detention. These periods provided much time for reflection and

many felt that in the words of Paul Cohen-Portheim's account of internment, *Time Stood Still* (1931). The internees were also more than aware that even though time may have stopped for them, outside the camp life continued. In many ways this was true. Jobs left were given to others, businesses were sold, children grew older and the world was fighting a war in which sons of internees were fighting and dying.

Structure was further developed in the camp through the implementation of rations and food restrictions (Isle of Man Government Circulars. Relating to Aliens, Internees or Detainees, 1914-1918, MNHL). Rations were by no means luxurious but certainly provided an adequate amount of food. Each compound's kitchen was provided with rations and food was supplemented by extra vegetables grown on the camp's allotments. Eating was a communal experience, although unlike Douglas Camp, Knockaloe did not have dedicated dining halls and food was eaten in the accommodation huts.

Accounts of rations and quantities of food vary with official reports suggesting that food shortages were not a problem (Report on Internment Camp at Knockaloe, IOM, MNHL). In contrast, the journal of George Kenner *(*Kenner 1929, KA) describes internees boiling and eating grass to try and ease their hunger. This latter description does appear to be somewhat of an exaggeration with all other accounts suggesting that although food may have been dull and repetitive there was always enough. It is difficult to know exactly how to interpret such a description as there are perhaps three possible explanations, all of which are difficult to prove

definitively. First, that Kenner's description is an accurate reflection and that official and other personal accounts do not provide a true reflection of events. Secondly, that Kenner's description is inaccurate, perhaps due to the time lapse of ten years between his internment experience and the writing of the journal. The final option is that Kenner accurately records the internees eating grass but that they are doing so not through hunger but because the restrictions of rationing and other aspects of camp life have created distorted perspectives of their situation. Their feelings relating to a dislike and lack of choice in the food they are given perpetuates and grows, ultimately creating a distorted view of reality.

Additional food to the ration was available in the camp to those who could afford it. The Canteen stocked a wide selection of goods and the bakery was producing over 15,000 loaves of bread per day (Norris 1994, 151). There were also field bakeries made by the internees themselves using old tin cans as bricks. The bakers would, if supplied with goods from the canteen, bake biscuits or cakes.

Figure 43: Rush for Dinner. Painting by George Kenner. © Kenner Estate

Figure 44: Sherd of fish sauce pot. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0076. © KA

Figure 45: Sherd of Westerwald German stoneware. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0401. © KA

Figure 46: German glass bottle. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0147. © KA

Figure 47: Field Bakery, Knockaloe. © MNH
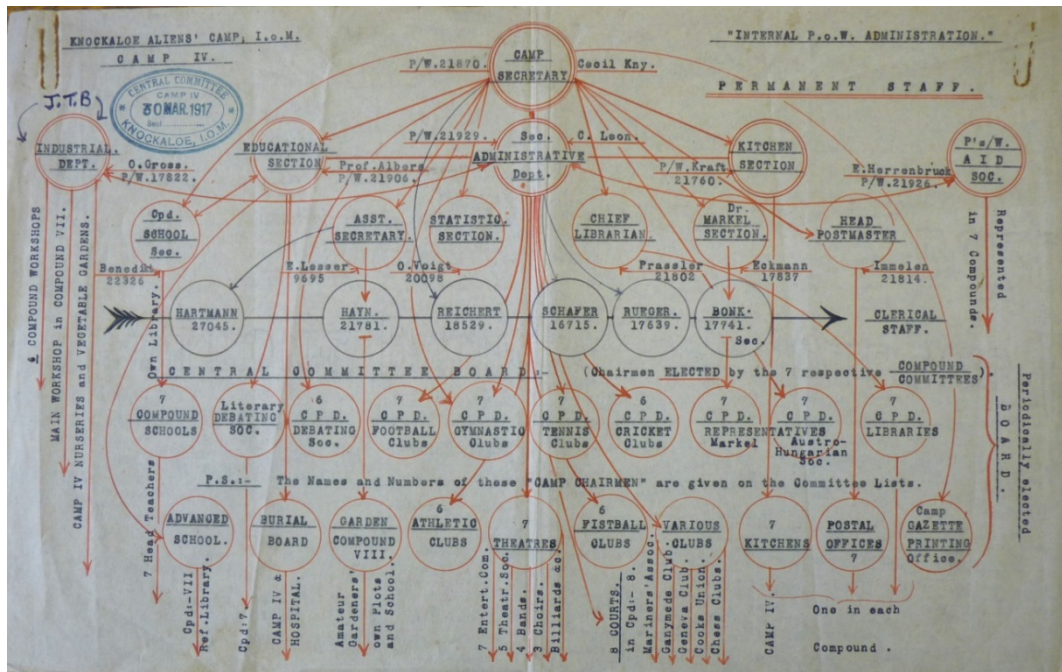
Figure 48: Camp 4 Administration Structure. © Knockaloe Archive

In an attempt to regain some control over their lives, the internees were allowed to develop a series of camp committees. Officially each compound was sub-divided into a number of companies each having an internee as their 'leader'. Around this system developed committees designed to ensure the smooth day-to-day running of each compound and taking responsibility for dealing with any issues that developed such as hygiene, behaviour, facilities, etc. Crossing the boundaries of the compounds was a general Camp Committee for each sub-camp comprising of an elected chairman, a secretary and clerical staff. These Camp Committees provided central administration for each camp and dealt with various issues relating to the both the compound committees and the numerous other committees that developed to represent the various camp activities (see Figure 48). The level to which the committees functioned was complex and in any other circumstance would have been seen unnecessarily so. Within Knockaloe, however, this complexity created opportunities for the internees to move beyond compliance and actively take a role in the running of their own lives, thus becoming a hugely empowering system.

Much time was spent creating order and functionality within the camp that went far beyond that stipulated by the Commandant. At least 149 committees were present in Knockaloe as they subsequently developed to represent the wide variety of activities that were available in the camp (Braithwaite Thomas 1920, 54). The developments of these committees and the societies in which they functioned provided many opportunities for the internees. Education and training were

facilitated, numerous entertainment societies provided internees periods of relief from the monotony of captivity, while sports clubs encouraged the men to stay active, which had obvious health benefits.

The development of the many Knockaloe committees hints at the nature of the relationship between the internees and the camp guards and officials. The camp authorities seem to have been happy to allow the internees to develop their committee system and thus take some responsibility for the camp. Rather than expecting the men to simply follow the official rules or seeing the formation of such committees as a potential source of trouble and disruption, the camp authorities, by allowing the internees a role in the decision making processes of camp life, gained an additional level of control. The internees took pride in their roles and insured that the committees functioned well and had a significant influence on the other internees. As a result a mutual level of respect was developed between the camp staff and internees as they worked together to co-ordinate the running of the camp.

The relationship between the internees and the guards developed in other ways too. Although on the surface the Manx and, later, English guards may appear to have little in common with the German, Austro-Hungarian and Turkish internees, the reverse was often the case. Many internees had lived in Britain for much of their lives, often with English as their first language. Large number of internees also had British wives and children with some of the children even fighting for the allies

in the war. Often internees were able to bond over discussions of shared places and experiences or with common ground such as employment and sports. The strength of these friendships can be seen in the fact that the guards were often prepared to break the rules, bringing forbidden items such as alcohol into the camp. The material culture of the camp attests to the friendships that developed between the guards and internees with craftwork frequently bought and gifted to the guards and other camp staff. In many cases these items remain with the families of the recipients today and act as a reminder to these families of their connection with the camp.

Life in Knockaloe Camp was a world of contradictions and challenges. For the vast majority of internees who had families, responsibilities and employment outside the camp, their daily lives would have involved a considerable amount of structure and routine. Such elements were also a crucial part of daily life in an internment camp to ensure it ran smoothly, prevented trouble and escapes, and to ensure those detained there were well-treated and their daily needs were met. The problem internment created for many men was twofold. Firstly, although they were used to and accepted structure and routine outside of the camp on a daily basis, once they moved behind the barbed wire control was taken from them. The structure they were now subjected too was not for the most part determined by them but created and enforced by others. The removal of this right was felt particularly strongly by those with wives and children outside the camp as the men were doubly restrained by also being unable to support their families.

The second challenge for the men was the structurelessness that came hand in hand with the camp's control. Coupled with the lack of power to make choices about many aspects of their lives the internees were also faced with the challenge of finding ways to structure the time they did have control over. Routines from outside the camp had to be adapted and changed and there was arguably a sense of futility for some internees who felt that subscribing to routine and structure was a pointless enterprise particularly at the beginning of the war when it was inconceivable that they would be detained for more than a few months. For the majority though it would appear that a balance was struck in the sense that whilst longing to leave the camp and regain their independence they could find ways in which to contribute to and work with the structure of the camp by taking on responsibilities and breaking down boundaries with those in authority.

Crafts and the Quakers

In an attempt to deal with the slow passage of time, the internees developed a huge number of activities and sources of employment to occupy their time. Through activity it was believed that the internee could shift the mind from the negatives of their situation, focusing instead on the productivity of doing, creating and performing. Numerous jobs were found in the camp itself. 'Official' employment came in the form of work necessary for the basic functioning of the camp while unofficial employment came as the men began to realise that their skills outside the camp could be put to good use internally. Barbers, tailors, even waiters were able to trade their wares and offer their services. Cohen-Portheim records

eighty barbers in his compound alone and also tells of the option to pay someone to carry out one's weekly potato peeling shift (1931, 98).

Gardening and agricultural work were a popular form of activity in the camp. At the rear of the camp approximately 30 acres of land was provided for allotments and cultivation where internees would grow a wide variety of fruit and vegetables, aided by the construction of greenhouses (Report on Internment Camp at Knockaloe, IOM, NA). Gardening of a more decorative nature was also undertaken by many. This activity had the due role of passing time but also of transforming the drab camp into a green and colourful space at least for a few months of the year. The practice was taken seriously with the gardening committee organising exhibitions and competitions.

For some, agricultural work could provide an escape if only temporarily into the outside world. Work parties were set up and sent out to a number of farms around the Island to help fill the labour shortage caused by the war. The internees also carried out a drainage programme at Ballaugh Curraghs, a scheme believed to have saved the government over £6,000 (Norris 1994, 153). The opportunities these experiences gave were obviously great. Leaving the camp, even if only for a short period, provided new sensory experiences, the opportunity to experience new sights and sounds and provided a period of respite from the monotony of camp routine. This experience also brought with it the difficult experience of tasting freedom and then having to return to the camp. Having waited so long to leave the

camp it must have been a challenge to do so knowing return would arrive all too soon. Alternatively for some, after long periods in internment an element of institutionalisation may have meant they welcomed the return to camp, the return to the familiar and the place that had now become home.

Employment inside the camp ranged widely from the assistance of the day to day running of the camp to a number of projects designed to provide material for those in need including the production of shoes and boots for women and children and a range of 'flat pack' furniture which was sent to France to help families in need (Baily 1959, 110). Items were also made for military hospitals including toothbrushes and a large range of walking sticks and crutches (Braithwaite Thomas 1920, 73). The manufacture of items such as these again had a dual purpose for the internees who supported the allies in the war and wanted to be able to do something to support the war effort. The production of these goods enabled them to contribute something when their circumstances would not allow them to join the armed forces and fight.

One of the most influential characters in the story of Knockaloe is that of James T. Baily, a Quaker who was a teacher of handicrafts and employed as Industrial Adviser by the Society of Friends to help with the development of craftwork production at Knockaloe (Braithwaite Thomas 1920, 68). Baily wasted little time in encouraging the internees to use their skills and develop workshops manufacturing anything they could put their hand to. The best known of these objects today are

the carved bone vases made from the long bones of cattle and woodwork,

particularly picture frames and boxes (see Figures 53, 54, 56 and 57). Other items

included jewellery, puppets, a variety of metalwork and textiles. It is not clear if

each of the items were made in their entirety by one individual; instead, it is likely

that at least some of the pieces were collectively made with various individuals

taking on specific roles in construction such as the detailed carving or the basic

shaping/construction of a piece . The camp also had a bookbinders and printers

although with the exception of some artwork the printers were predominantly

producing material for consumption within the camp. In order to ensure they had

enough space for these activities the internees asked to be allowed to use the

camp's dining huts as workshops. Permission was granted and the huts were

converted while the internees took their meals in their accommodation huts for the

duration of their detention.

A further contribution to the war effort was made via the sales of the craftwork via

the Quakers. Catalogues of material on offer were produced and buyers could pre-

order items and have them inscribed with mottos, names or specific designs. The

sale of these goods was not of course immediate as time was needed for many of

the men to develop their skills. Some crafts were easier than others to pick up and

areas such as basket making became incredibly popular. Markets were found for

the goods in the United States, Sweden, Norway and Demark and material was also

purchased through the guards and staff of the camp for local people.

Through the efforts of Baily and the Quakers approximately 78% of internees were

employed in some form of work (Report on Knockaloe Camp, IOM, NA) by 1916.

The work in itself provided a way to pass time and distract from the struggles of

being in the camp and worries of what was happening outside of it. Payment for

the items sold and the competitive element of the exhibitions acted as an incentive

for the men to continue to focus their time and energy.

Figure 49: Barber at work in Knockaloe. ©MNH

Figure 50: Knockaloe internees working on allotments. ©MNH

Figure 51: Garden and associated features at Knockaloe. Possibly Camp 3 or the Hospital. ©MNH

Figure 52: Painting by internee George Kenner of Knockaloe Camp Gardens. ©George Kenner Estate

Figure 53: Pair of Knockaloe vases dedicated to the Sergeant of Compound 1. ©Knockaloe Archive

Figure 54: Two fragments of broken carved bone. Possible attempt at crafting napkin ring. MNH

Accession No: 2009-0181-0160. ©KA.

Figure 55: Flat-pack furniture for France. ©MNH

Figure 56: Bone domino's and carved wooden box made in Knockaloe. ©MNH

Figure 57: Brass napkin holder with 'hare' decoration. ©Quaker Library

Figure 58: Industrial Committee hut, J.T. Bailey on left. ©MNH

Figure 59: Wood working shop at Knockaloe. J. T. Baily second from left. ©MNH

Figure 60: Craft exhibition, Knockaloe. ©MNH

Figure 61: Billiard Ball. © MNH

Figure 62: Draughts counter. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0268. ©KA.

Education and Entertainment

Entertainment was instrumental in passing time, particularly during the winter when short days and poor weather prevented the internees from spending much time out of doors. Musical and theatrical performances occurred frequently with Camp 4 alone having seven theatres, one for each compound. These seven theatres put on an incredible 79 performances over the six months preceding April 1916, most of which were comedies from England and elsewhere in Europe. 61 classical concerts and 21 open air concerts were also performed during the same period, while these figures do not take into account the performances by the choral societies (Report on Knockaloe Camp, IOM, NA). The emphasis on comedies in the theatrical productions fits well with the idea of passing time, providing light relief and enabling the internees to distract themselves for a short while from their circumstances.

Entertainment had further benefits beyond the performance itself as the members of the various choirs, theatrical companies (see Figure 65 and figure 66), orchestras and bands all had to spend time rehearsing. This also added structure as with so many societies it is likely that various companies would have been allotted specific rehearsal times. Benefits also went beyond the performance for those who watched as these events acted as something to look forward to and reminisce on, and provided something positive to talk about.

Education grew to have an important role in camp life with academic internees sharing their knowledge and teaching a wide range of classes from mathematics and languages to veterinary science. This provided an opportunity for internees from poorer backgrounds who would never have otherwise had the opportunity to obtain such an education.

For many the hardest time would have been at night. The time spent alone with their thoughts, dreaming and worrying of friends and family at home. With no option but to remain in their huts over night the time would have passed slowly and when sharing a hut with so many others there must have been constant noise acting as a constant reminder of where they were. Rehearsing lines, learning lyrics or working on costumes may have been a welcome distraction.

The ever-present thought of home is visible on much of the artwork from the camp, particularly the postcards. Scenes of looking out to sea are common, while holiday cards are particularly poignant (see Figure 63). Letters and craftwork designed for family members, including a beautifully stitched pair of child's booties (see Figure 64) also highlight the ever-present thoughts of family and friends elsewhere. Artists interned in the camp would also have used their skills, setting up studios and providing portraits for the internees to use to decorate their personal space or to send back home to loved ones (see Figure 67).

The all-male environment of the camp can only have compounded the unusual situation the men were in and just how different it was from normal life. One of the ways in which the men tried to redress this was with the use of cross dressing (see figure 69). Men took on the women's roles in plays and theatrics performed in the camp and the costumes and make up show a significant investment in time and effort to ensure the effects were impressive. The appearance of 'women' in the camp was not just for shows though, with men taking the role of waitresses in the camp's makeshift cafes, enabling the men to pretend they were having a normal everyday experience. For many men, this feature of camp life was purely to make things feel a little more like home but there would undoubtedly for others have been a sexual element, particularly given the length of their internment experiences. For more on issues of gender in places of confinement see the work of Rachamimov (2006) and Rachamimov (2013).

Figure 63: Postcard, Easter 1916. © KA

Figure 64: Embroidered booties. © KA
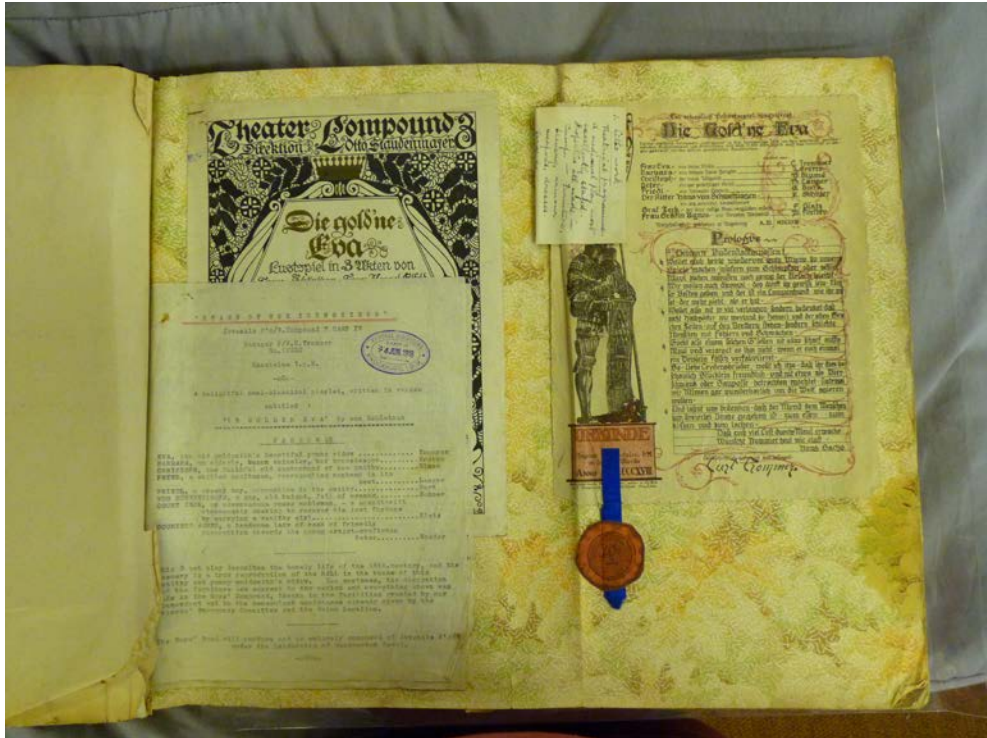
Figure 65: Certificates and theatre programmes. © KA

Figure 66: Theatrical performance. © MNH

Figure 67: Camp artist. © MNH
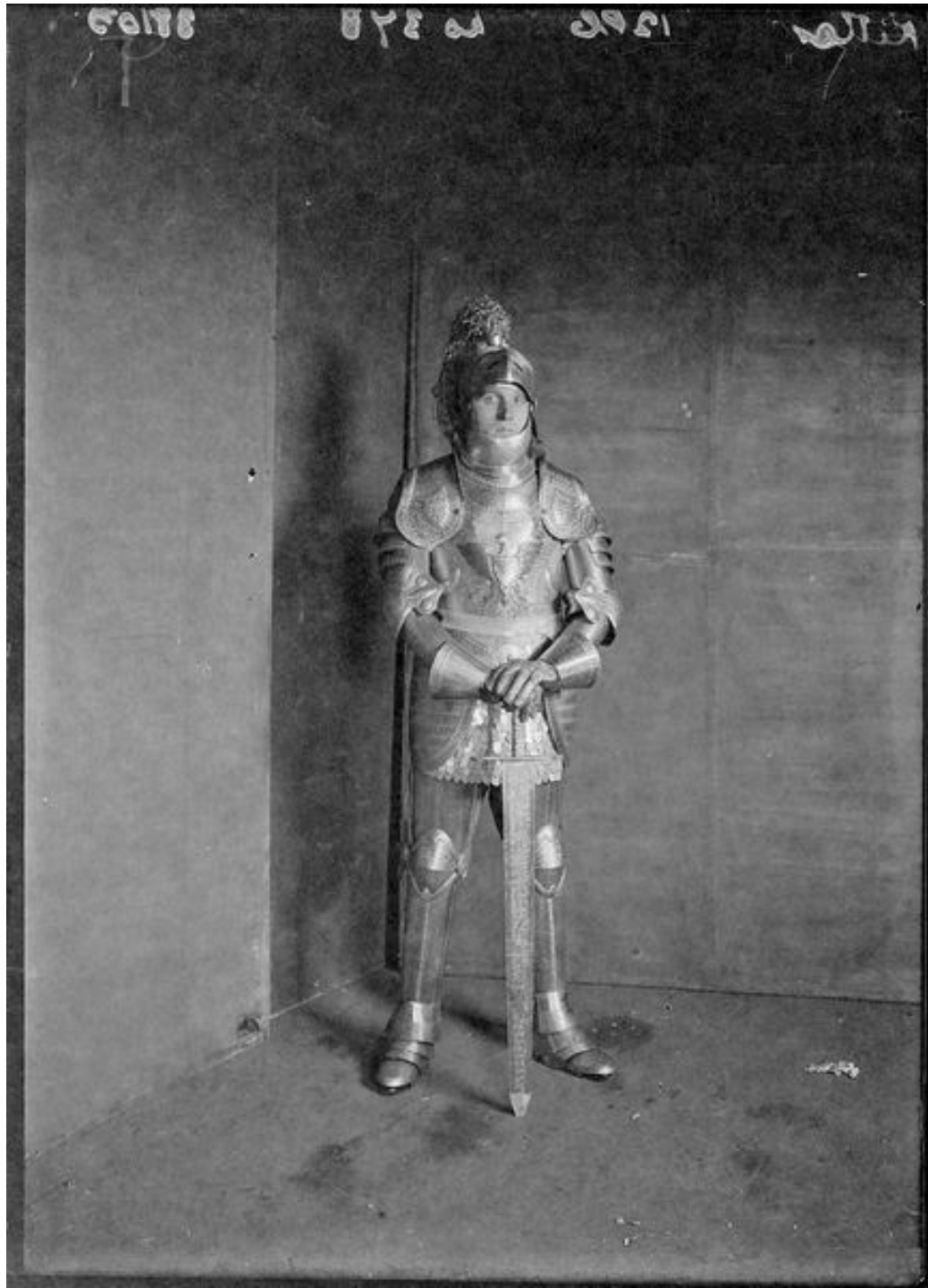
Figure 68: Suit of armour. © MNH

Figure 69: Man in drag. Possibly for theatrical performance. © KA

Health and Wellbeing

The maintenance of good health was of prime importance within the camp. Physically it was important to encourage the men to keep active, particularly as they were for much of their time detained in a relatively small space. Some of the work they undertook daily contributed to this, particularly those who were active in the gardens or the work parties. For others, sport was encouraged, and recreation fields were made available where a wide variety of sports were played. Most notable though, are the large scale gymnastics demonstrations that were performed for the entertainment of internees and camp staff (see Figure 70).

Sporting clubs soon developed including football, tennis and cricket. For the less able bodied and infirm Joseph Pilates was interned in the camp and spent his time developing his now world famous *Pilates* technique, particularly with the rehabilitation of hospitalised internees. Boxing, wrestling and gymnastics were very popular while sporting event days saw displays and matches along with more light hearted events such as the three-legged race enabling everyone to take part if they wished (Sports Letter, MNHL). Recreational space included areas outside the main camp, in particular an area of headland above Camp 4 where a rectangular area of levelled ground can still be seen today. This area also served as the camp golf course (see Figure 71), while its location would have afforded the internees views out to sea and across the plains inland.

Mental health was just as important as physical health, with the monotony of life in the camp causing depression, known within the camp as barbedwirelitis. This was one of the reasons why there was such a density of activities within the camp, as the less time one had to be alone, the slighter the chances of problems. Another way to support mental health was through the upkeep of good personal hygiene and pride in their appearance. Many images show the internees well-dressed although it was unclear if this was for the benefit of the camera or a regular routine. Evidence from field walking suggests the men did at least have the means to take care of their appearance, with fragments of toothpaste dishes, toothbrushes, combs, and razors (see Figures 73 and 74).

Unfortunately, not all men survived the camp and succumbing to a variety of diseases including syphilis, tuberculosis and influenza. The bodies of those who died were buried across the road in Patrick churchyard, nicknamed Camp 5 within Knockaloe. Following the war the majority of graves were moved to the war cemetery at Cannock Chase. Seven internee graves remain in Patrick churchyard however, those of five Turkish internees and two Jewish (see Figure 75). These burials were left undisturbed at their family's request.

Figure 70: Gymnastics display. ©KA.

Figure 71: Playing golf on the recreation ground next to Knockaloe. ©MNH
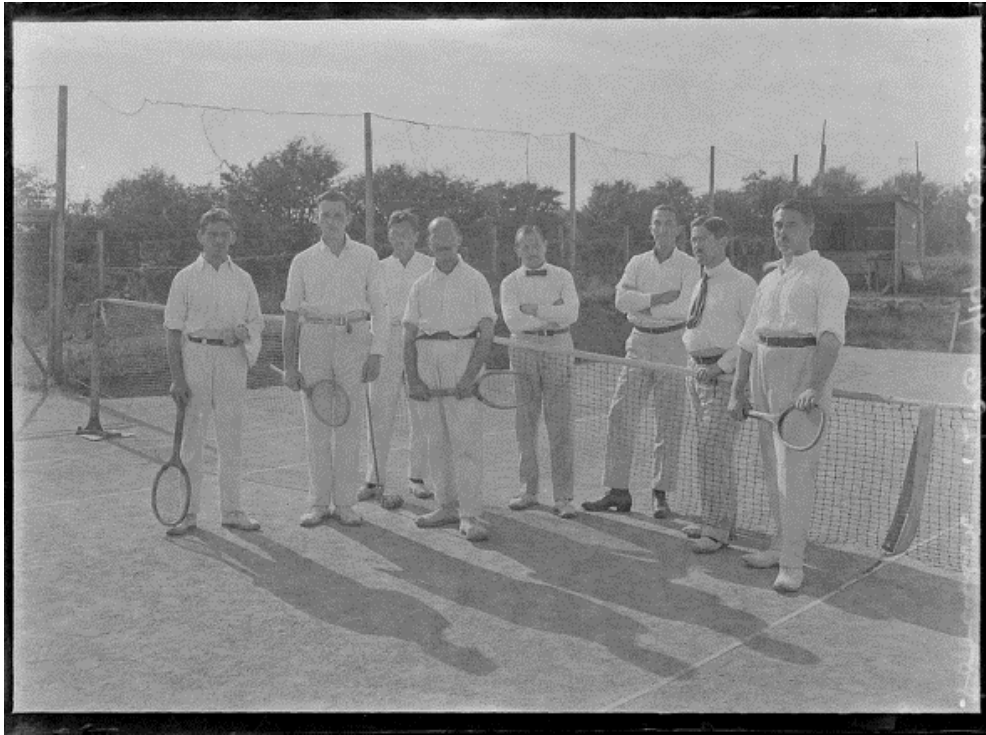
Figure 72: Tennis Courts, Camp 4. ©MNH

Figure 73: Bakelite toothbrush. German inscription reads "68/4 L MUT CHELKNAUSS PFORZHEIM".

MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0382. © KA

Figure 74: Base of toiletry dish. MNH Accession No: 2009-0181-0394. © KA

Figure 75: The five Turkish graves in Patrick churchyard. © KA

The material presented here is just a small proportion of the finds, objects, documents and photographs within the Knockaloe archive. They stand as a representation of the diversity of the collection and show how it can be used to inform our understanding of the camp and the lives of the internees.

Chapter 7

Creating a Virtual Museum and Archive

Creating a virtual museum and archive for Knockaloe is designed to facilitate a reconnection between the landscape, the material culture and the people connected with the site. This connection with the site is not in any way limited to those who are descendants of internees or their guards but extends to anyone who has an association with it, for example someone who lives in Patrick village, or indeed on the Isle of Man; someone researching internment elsewhere; or a farm worker who worked at Knockaloe after the war. Creating a website suitable for such an audience needs careful consideration with regards to the style and accessibility for the user. This chapter aims to show the inspiration behind the design of the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive using examples of other relevant sites that have been used for inspiration and ideas. A detailed account of how the website was constructed will also be given before an explanation and tour of the site and how it is designed to be used. This chapter will give an explanation as to how and why the website was put together while also explaining how it is designed to be used.

The construction of a virtual museum and archive is by its nature very different to its physical equivalent. The archive can hold a digital representation of an object

with viewing restricted to the quality of the images and associated description. A digital archive can potentially hold an unlimited quantity of data and can include material of any size and type. For example the Knockaloe Archive holds records that range from buttons to buildings. There is also much more flexibility in terms of the quantity of material displayed as there are no physical boundaries to limit presentation. Much of the challenge with a virtual museum and archive stems from the complexities of creating such a site and the web design knowledge required. The challenges this has posed to the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive will be outlined below, particularly with reference to the challenges of 3D modelling. Other significant considerations include the proposed audience, ease of use and the 'take-home' message the museum wishes to present. Before focusing on Knockaloe, this chapter will first look at a series of relevant online museums and archives from which inspiration and ideas have been drawn.

Online Museums and Archives of Conflict and Internment

A number of websites relating to conflict and warfare are now available on the internet covering an enormous range of subjects and approaches. Many of these sites offer basic information about a physical museum, act as an aid to visiting the battlefields or look at a specific regiments or battles of a particular conflict. Few provide information on internment. Sites such as The Great War 1914-1918 (http://www.greatwar.co.uk/) professes to be a guide to the history of the First World War and yet internment is barely mentioned. The Imperial War Museum's
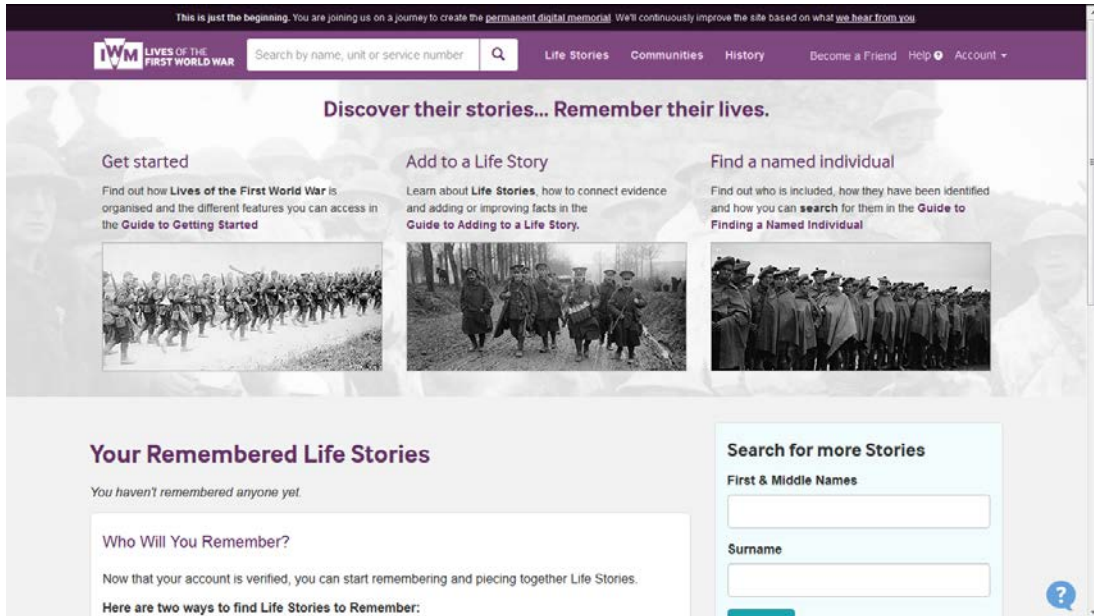
Figure 76: Screenshot of the Imperial War Museum's Lives of the First World War homepage. © Imperial War Museum https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/
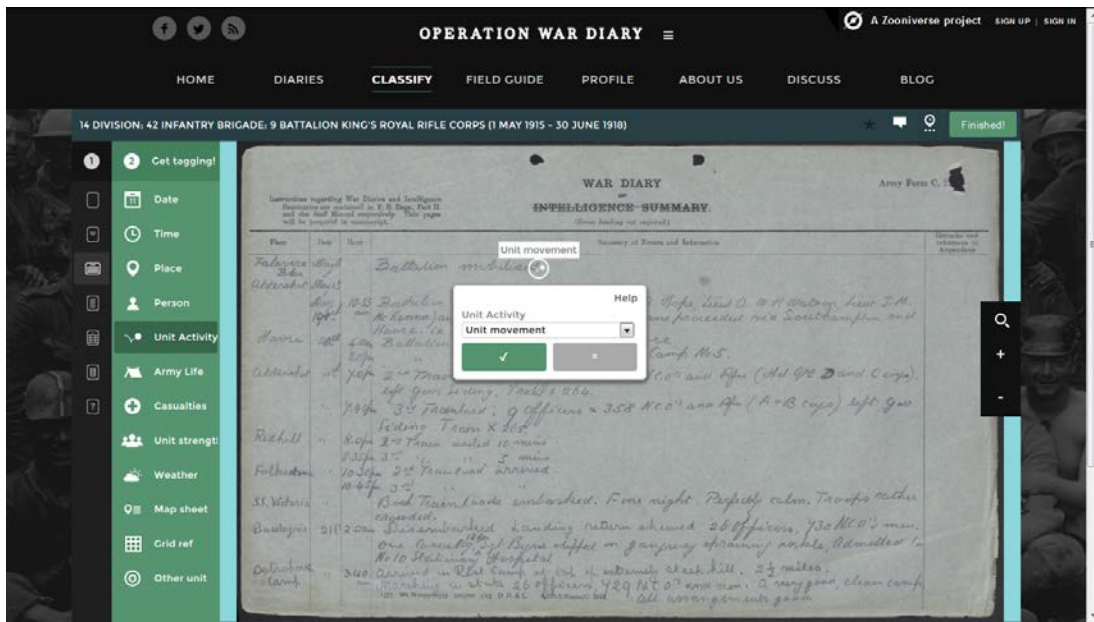
Figure 77: Screenshot of Operation War Diary. Tagging the diary. © Operation War Diary http://www.operationwardiary.org/

newly developed Lives of the First World War

(https://livesofthefirstworldwar.org/dashboard), states that it will ultimately

include all every man and woman from across the Commonwealth. As yet civilians

and internees are noticeably absent but it is hoped they will be included in the near

future. What this site does do, however, is enable the public to share their

knowledge and stories to the history of the First World War. Drawing on official

documents, the site contains an entry for every military person found within the

official records. The public are then given the opportunity to search for individuals

and contribute to their life story. Operation War Diary

(http://www.operationwardiary.org/#/) has a similarly interactive function, aiming

to create 'Citizen Historians' to tag digitised unit war diaries in order to create

searchable indexes. What is exciting about these projects is the value they give to

the public. Rather than provide a completed and far more focused presentation

from the outset, these formats allow the user to be part of the creative process,

helping them to create a much deeper connection with the material.

The previous examples focus very much on documentary resources and do not

incorporate material culture as is the case at Knockaloe. Jane Dusselier's research

into Second World War Japanese-American internment has led to the development

of the Japanese American Concentration Camp Art website

(http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786). The use of the term 'art' is

designed to be inclusive of "all cultural expressions that result in a material object"

(*ibid*), and the site includes items such as jewellery, crochet, models, posters and

woodwork. The site is divided into a number of sections based upon the various types of material: the art, published sources, camp newspapers and War Relocation Authority (WRA) photographs. The camp newspaper and WRA photographs are also included within the 'art' category and can therefore be accessed as a separate section or within the central archive. These divisions appears to be designed to enable the user to quickly access the specific material they are interested in and this works particularly well for the art. From the 'The Art' menu link you are offered a drop down menu which offers the option of seeing a list of the art included in the archive arranged by art forms, materials, artists, camps, and collections.

Figure 78: Screenshot of Japanese American Concentration Art Website homepage. © Claire Corkill

The lists presented within each of these lists are hyperlinked and take the user to a further page which provides details of the relevant material for that category. For

example, by selecting the 'beads' option within the materials category the user is taken to a page (http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786) which provides details of all the various items within the collection that are made using beads. A thumbnail image of the item is provided along with a title. Not all of the images in the collection have images attached, and in such cases the associated text is provided. From this page the user can then select an item by clicking on the title or thumbnail which will take them to a specific page dedicated to that item (e.g. http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786, see Figure 80). This page provides a full size image of the object and some basic details about it in the form of camp, collection, art form, and materials. Within the other sections of the site the presentation of material follows a similar pattern.

The design and layout of the site is straightforward and user friendly, making it very easy to look for material of a particular type. The data connected to each item is limited, with only the most basic details provided, although it is not clear why this is so. It is possible that the items do not have any further information associated with them or that a conscious decision has been made not to include that material. Similarly, the site acts specifically as a repository for material and does not offer any narrative or interpretation (although it does provide information of memorials and oral histories in the 'published sources' section). As a resource to discover more about the incredible range of material created in the camps, the website is a fantastic resource. The incorporation of the WRA images is a significant
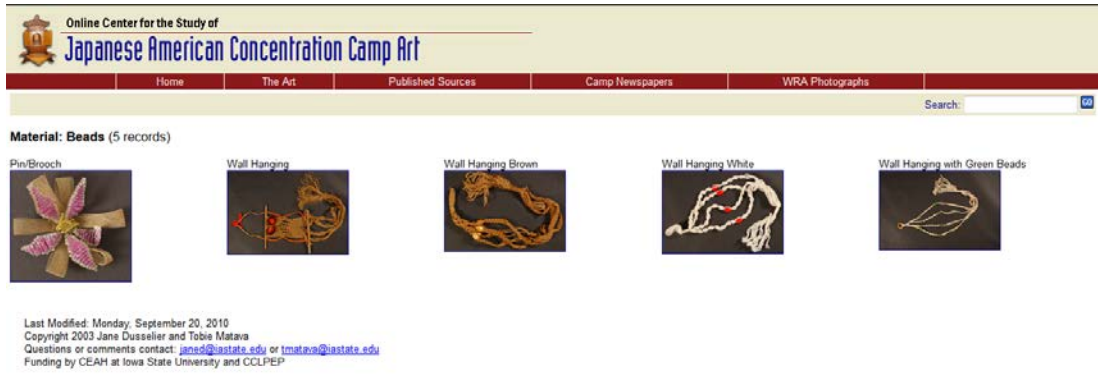
Figure 79: Screenshot of Material: beads page from the Japanese American Concentration Art Website. © Japanese American Concentration Camp Art http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786
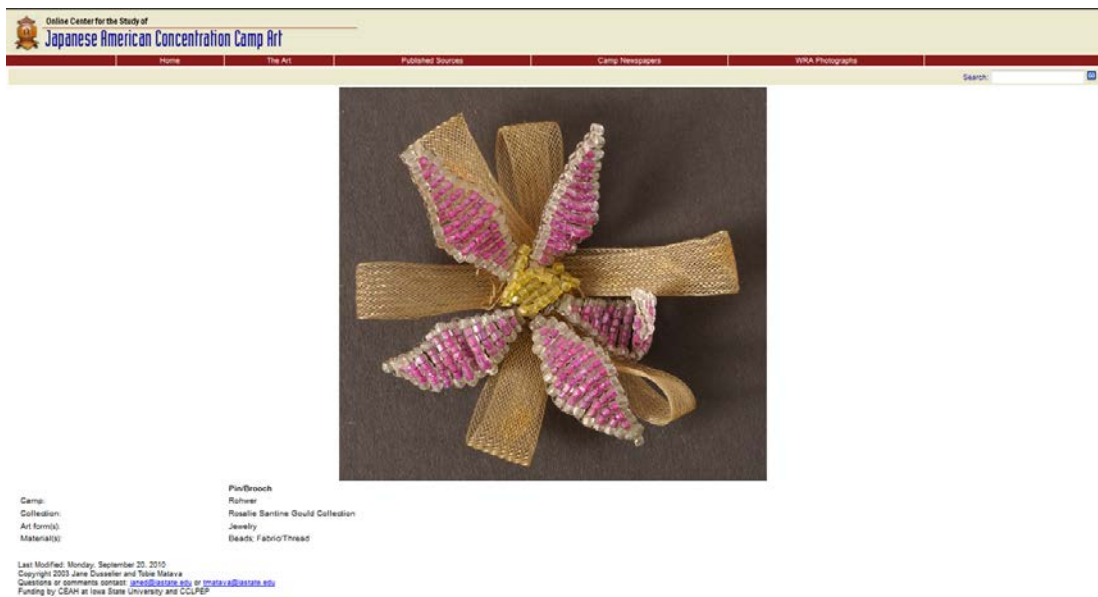
Figure 80: Screenshot of Pin/Brooch entry on Japanese American Concentration Art Website. ©

Japanese American Concentration Camp Art http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/6786
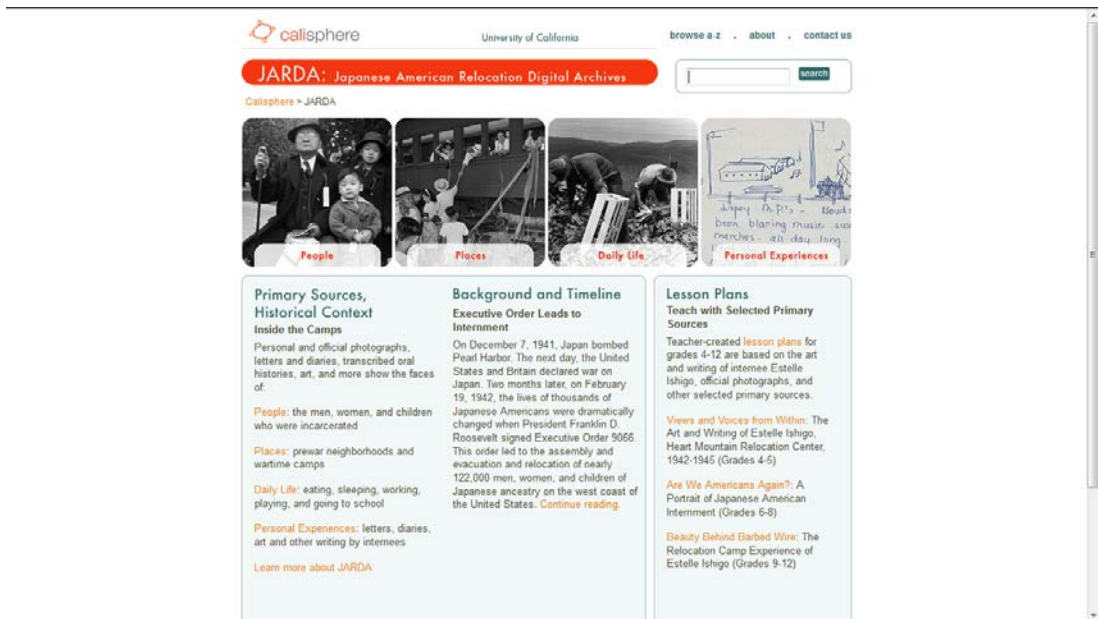
Figure 81: Screenshot of JARDA website homepage. © JARDA
http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/
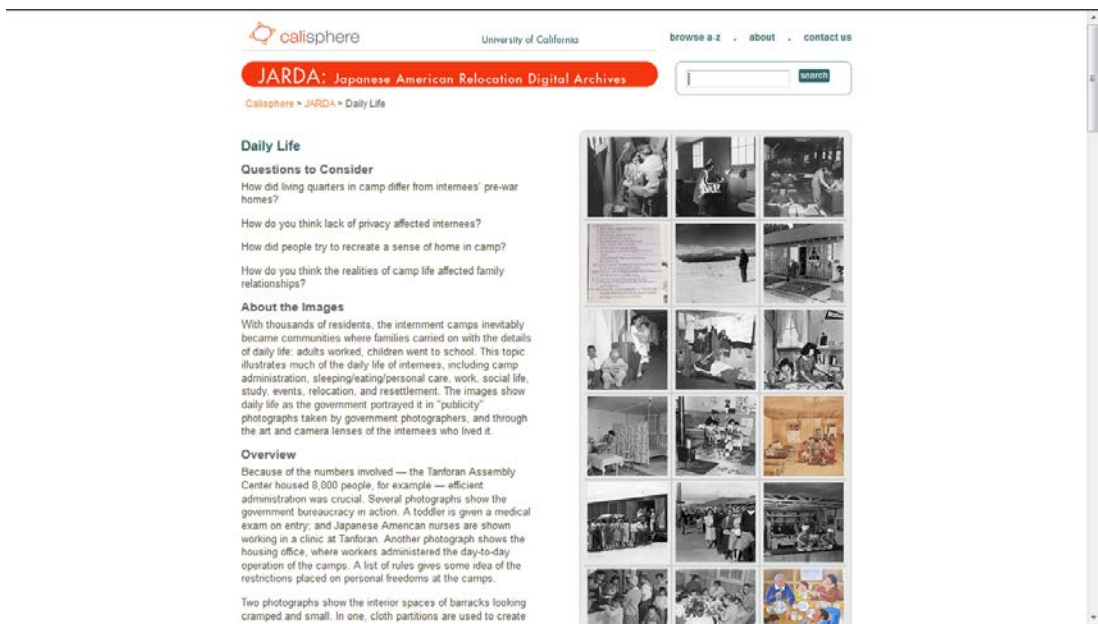
Figure 82: Screenshot of Daily Life page of JADRA website. © JARDA
http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/

Figure 83: Screenshot of Prisoners I-J from The Ruhleben Story website. © The Ruhleben Story
http://ruhleben.tripod.com/

Figure 84: The Treblinka Death Camp Revolt. Holocaust Education and Archive Research Team
website. © Holocaust Education and Archive Research Team
http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/

inclusion as it these images that bring the site to life, providing images of the

landscape, buildings, and perhaps most importantly, faces of the internees.

A similar resource if the University of California's JARDA: Japanese American

Relocation Digital Archive

(http://www.calisphere.universityofcalifornia.edu/jarda/). This site acts in a similar

manner to Dusselier's, although its primary focus is images and documentary

sources as opposed to material culture.   This site is once again divided into a

number of categories, this time with an emphasis on various facets of internment:

people, places, daily life, and personal experiences. The site also includes a

background and timeline and educational material for schools. For each of the

aforementioned categories a page gives thumbnails of a series of photographs and

artworks relating to the topic alongside background information and a selection of

questions to consider while looking at the material. The photographs used are, as in

Dusselier's site, WRA photographs. The JADRA site also provides the background to

the WRA photographs, explaining that they were the official photographs designed

to reflect the image the War Relocation Authority wanted to present to the

American public during the war.

Both of these sites make a large amount of valuable material accessible to the

public but with one considerable difference in their approach. The Japanese

American Concentration Camp site gives no background information about the

internment of Japanese Americans at all, allowing the material to stand alone. The JADRA site in comparison provides background material for the general public as well as educational packages. It would appear that the audience focus of these sites is significantly different, with the former focusing on the user who has a prior understanding of the internment camps, while the latter is clearly aiming to introduce a wider audience to this history with limited or no previous knowledge.

The Rhuleben Story (http://ruhleben.tripod.com/) is a website dedicated to those interned in Rhuleben camp, in Spandau, Germany, during the First World War. This site focuses very much on the British people who were interned, and gives a list of names of internees and where available, personal details (see Figure 83). There is also a timeline of events relevant to Ruhleben for the duration of the war, camp songs, and a collection of photographs from the camp taken by an internee, William Ibberson. This site, although informative, again only touches on focused elements of the internment experience, providing little detail about the camp itself or the community that was created within it. In contrast, the Holocaust Education and Archive Research Team (H.E.A.R.T) website (http://www.holocaustresearchproject.org/) provides a much larger body of material on the experiences of the Holocaust during the Second World War. The site covers the history of the holocaust, the various camps (see Figure 84), the experiences of individuals, including tales of survivors, and the subsequent trial of Nazi personnel following the end of the war. Once again this site focuses upon documentary sources but also includes a vast photographic record. The narrative

nature of these sites is very much focused on presenting information to the user and does not promote a two way interaction with opportunities for comment or contribution. These two sites also represent the variation in quantity of information available about First and Second World War camps. The extreme nature of the German concentration camps, and the fact that the Second World War still remains in living memory, have meant that greater emphasis (as well as funding) is often placed on recording and memorialising these events. The horrors of the Second World War concentration camps cannot be played down and the research and presentation of them is extremely important. This does not however make the experiences of those interned in First World War less significant they are different, but equally valuable, in enhancing our understanding of the treatment of civilians during conflict and the perseverance of human nature in such a situation.

Although only a small selection of sites have been mentioned here, they do highlight the variety of virtual museums and archives available and also highlight the disparities between them. It should also be noted that the focus of the sites examined in this chapter is weighted heavily towards those of a similar subject matter to the Knocklaoe Virtual Museum and Archive. In preparing for the development of the website, numerous other sites were consulted from a wide range of subject areas. These sites covered a broad range of themes and styles, and dealt with a variety of mediums including artefacts, images, sound and video. Particularly useful were sites such as the People's Collection Wales (http://www.peoplescollectionwales.co.uk/), and the Wickford History: South East

Essex Community Archive Network

(http://www.wickfordhistory.org.uk/index.aspx), which strove to make user

interaction an integral part of their concept. While the Pitt Rivers Museum

(http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/), the Virtual Museum of Canada

(http://www.virtualmuseum.ca/home/), and the British Museum

(http://www.britishmuseum.org/), were particularly helpful when considering style

and the use of galleries. Figure 85 provides an example of the sites consulted, both

internment related and otherwise, and highlights some of the key features that

have influenced the development of the virtual museum and archive.

The Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive will draw upon some of the elements

seen here and incorporate them into the site in an attempt to create a museum and

archive that provides both the basic data alongside a narrative while also

incorporating elements for contribution to ensure that the site will evolve and grow

with contributions and be a product of the community it serves. The archives

represented in the two Japanese American internment sites considered above are

crucial to the development of the Knockaloe site. Building on these methods a more

structured database search will be used to enable a wider range of search terms to

be used to find and group material. The site will also include narratives and

photographic galleries as seen in the H.E.A.R.T. site but the narrative pages will also

have a comments page allowing anyone to contribute further information.

Website	Characteristics
"Enemy Aliens" The Internment of Jewish Refugees in Canada, 1940-43 http://enemyaliens.ca/accueil-home-eng.html	- Each page focuses on a distinct story or theme. - Easy to use image galleries. - The tiered menus allow the user access to increasing levels of detail.
Manzanar National Historic Site, California. National Parks Service http://www.nps.gov/museum/exhibits/manz/index.html	- Virtual tour. - Explores the people and the place. - Use of quotes and personal experiences. - Incorporates archaeological finds.
Japanese American Concentration Camp Art http://www.lib.iastate.edu/internart-main/2023/3007	- Draws together material from numerous resources including photographic records, artefacts and newspapers. - Easy to navigate via menus and search facility.
Pitt Rivers Museum http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/	- Virtual collections. - Searchable database. -Grouping of artefacts in virtual collections.
The Valentino Garavani Virtual Museum http://www.valentino-garavani-archives.org/)	- Incorporation of 3D reconstruction and traditional galleries - Links connecting items together. - High visual impact.
People's Collection Wales http://www.peoplescollectionwales.co.uk/	- Uses mixed media. - Designed to continually grow and evolve as new material is added. - Draws together material from public and private collections.
Wickford History: South East Essex Community Archive Network http://www.wickfordhistory.org.uk/index.aspx	- Invites audience participation through the use of comments sections. - Designed to enable contributions as well as provide information. - Clear and defined sections of the site.

Figure 85: Table showing examples of websites studied and selected characteristics to be used in the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive.

A further element will be the incorporation of the landscape into the site using images, maps, geophysics and 3D modelling. These elements will be utilised to help the user visualise and connect with the landscape. In a similar way, this has been used by The People's History of the Holocaust and Genocide (remember.org) with the incorporation of photos and videos of Auschwitz. The value of this comes with the connection to a real physical place. Without a connection to a physical location it is much more difficult to imagine the sites and experiences presented in virtual sites and also much easier to forget.

The final element will incorporate further interactive elements to the site with the inclusion of blogs and forums. The blogs will be written by a variety of interested individuals and more news-based information, while the forums will present the opportunity for the open sharing of information. The following sections of the chapter will look at the details of how the site was created and how it functions.

Construction of the website

The site has been constructed using Drupal (version 7, www.drupal.org), an open source content management system which was selected due to its flexible nature and ability to deal with more complex elements of the site such as the archive database while still providing the social and community elements of web 2.0. In

terms of the logistical management, the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive is

hosted by Heritage Technology (www.heritagetechnology.co.uk) using the sever

CloudNext (http://www.cloudnext.co.uk/). *Heritage Technology* also provided

domain registration. The overall design of the site was achieved using a theme

called BlueMasters (http://drupal.org/project/bluemasters) created by More Than

(just) Themes (http://www.morethanthemes.com/). The theme was chosen due to

its clean and simple layout which enabled an improved site design without the need

to develop a Cascading Style Sheet which would have required a more advanced

knowledge of coding. The theme was not, however, without problems as several

features including social media links were hard coded into the theme and were not

easily replaced or removed.

As a new Drupal user and also someone new to web design, the complexities of

Drupal were evident. The software is not always intuitive and the inbuilt help is very

limited. There is, however, a substantial amount of literature to guide the new user

in setting up a website (such as Mercer 2010 and Douglass *et al* 2006) as well as a

huge body of knowledge available online through the very active Drupal

Community (http://drupal.org/community) and the availability of YouTube

(www.youtube.com) videos which have proved invaluable in the development of

this site.

The Knockaloe archive was already functioning as an Access database. Importing

this data into Drupal involved considerable coding and knowledge of Drupal and as

a result this element of the site was constructed by Pat Gibbs of Heritage Technology following the data and layout of the original database. The database is accessed through a simple search facility that provides teasers of the archive results. The archive entries comprise of a series of data along with associated images. The images are presented as thumbnails and when selected can be viewed using the media viewer Shadowbox (http://www.shadowbox- js.com/).

Creating a model using *Trimble Sketchup*

The use of visualisation within archaeology has become a firmly entrenched methodology implicated in both the presentation and understanding of the past (Earl 2013). Indeed, as Bernardes *et al*. contend

> Visualization methods support the communication of implicit knowledge and encourage new thinking. The importance of modelling and visualization methods in the dissemination of visual representations of archaeological interpretations is widely recognized (2012, 13).

Such visualisations also provide 'new digital spaces to think inside', with the

> … outputs of the modeling [sic] work whilst appealing are less significant than the spatial processes by which they are formed. The models are used for visual stimulation, as a conflation and reasoned extrapolation of archaeological data designed to stimulate thought. This focus on experience of contemporary space, whether physical or virtual, is as explicitly phenomenological as the discussion of past lifeways above. It draws equally

from socially constructed and cognitive models, within which the

interpretations building from experience in the present are differently

relevant to discussions of past experience and action. Navigation and

interaction within digital immersive environments provide bodily

engagements with real and imagined archaeological environments... (Earl

2013, 234).

The successes of modelling in augmenting understanding in deeply prehistoric

periods, such as that seen at Çatalhöyük and other sites (*ibid.*), is well established

and it was the intention of these models to aid understanding of the now-destroyed

Knockaloe Camp landscape.

The historical models created using *Trimble Sketchup* (http://www.sketchup.com/),

and particularly its predecessor *Google Sketchup*, have shown the potential of the

software to create visualisations of the past (Volta *et al.* 2009, and Boos, Kersten *et*

al. 2012). Of course these visualisations should not be regarded as a necessity, but

rather provide another method of understanding and explaining the past, one

which is coincidently more digestible to an increasingly visual culture both within

archaeological discourse and within society generally (Cochrane & Russell 2007 and

Rolling 2007).

Initially the intention was to use an image-based modelling technique to generate

the underlying model, employing ARC3D (http://www.arc3d.be/) to generate a

point cloud and then MeshLab (http://meshlab.sourceforge.net/) to create a 3D

textured mesh model (Cignoni *et al.* 2008, Tingdahl *et al.* 2011). Unfortunately, the historic images of the camp were not suitable for this type of use (also see discussion below) and consequently the visualisations were created from scratch. After some investigation it was decided that the simplest and most flexible method to create the variety of simple models required for Knockaloe was to use the free version of *Trimble Sketchup* (Version 8.0.16846). *Trimble Sketchup*, and its more famous predecessor *Google Sketchup*, is an established 3D modelling program that can be used to create and render models. As the intention was that the completed model would be imported into *Google Earth*, where it could easily be interrogated within a web browser, it seemed the most appropriate program. At the same time *Trimble Sketchup* has its own online *Trimble 3D Warehouse* where users can store and share the models they have created. This has obvious benefits when creating models from scratch, allowing the user to use or repurpose existing ones. This ability can save valuable time during the creation phase. There are obviously some serious concerns over using existing models particularly in terms of accuracy, and while the *3D Warehouse* claims that models "go through a review process", experience has shown that the quality of models is still somewhat variable (Sketchup 2013, internet). As Sheppard and Cizek observe,

> the risk that 3D 'dreams' unfettered by reality or regulations may become indistinguishable from accurate 3D objects based on survey data or careful design/visualisation processes, pose serious questions for those seeking to use such information. (2009, 2111)

Indeed errors and mistakes may not be immediately obvious and may only become important when incorporated into larger, more complex models. At the same time a dearth of documentation and 'paradata' means that often these models lack context (Bentknowska-Kafel 2013). Added to this, *3D Warehouse* only considers that "models of buildings that are currently built and are textured by real photographs are eligible" (Sketchup 2013, internet). The often glossed-over issue of copyright remains an important issue which cannot be surmounted without a significant investment of both time and effort, despite headline claims within the *3D Warehouse* that this reuse is easy.

With these issues in mind the best solution with regard to the buildings, structures and fencing found within the Knockaloe Camp was to start from scratch and design buildings from the ground up. At the same time this approach was somewhat necessitated by the unique character of some of the structures found within the camp; as discussed elsewhere the standard huts from Camp 1, along with the kitchens and dining halls, were bespoke structures designed and constructed locally with no extant comparative material.

The sectional huts used for the later additions, Camp 2, 3 and 4, were more generic and had some comparative similarities, but despite this, the way the structures had been put together was unusual, for example the grouping of huts (3x2, 2x2), the fact they were bricked up off the ground, etc. Another notable difficulty was the lack of definitive architectural plans for any of the structures; in this instance the
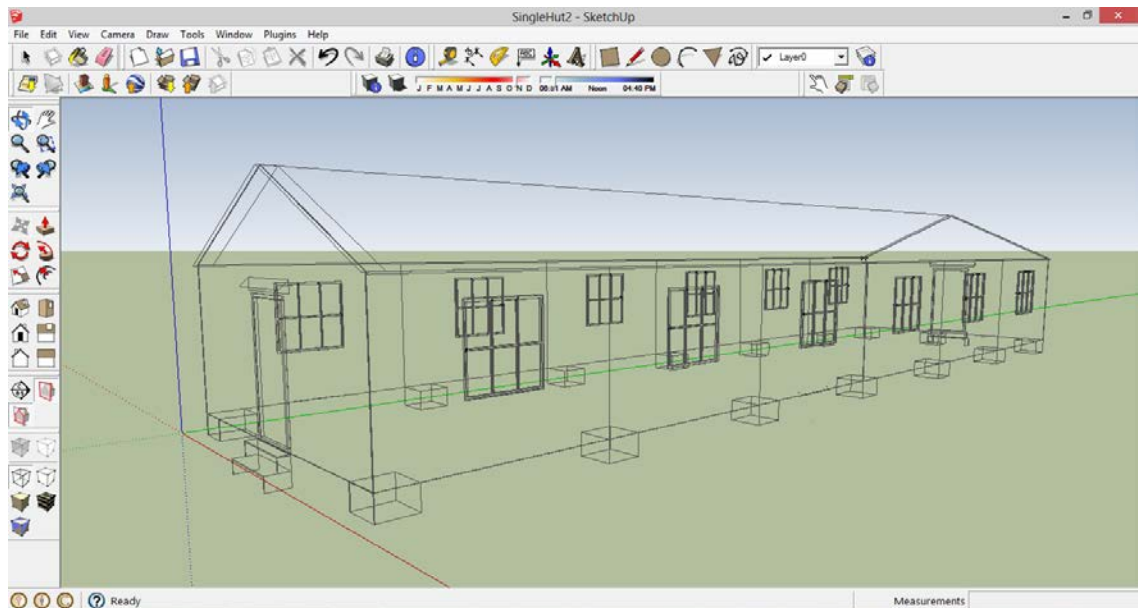
Figure 86: Wire model of Knockaloe Hut, designed using *Trimble Sketchup*. © Claire Corkill

mapping evidence (Untitled Plan of Knockaloe, MNH) proved an invaluable source in providing scale for many of the building, while the notes provided by staff at *Manx National Heritage* (Johnson nd) and personal survey of extant structures provided some insight. Further assistance on the nature of the structures came from the local newspapers reporting on the removal and demolition of the camp. These sources gave measurements for the size of the structures which could easily be plotted in *Sketchup*. As Hart and Robson stress, "[t]he historian should make it clear what documentary or archaeological evidence has been used to produce computer reconstructions of buildings or stage designs" (after Bentknowska-Kafel 2013: 42-43).

Further problems became apparent when it came to adding texture to the rough models. While *Sketchup* allows photorealistic rendering from photographs, few of
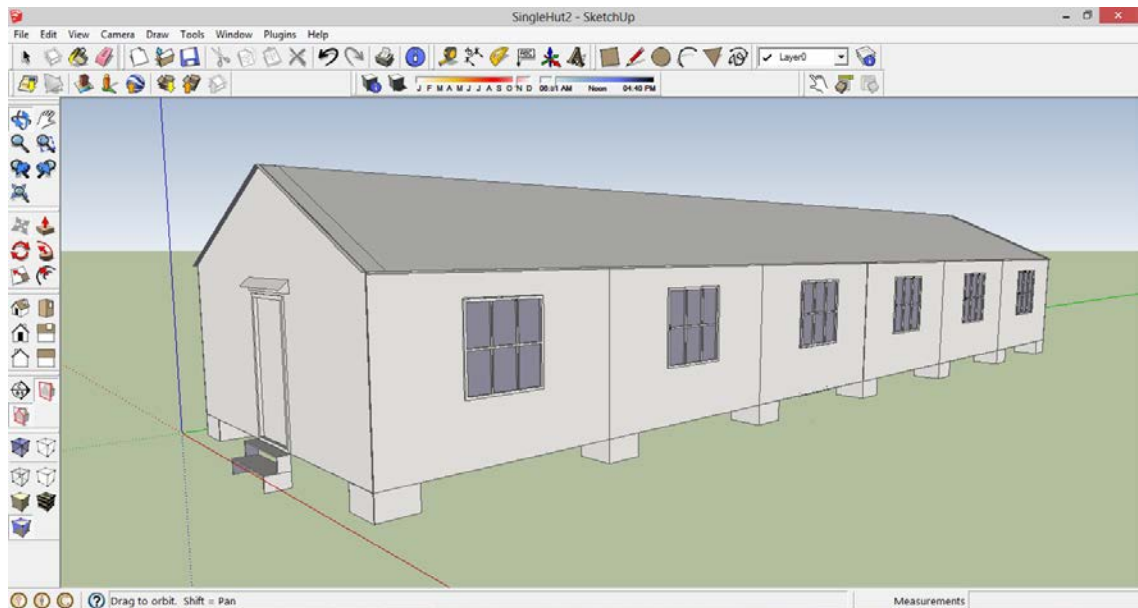
Figure 87: Surface model of Knockaloe Hut, designed using *Trimble Sketchup*. © Claire Corkill

the extent glass slides or photographic evidence actually provided views which

were suitable or which could easily be incorporated within the models. Often in the

case of the historic images, the principle focus was individuals or groups, with views

of structures restricted to the background. As a result evidence was often spread

over a number of glass slides or photographs making the creation of a single

texture/image impossible. Attempts were made to use evidence from

contemporary extant structures, but these proved problematic for different

reasons, largely because many of these structures have been modified, painted, or

even 'boxed in' within brick facing. Consequently their original appearance was

unrecoverable. It had been hoped that this would give the models a sense of reality,

but this proved impossible. Consequently, computer-generated textures were used

to render the structures, something that at least gave a sense of what original

structures looked like. Fortunately *Sketchup* offers a degree of flexibility that allows

users to import images and textures which are created in software programmes. When making the Knockaloe models, a series of colours and textures within the standard *Sketchup* installation were manipulated in order to render the image, whilst further textures were created in a trial version of *CorelDraw Graphics Suite X6* and manipulated in *XnView* (Version 1.99.6). These texture files had the most significant impact on the size of the single model and implications for the camp model. The exported Collada XML schema file (.dae) (imported into *Google Earth*) and the final Keyhole Markup Language XML file (.kml/.kmz) were used to share the model within the interface. As a result, the size of the texture files was kept as small as possible, but this had to offset against photo-reality.

The use of *Trimble Sketchup* also offered an ability to import the models into *Autodesk AutoCAD 2013* (Student) where specific elements of the model could be more effectively handled, but such manipulation was minimal. Once individual models for each of the structures had been created in *Trimble Sketchup* they were imported into a separate camp model which was used to orientate and arrange individual models. To create this camp model, a map of the camp was imported into *Trimble Sketchup*, scaled appropriately and used as a base-map layer onto which the individual models were placed. Once the model was complete it was exported in Collada format (.dae), from which it could be import into *Google Earth*.

The creation of the model was largely successful; throughout, a principle concern was the ability for researchers and members of the public to interrogate it within a
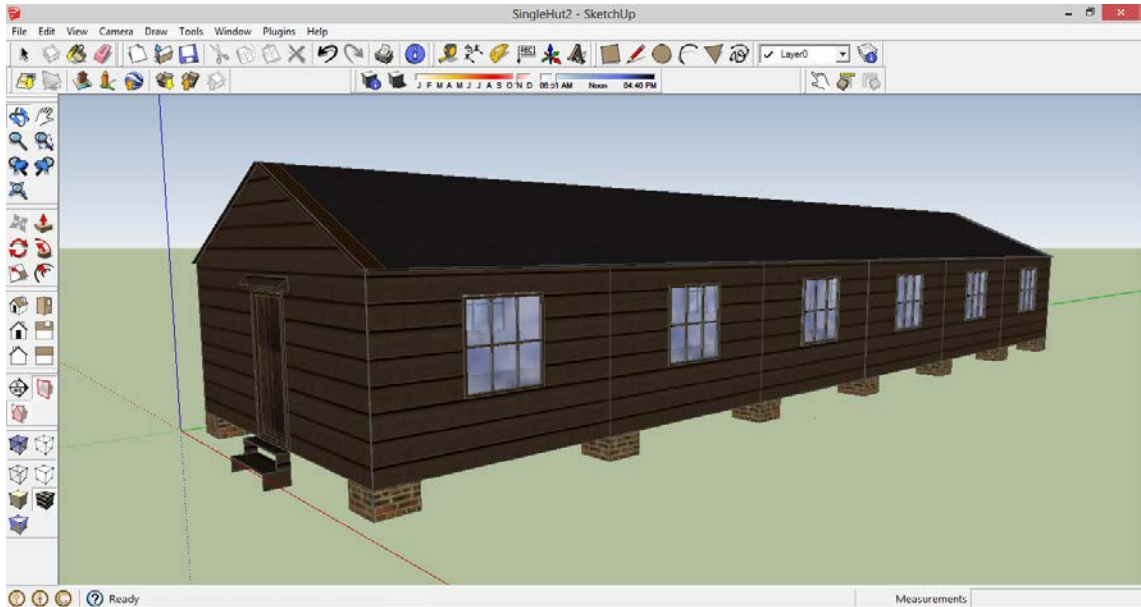
Figure 88: Rendered model of Knockaloe Hut designed using *Trimble Sketchup*. © Claire Corkill
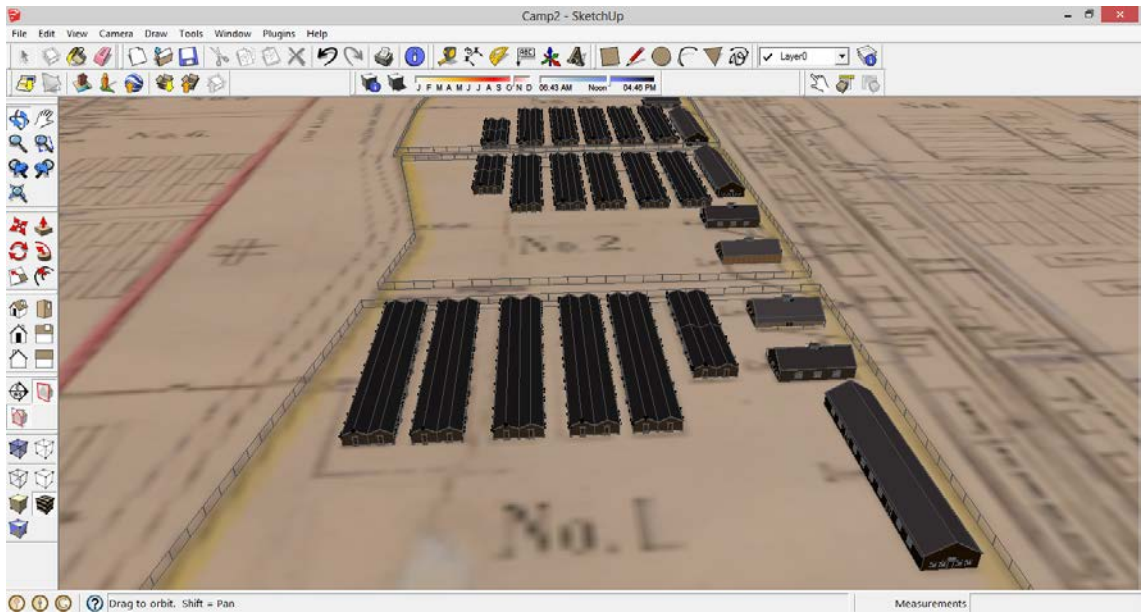
Figure 89: Overall model of Camp 2 created using *Trimble Sketchup*. © Claire Corkill

suitable environment, in this instance *Google Earth*. Consequently a principle

concern was the creation of file that could be easily streamed. Unfortunately, the

complexity of the visualisation made the construction of a complete model of the

camp problematic; consequently only one of compounds, Camp 2, was created.

Using Google Earth to interrogate the model

Google Earth is a program that integrates a global digital elevation model (DEM)

with surface detail derived from satellite imagery to create a 3D representation of

the world, offering significant advantages over traditional GIS technologies where

> …the advantages of GE [*Google Earth*] (accessible, free, simple user
>
> interface) outweigh the advantages of traditional GIS (more exact mapping,
>
> control of map projections, sophisticated analytical tools (Bailey *et al.* 2012,
>
> x).

In the post-war period both aerial photography and, in the last two decades

satellite imagery have become important for locating and surveying sites within the

archaeological process. A process that has been enhanced with the development of

Google Earth and *Google Maps,* which have in turn taken these research tools,

made them manageable and available to a wide audience (Handwerk 2006, Myers

2010b). Indeed these "virtual globes offer the benefits of accessibility, interactivity,

and engagement in landscape visualization to millions' (Sheppard & Cizek 2009,

2115). As Bailey *et al.* succinctly states, *Google Earth* "provides a canvas to which

users can add their own geospatial data to create dynamic visualizations" (Bailey *et*

al. 2012, viii). *Google Earth* provides the viewers with an opportunity to engage with meaningful locations and places, and

> transforms what was [simply] map data into recognizable local perspective views which are not only more meaningful to many people, but also inevitably more value-laden. We quickly enter the realm of perception and emotional reaction. Virtual globes take us beyond mere cognition, into an experiential world where we can expect other kinds of response: affective, evaluative, physiological, and potentially behavioural" (*ibid.*, 2107-2108).

At the same time caution needs to be expressed at the simulated realism. The

> rhetorical cues embedded in Google Earth maps infuse spatial data with pictorial information (such as blue or building facades) that is 'not necessarily data-driven, representative, or accurate'… the greater risks 'may well lie less in the accuracy of data than in the process and framing by which the visualizations are disseminated and mediated with other viewers (Phadke 2010, 276).

The use of *Google Earth* (version 7.0.3.8542) to display the data created for used for Knockaloe Camp 2 model was a relatively simple process. Initially a series of historic maps of the camp were added to *Google Earth* as a series of image overlays. These were imported and then manually orientated and positioned into the correct geographical location. They had been created from original paper-based maps, from within the collections of *Manx National Heritage* (Untitled Plan of Knockaloe), which had been captured using a digital camera by staff at MNH. The resultant .tif files had then been converted to .png before being imported into *Google Earth*.

Once the images had positioned correctly, they were saved and each was exported in kml/kmz format. In hindsight the creation of these geo-rectified images would have been more effectively and accurately achieved through the use of ArcGIS, and then imported into *Google Earth*, but this was only recognised subsequently.

Once these maps had been created and correctly positioned these were then used to position the Knockaloe Camp 2 model, created in *Trimble Sketchup* (.dae), into the correct location within *Google Earth*. Originally these same maps had been used as the base-layer within the model, but had been subsequently removed from the final exported version. The positioning of the Knockaloe Camp 2 model required some work as it did not contain any spatial (long/lat) coordinates, but positioning within *Google Earth* version proved to relatively easy. Once the model had been correctly positioned it too was saved in a kml/kmz format, from where it could be imported and added to the *Drupal* module which is used to display it.

The creation of both the model and *Google Earth* visualisation proved to be time consuming as the methodology employed could not easily be automated. Where possible, structural models were reused within the Knockaloe Camp 2 model to speed up the process, but the fact that each of each structure model required positioning proved laborious. Research had shown that this would be an issue, e.g. the model of historical Hamburg (Kersten *et al.*, 2012). Once imported into *Google Earth* the process was relatively easy, only requiring the positioning of the entire model. Initial experiments with the model and *Google Earth* which had employed a
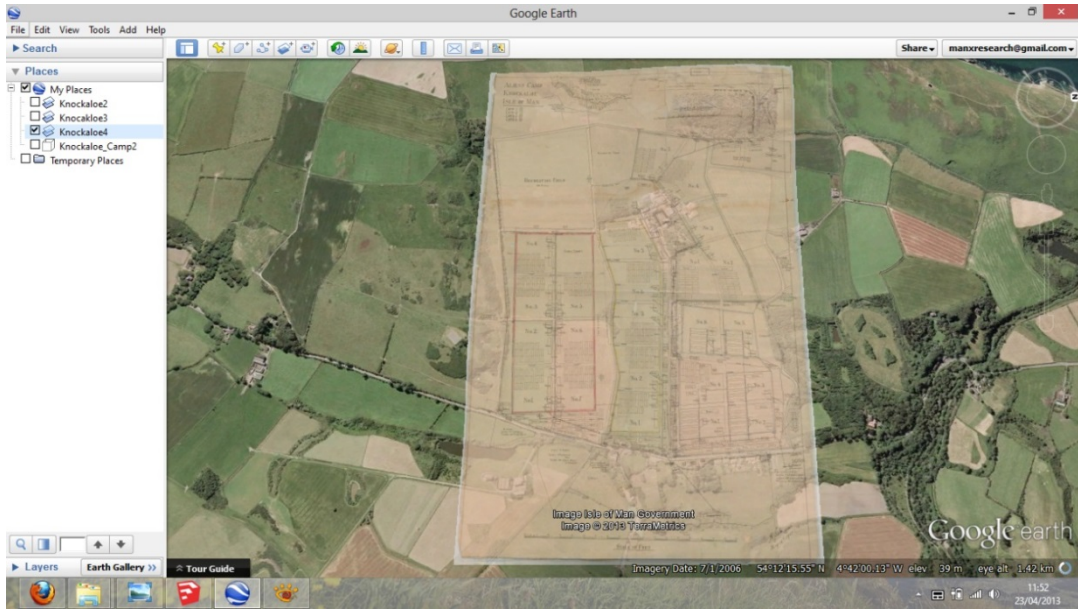
Figure 90: Creation of geo-located map within *Google Earth*. © Claire Corkill
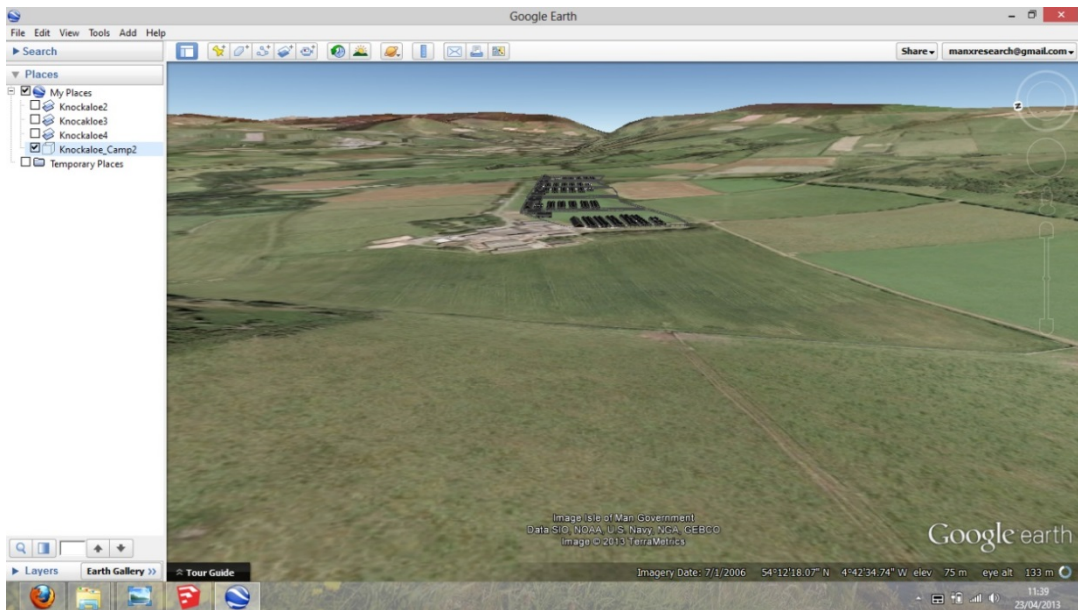
Figure 91: View of Knockaloe Camp 2 model within *Google Earth*, looking east. © Claire Corkill
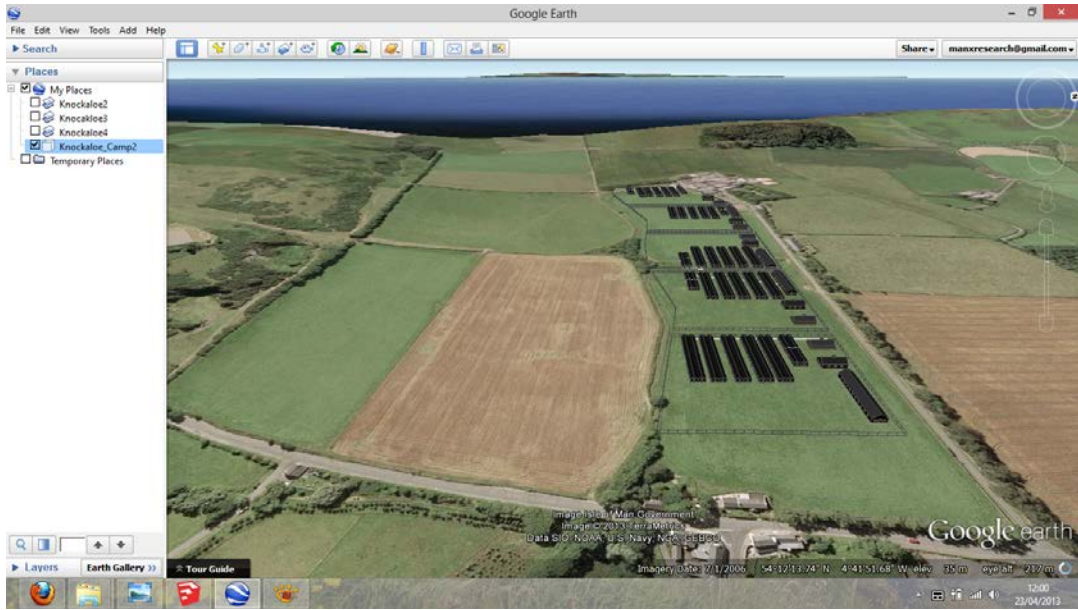
Figure 92: View of Knockaloe Camp 2 model within *Google Earth*, looking west. © Claire Corkill
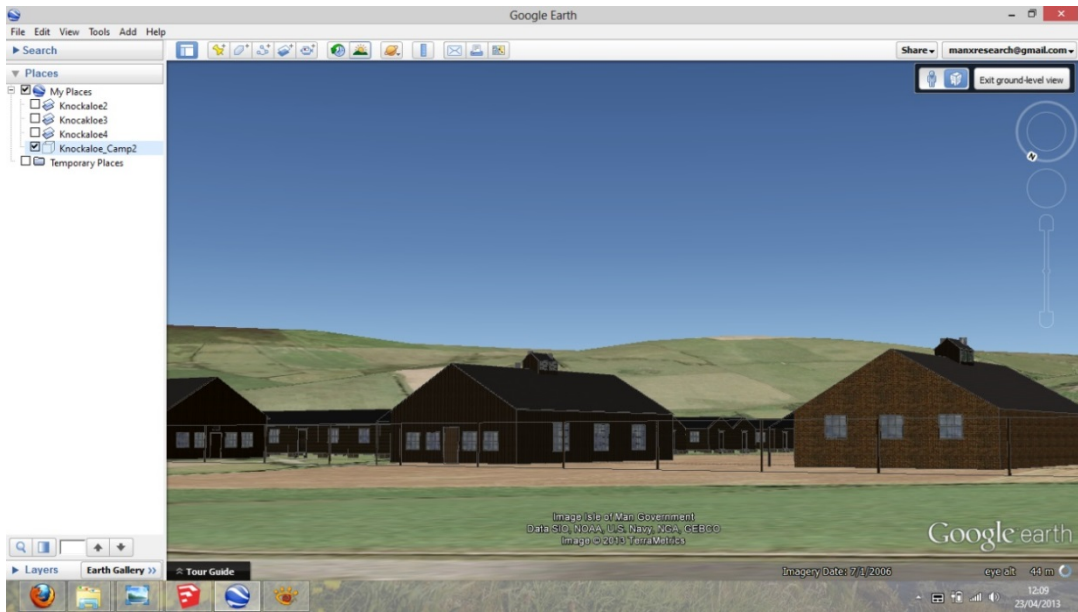
Figure 93: View of Knockaloe Camp 2 model detail within *Google Earth.* © Claire Corkill
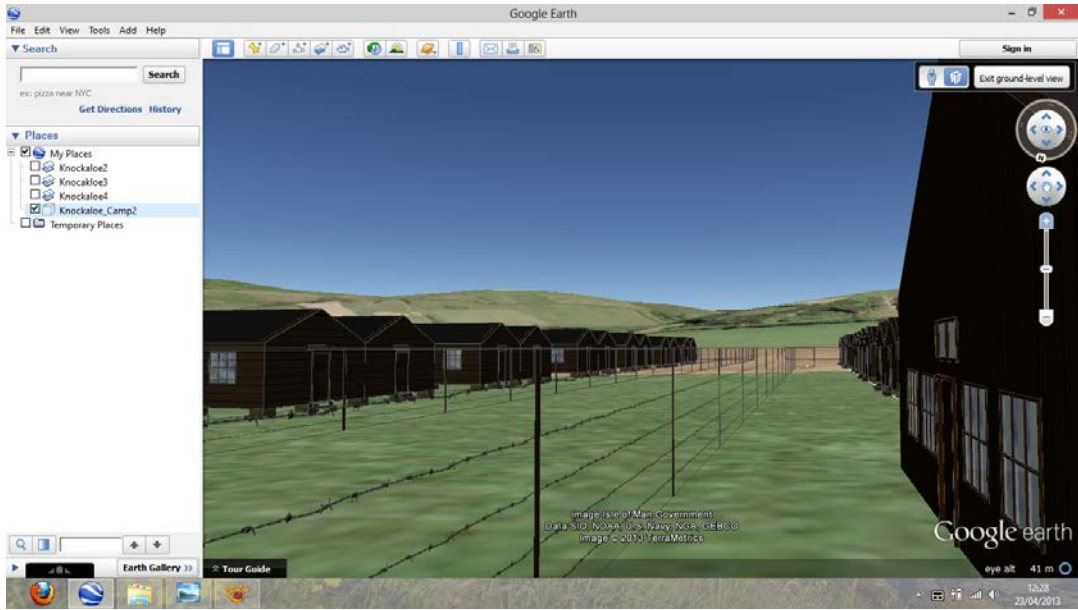
Figure 94: View of Knockaloe Camp 2 model detail within *Google Earth*. © Claire Corkill
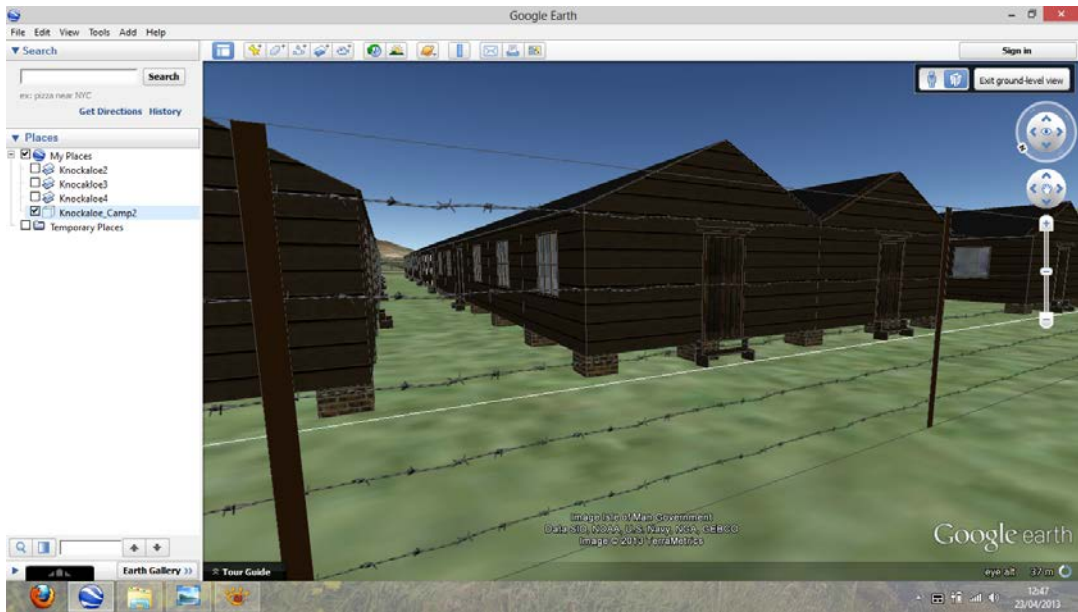
Figure 95: View of Knockaloe Camp 2 model detail within *Google Earth*. © Claire Corkill

methodology where individual structural models were imported and positioned

into *Google Earth* proved unsustainable, and produced a final kmz file that was too

large to be effectively streamed. Some issues were experienced once the model

had been imported into *Google Earth* with regard to the altitude of the model.

Despite being set to be 'clamped to the ground', parts of the model were

continually presented in the air; within the exported version the module with the

website was able to rectify the problem and position the model correctly, although

some issues were noted with regard to the version of *Google Earth* being used. As

noted above a significant concern was also the size of the final kmz file.

Consequently some experimentation was required to create a model that was small

enough to be useful, but still had a enough detail to be effectively portrayed using

the *Google Earth* plugin on the website. The resulting kmz file has been presented

as a link on the website alongside instructions for use. This version will therefore be

viewed outside of the website via the desktop version of *Google Earth* and a link to

download the programme has also been provided.

Experiencing the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive

Upon arrival at the Knockaloe Virtual Archive and Museum the user is faced with a

number of choices. The three main options presented on the homepage

(www.knocklaoe .org.uk) allows the user to enter the museum to explore a variety

of themes and find out about camp life and the experiences of the internees; enter

the archive and explore collections and search the database for a wide variety of

internment material; or visit the interactive section where there are blogs and

forums.

Figure 96: Screenshot of KVMA homepage. © Claire Corkill

There are further options available in the main menu across the top of the screen

which includes the section relating to the archaeology of the site. This has not been

included as one of the three main themes as facets of the archaeological results are

incorporated into both the museum and archive sections. The family history link has

been provided as this is an area of interest for people investigating Knockaloe.

Unfortunately as the camp register does not survive it is not possible to provide a

definitive list of names of internees at the camp and this page strives to point that

out while also giving details of the Anglo German Family History Society and the

International Red Cross. The page also encourages people to post about relatives in

the forums in the hope that fellow users may be able to help them. The final link in the main menu is an "about" section which gives details about the site and provides links to other useful sites such as Manx National Heritage and the National Archives.

From the home screen if the user selects to enter the museum they are presented with a further "options" screen. Here they can choose a series of options based on the themes presented in Chapter 6. Each link takes the user to the main page for each theme; this page has various elements of linked text taking the user to additional pages of information and images. There are also links within these pages to the other sections of the site. For example, finds and objects are linked to their relevant entry in the archive, while discussions relating to maps and plans will have links to the "maps and models" section of the site. The various biographies within the "people" section of the museum are also incorporated into the relevant sections of the site, for example Joseph Pilates within the health and wellbeing theme.

The archaeology takes the user to a further menu page where they can select from a variety of options such as geophysics or field walking. These pages provide information about the relevant archaeological fieldwork undertaken with associated links to maps, finds, images and other relevant pages. The maps and models link provide access to the models that have been created. The Google Earth

Figure 97: Joseph Pilates biography. © Claire Corkill

Figure 98: Maps and Models page. © Claire Corkill

plugin is available, although it does take some time to load. The model can also be downloaded as a TMZ file and viewed directly in Google Earth.

The archive is made up of two main areas: the searchable archive and a series of collections comprising archive material and based around various themes such as bonework or postcards. Using the search form, the user will be able to find specific items within the archive (see Figures 99 and 100). A further menu link is provided in this section for documents. This page links to pdf documents which are made up of digital images of various documents relating to the camp.

The final area to explore is the interactive section which is made up of blogs and forums. The blogs will be by a variety of relevant people covering news and stories relating to Knockaloe, such as a recent blog by a visitor to an exhibition on the camp in Ramsey, Isle of Man (see Figure 101). The forums will be available for discussion about anything relating to the camp. They are currently set so that anyone can comment in a forum but only administrators can set the topics. This was done to make access to commenting easier for people, and to encourage anyone who may be put off by the idea of creating a user account.
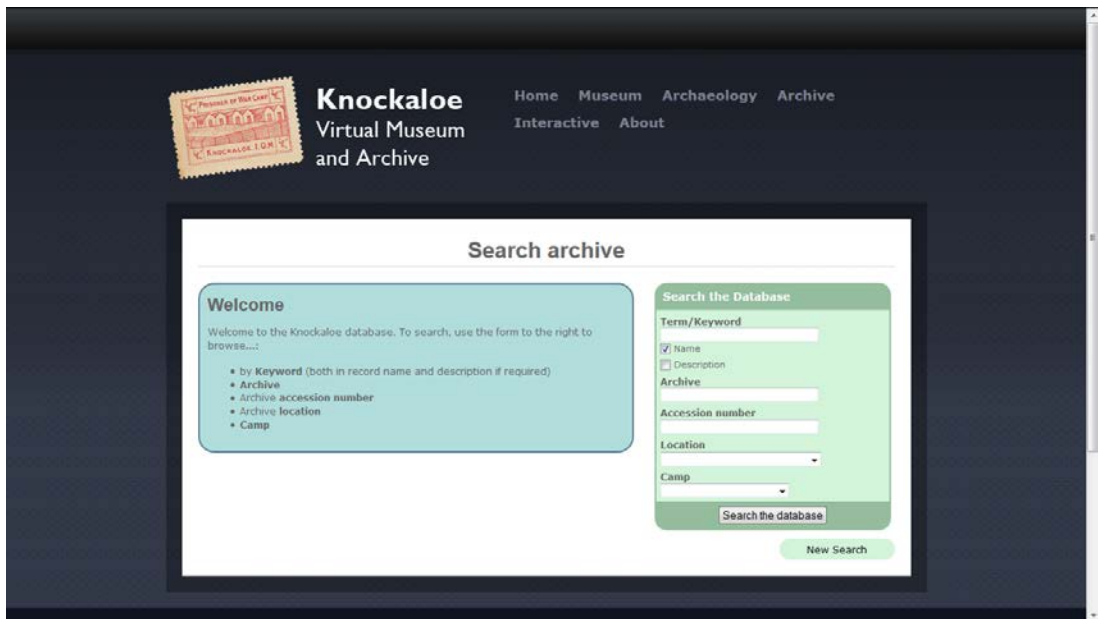
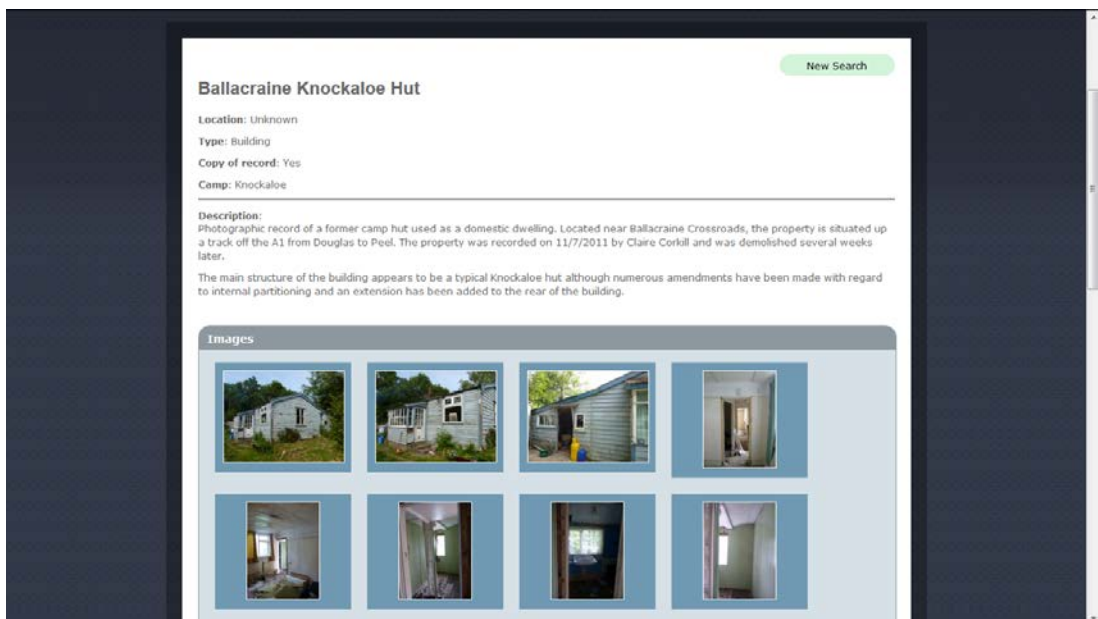Figure 99: Archive search form. © Claire Corkill

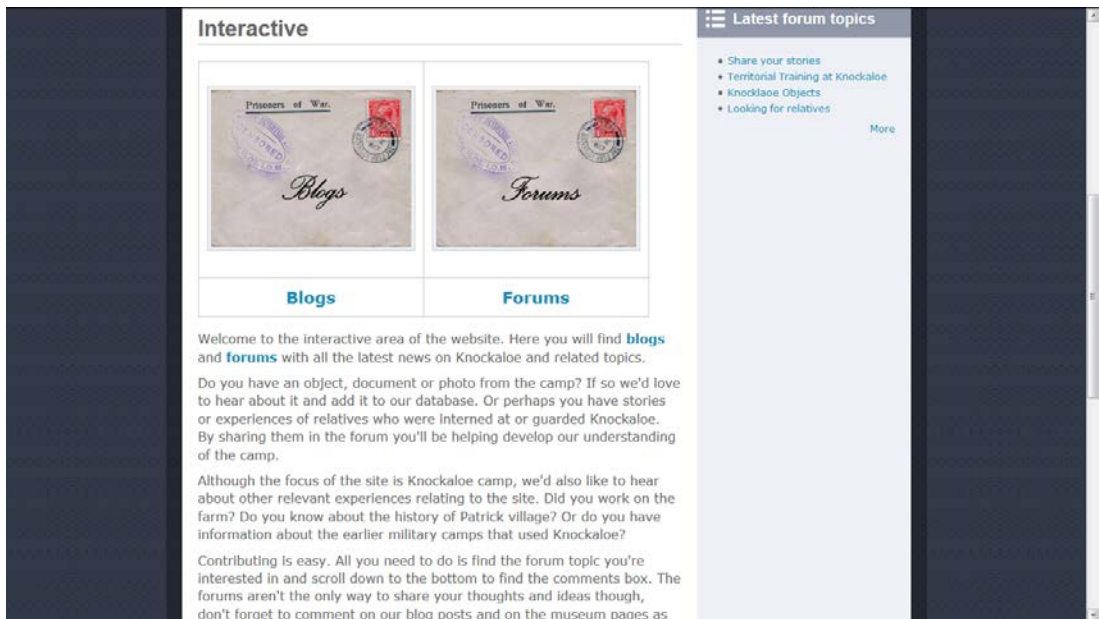Figure 100: Results page for Ballacraine Knockaloe hut. © Claire Corkill

Figure 101: Blogs and forum home page. © Claire Corkill
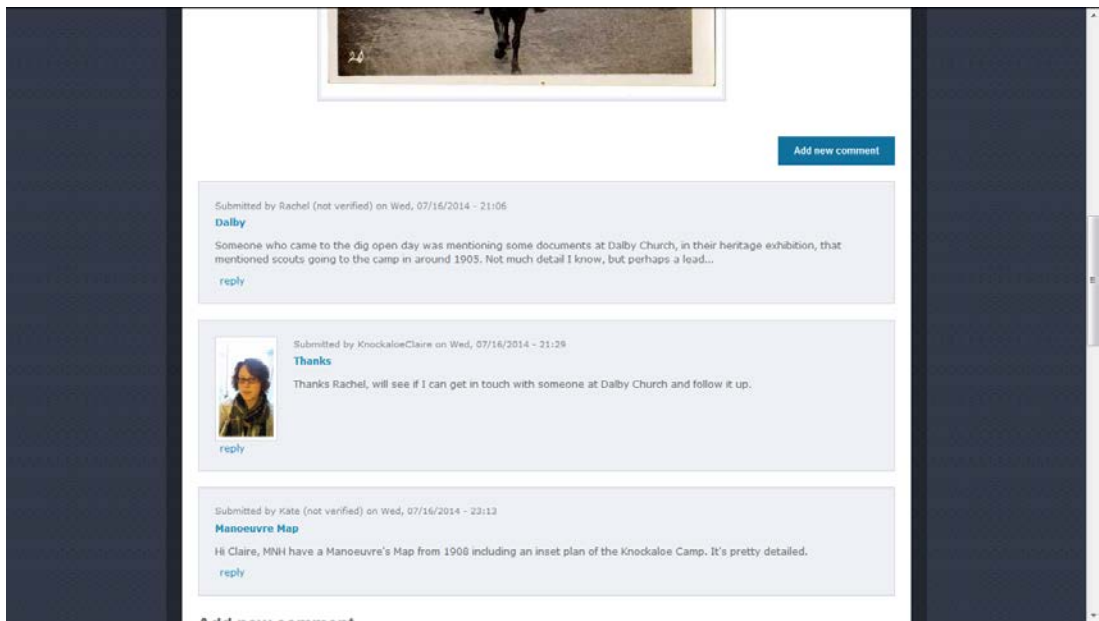
Figure 102: Discussion in forum. © Claire Corkill

Figure 103: Guest blog on Knockaloe exhibition in Ramsey, Isle of Man. © Claire Corkill

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The study of Knockaloe internment camp provides a unique insight into the lives of almost 23,000 men who were removed from their daily lives and forced to live behind the confines of the barbed wire fence for the duration of the First World War. The experience of these men has left little physical remains in the landscape due to the systematic destruction and sale of camp property following its closure in 1919. The enforced repatriation of the internees and the return to England of the guards left only a small number of individuals on the Island who had been involved in the day-to-day experiences of Knockaloe.

Within Manx landscape and culture, knowledge of Knockaloe is slight. Many may know of the camp's existence but few know any details about the internment experience and, within the younger generations, many have no knowledge of the camp at all. Experiences of Second World War internment were much more prominent in the landscape with internees accommodated in the boarding houses of the Island's coastal towns and have therefore have had a much stronger impact on people's memory (Cresswell 2010). Experiences of the camp elsewhere vary. For many internees their experiences in Knockaloe represented a dark period of their lives best forgotten. Many did not speak of their experiences, preferring instead to

move on to a new chapter of their lives. Others who chose to share their memories of the camp often did so in isolation. A single individual's experience which, despite being extremely valuable in truly understanding the variations and subtleties of internment life, is rarely recorded making it difficult to draw together a collective experience that is not grounded in generalisations.

What does survive from Knockaloe is material culture, documents, photographs and objects that provide glimpses into the camp and the experiences of those within it. As Harrison and Schofield suggest

> …the role of archaeology in the recovery and interpretations of artefacts and assemblages – the staple of archaeological endeavour – becomes a metaphor for the recovery of memory (2010, 9).

The dispersed nature of the Knockaloe material, with much being held in private ownership, draws on this further with the collection of material not only enabling archaeological research and interpretation but also actively drawing out the memories that have been passed through families. Although some owners have little knowledge of the internment material they possess, some in fact do not even realise that is what they have, while others do have knowledge passed down from their parents, grandparents or other relatives that enhances the understanding of the object, the individual and the camp.

It is through this material that the potential to reconnect with Knockaloe camp lies, for the families of the camp staff and internees, and the people of the Isle of Man, as well as impacting on the memory of Britain and Europe during the First World War. Although the act of remembering dark historical periods and experiences has not yet shown its ability to prevent the same mistakes being made again, remembrance does ensure that marginalised events such as internment are not lost (Schofield 2005, 98-99). For many who own internment material, it is not the actual object that has value (in an aesthetic or monetary sense) but rather it is the memories they are connected too. What is necessary therefore is a method of recording these objects that captures both of these aspects and enables the creation of multi-layered interpretation.

The development of a site occupied by over 22,000 internees and almost 3,000 guards needed a substantial amount of planning to create an environment that could be built rapidly. The evolving nature of Knockaloe allowed for changes in construction and plan as the site grew, most notably the transition between Camp 1 and Camp 2 which saw the type of huts used and the layout of the buildings amended. This layout and the camp's subsequent adaptation of a strong work ethic aimed to prevent boredom and mental health problems, and to enable the men to develop a sense of purpose which can be seen many internment camps, particularly Japanese American camps such as Manzanar. The feelings of suppression, restriction of movement and constant surveillance were experienced by many in

designed and controlled experiences and were inherently connected with the desire to break free of these sensations.

The Knockaloe record is formed of a mix of material that represents the camp in two main ways: the official and the unofficial, providing an insight into the running of the camp and the internees' reaction to their experience. One of the most unique factors about Knockaloe is that it represents a site where many of the men interned were the equals of their imprisoners. Of course, this is a generalisation as, in many ways, is much of the discussion within this section and any interpretation of a collective of such large numbers where individual experiences are so different. The themes presented in Chapter 6 also generalise to some degree, but it is hoped that by accompanying these themes with the virtual archive the user can explore the presented narrative alongside individual biographies and original material using them to form their own opinions, interpretations and drawing out some of the subtleties of the camp and the individuals within it. By empowering both the user and providing access to the objects, the objects can become both a result of, and an expression of conflict, connected not only with their maker but also with the landscape in which they were made (Saunders 2003b), and the community .

Critique of website

Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive (www.knockaloe.org.uk) is designed to draw together material from Knockaloe internment camp reconnecting material

that has been separated since the closure of the camp in 1919.   The archive

comprises of details of artefacts, documents and photographs that have an

association with Knockaloe (or occasionally other First World War internment

camps) and collates material from public and private collections. The museum

presents a series of narratives about the camp and the experiences of the internees

through a series of themes which are accompanied by additional pages with

relevant material such as specific details of the camp development or camp

disputes. The themes are also accompanied by a series of biographies of some of

the internees and staff to highlight the experience of the individual. Throughout the

text are links guiding the user to associated material and, where the text draws on

archival material, a link to the associated entry.

These two main sections of the database are accompanied by a third interactive

section which is designed to encourage the user to interact with the text. A blog

section is designed to give information about the site as it develops with the aim of

ultimately hosting guest blogs by people who have knowledge or experiences about

the camp. The primary resource within the interactive section is the forum which is

aimed at promoting discussion about internment, Knockaloe and associated issues.

Further interaction is available through the ability to comment on the pages within

the museum.

As discussed in Chapters 7, the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive aims to draw together a range of material so that it is accessible in one place. Located around the world, the artefacts and documents that do survive, although valuable in their own right are, when brought together, a more powerful collection enabling research. They highlighting the range of materials available and the types of material that are more common or particularly unusual. The virtual nature of the site also means that the data can be made available long term and can also be added to and developed.

As it currently stands the Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive functions well as a site intended to inform the user about the camp. The archive itself functions well as it is searchable via a number of terms and contains a large quantity of artefacts, objects and documents relating to Knockaloe and associated camps. The combination of images and data and the ease of use make it as accessible, if not more so, than either the Japanese American Concentration Camp Art site, or the JARDA site, both discussed in Chapter 7. The flexibility to add new material means the archive can continue to grow and develop.

The primary challenge concerning the archive regards images. The present presentation using the media viewer Shadowbox enables the use of thumbnails accompanied by a pop-up to display a larger version of the image when selected. Although this provides an easy way to view the material, it is restrictive as it is

currently not possible to change the size of the pop-up or employ a zoom feature when using it. For some of the records this is problematic, particularly as without this function the scales to which the documents are presently shown make them impossible to read. The database is also unable to upload files at this stage which means viewing larger documents, which have been presented in a pdf format, in a separate section of the site. The pdfs do, however, allow the user to view a document as a whole rather than a series of individual images and allow viewing on a larger scale so that text is readable. Improving the image viewing interface and enabling pdf uploads would make a considerable difference to the accessibility of the archive.

The collections derived from the archive provide a starting point for people who may not know what to expect or are unsure about what to search for. At present the collections provide a good representation of a select group of object types but these could easily be developed to incorporate more, including a collection relating to recently added material. At present the design of this feature is rather simple and clunky, with the user having to view each item separately if they wish to see any accompanying text. Despite this, the collections provide a good option for anyone who does not want to utilise the archive search.

Despite the criticisms of the archive's current image facilities, the database does provide a bank of material inaccessible anywhere else in its collective form. The

unique element of private collections adds considerably to the value of the resource as it enables previously unknown material to be studied while still remaining with the owners. Equally, the ability to grow and evolve means that new material can be added any time, quickly and easily, and visitors to the site who wish to share material can easily submit their information for addition to the database, with suggestions at various points throughout the site guiding them to do so.

The museum is simple in design in that it presents a series of themes and a series of bibliographies and content both of which are currently designed as straightforward pages with images. All of the images link back to their reference in the database and throughout the text are links to database entries and further information pages. In the case of the themes pages in particular the presentation of long sections of text could be improved by splitting it up into smaller sections with each theme covering a series of connecting pages and is something that will be incorporated.

At present the menu options within the site are relatively straightforward and simple with only a small number of pages accessible in this way. The concertina from museum to themes or biographies works well but user interaction will show if the menus and accessibility need to be further developed. The current design enables the user to explore a theme within which links are provided to the archive but also to other pages with more detailed information. Currently this is the main

way to access these pages and it remains to be seen if users feel that this intuitive method is enough or if movement through the site needs to be more overt.

Similarly, the success of this element remains unknown as the website has not yet been widely publicised. The potential is there for individuals to comment and engage with the material and only through their interaction will it be possible to see how beneficial this element is. Although it has been designed to enable the public to explore and express their personal Knockaloe experiences it will be interesting to see if this is an opportunity that is engaged with or if the preference is for a presentation that is already provided. It is hoped that the user will contribute both to the interactive section and to the museum pages using comments. This is designed to allow people to add in their thoughts and opinions on the text provided with the hope of developing the presentation and understanding of the camp as further material comes to light. So far, a number of positive comments about the site have been shared, although rather than do this through the comments or forums option of the site, messages have been sent via email or the site's Facebook and Twitter pages (www.facebook.com/Knockaleocamp and www.twitter.com/knockaloecamp).

The most complex element of the site's design has been the attempt to incorporate a Google Earth plugin module within Drupal, and within that to incorporate maps and a Trimble Sketchup model. At present the basic model can be viewed in the

plugin module although the auto zoom facility does not function and the large file size mean the model is very slow to load. The user does have the availability to download the KMZ file to run independently in Google Earth from their desktop.

Future development

Following on from the critique it is clear that there are a number of issues with the current website that would benefit from future development. As detailed in chapter 6, the development of the site was more complicated than expected, particularly with regard to the construction and development of the model and map elements in Trimble Sketchup and Google Earth and as a result some elements of the site were not developed to the stages initially anticipated. It is hoped that the current website, represents the potential for a museum and archive such as this.

Elements of the user interface, presentation and quality of images and the quantity of information included in the site could all be further developed. A cleaner appearance with more stylised features would come with the development of the author's web design and coding abilities. This would also enable the incorporation of more images within the body of the museum text with the addition of galleries and the use of larger images to enable the user to view a document without having to move back and forth through the site. Images on the site could also be developed with the introduction of 360 degree images of artefacts which would enable the user to manipulate the object and look at various features in detail.

The 3D model of Knockaloe at present only represents Camp 2, the accommodation huts and other primary buildings such as the kitchen and latrine along with the surrounding barbed wire fence. Future development would enable the development of the full camp as a 3D model including the associated farm buildings, the guard accommodation and other amenities such as the train line into the camp. The availability of this would provide a much greater perspective on the camp, enabling the user to engage with the camp in the landscape experiencing how the space was used in a way that it is very difficult to imagine even when visiting the site itself.

At present the ability for users to add content is limited to comments and forum posts but there is also the potential to amend this in the future to enable the user to have more control over the site's active content. This could be done using a similar method to the People's Collection website (http://www.peoplescollectionwales.co.uk/Home), which enables the user to add their own collections to the site. The benefit of doing this would depend on visitor numbers to the site and an uptake in active contributions to the current interactive elements. The development of an element such as this would involve first of all the development of a front end format for the inputting of the material that would be straightforward and relatively easy for people to use. Once developed, the concept would need to be policed to ensure the quality and validity of the material to be submitted. Aside from the possibility of inappropriate content the more likely issue

would involve objects that are not actually from Knockaloe. This seems to be a common problem and during the collection phase of this thesis numerous items were presented as being from Knockaloe when in fact they were related to Second World War internment. Any move to introduce this level of interaction would need to be considered following an assessment of the levels of contribution in the form of comments and forum posts.

One of the major issues that has not been addressed by the current Knockaloe website is that of language. Currently only in English, the website is accessible to those in English-speaking countries who have an interest in the camp, but is much less so for potential users from any other country. This is a particularly significant issue for Knockaloe as its inhabitants were repatriated to Germany, Austria and Turkey following the war. Some of these men subsequently left the countries they were repatriated to, returning to English-speaking countries such as the United States and Australia, but the majority of Knockaloe's population remained in Germany and, as a result, the family members of internees are most likely to be German also. Development of the site to enable at least elements of it to be bilingual may enable connections to be made with internees' family members opening up the potential for collecting a much broader range of artefacts and memories and, in return, enable a wider audience to connect with Knockaloe and the experiences their relatives may have had.

With regard to the collections and material culture, now the site is up and running it would be worthwhile attempting to seek out further collectors who have new material they would be willing to contribute to the site. Further geophysics and survey work would also be a possibility as would a community excavation project. Another opportunity would be to develop connections between the past and present by looking at Knockaloe today. This could take the form of film, interviews and photographs and could consider the site today and how those who interact with it (or perhaps do not) think of Knockaloe and engage with it. This element would consider how the site has evolved since the camp closed and the changing connections and perceptions of the space where it once stood.

Final Comments

Engaging with the experiences of a landscape that is inaccessible provides numerous challenges. Knockaloe Camp not only left few visible traces behind but the site on which it stood is not publicly accessible. The dispersal of its community further impacts on the memory such a site can retain. The focus instead turns to the material culture that does survive, providing a glimpse into the life of the internees through the pictures, artwork and objects. Such items are crucial not only for the archaeologist researching the site but also for the individuals who possess the objects. For many they represent a period of time in British history that is often forgotten and certainly neglected in its place in wartime narratives.

Development of a website which focuses on the material culture of Knockaloe was designed to do two main things. The first was to provide a central place to record a diverse range of material and to break down the barriers between privately owned and museum collection pieces. Both are valuable' in fact the privately owned items are often more so as they bring with them a variety of narratives presenting an experience of Knockaloe rather than just simply being an object produced there with no associated stories. The second was to provide a place for interpretation and communication with the narrative presented in the museum standing as a place from which further growth of knowledge of the camp will develop. By empowering the user to contribute their experiences, the site becomes not something simply presented to them: instead it evolves to become something for and of them.

It is hoped that along with creating an accessible archive for Knockaloe, that this thesis has highlighted the potential use a site such as this could have with regards to drawing together a wide range of material and making it accessible. Although this type of web presentation would work for any type of archaeological site, it is sites that are displaced and forgotten that hold the most potential. Enabling the recreation of the site on the user's computer, and in their minds, enables the material culture to tell its story; while the combination of narrative and archive and the requirement of the user to make their own investigation means that the site does not present a singular narrative, instead the user creates their own, intertwining their experiences with those presented within the museum and others who have participated.

Although the material held within the archive is based entirely on British resources and private collections it is hoped that it may become a place for wider connections, incorporating the material throughout Europe and the United States and recording the experiences of those who still have a connection with the camp today. In a sense the website becomes a virtual Knockaloe and an accessible Knockaloe that can move beyond the landscape of Patrick, Isle of Man and enabling a new audience to experience the camp, to interact with it and ensure that it is not forgotten.

Abbreviations

DEFA   Department of Environment, Food and Agriculture, Isle of Man Government

DOI   Department of Infrastructure, Isle of Man Government

IOM   Isle of Man

KA   Knockaloe Archive

KVMA   Knockaloe Virtual Museum and Archive

MNH   Manx National Heritage

MNHL   Manx National Heritage Library

NA   National Archives

POW   Prisoner of War

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