Foreigners and Enemies?

Aliens and Immigrants in First World War Manchester

By Bill Longshaw, 2017

In the run-up to the EU referendum in June 2016 the former Mayor of London, Boris Johnson, was widely criticised for claiming that the European Union had become a vehicle for the German domination of the continent. In a *Sunday Telegraph* interview, Johnson proclaimed that "The EU wants a super state, just as Hitler did" and went on: "The Euro has allowed the dominant economy of Germany to destroy weaker sovereign countries economic health."[1] A mistrust of Germany and its motives have become embedded in the national psyche, but where did this fear come from? As we will see, it has its roots in a growing belief that our way of life was being threatened by a rise in immigration from Germany and Eastern Europe that began in the mid nineteenth Century; a feeling that reached fever pitch in 1914 at the start of the First World War. It is, therefore, ironic that more than 100 years after the start of the war, the twin spectres of German ambition and a tide of what some see as 'undesirable' foreigners arriving on our shores have again been vital factors in the heated debate that encouraged the British people to vote, albeit by a narrow margin, to leave the European Union and go it alone.

In 1861 the German population in Britain stood at approximately 28,644, but by 1891 this figure had almost doubled to 50,599, before finally peaking at 53,324 in 1911.[2] Germans remained the largest single group of immigrants in Great Britain until they were overtaken by Russian Jews in the 1890s.[3] Migration from Germany was caused by a complex set of circumstances in the embryonic German nation that began to emerge as a European super power in the 1870s. Religious persecution, particularly of Jews was certainly a factor. However, one of the main reasons was the emergence of what have today become termed economic migrants; in short, people who desire to make a better life for themselves and their family by moving to places where opportunities to work and build for the future exist. The United States of America was, perhaps, the obvious choice for migrants who left not only Germany, but also Ireland and many other European countries in the second half of the nineteenth century. But Britain too was a popular destination. Its industrialised economy was strong and with its longstanding links with America, it was an important staging post on people's eventual journey to the New World. Indeed, many originally intending to leave for the United States through Liverpool ended up staying in the port and making lives for themselves there, or further afield in the Northwest of England. This mass migration created inevitable tensions and took place against a background where Germany was expanding its colonial ambitions and building up its military strength in a way that was seen, by many, as a direct threat to the supremacy Britain and its Empire. There simply was not room, in British minds at least, for a German Empire to rival our own and to make matters worse, a large numbers of German migrants continued to arrive on Britain's shores.

The feeling that Germany was flexing its muscles; in terms of its empire and military might undoubtedly led to a marked rise in anti-German sentiment in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, it is difficult to assess the rise of xenophobia and anti-German

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[1] *Sunday Telegraph*, 15th May 2016, p. 1
[2] Panikos Panayi, *The Settlement of Germans in Britain during the Nineteenth Century*, http://www.mawer.clara.net/ppanayi.html
[3] Ibid.

sentiment in particular in isolation, as the early 1900s were a time of general unease, with frequent strikes, rioting and political unrest as Britain continued to undergo massive social and economic change. The working class, increasingly aware that socialism was spreading across the continent, were beginning to organise and candidates on which to pin blame for poor conditions, overcrowding and lack of work were just as likely to include the ruling classes: the 'fat bosses', or 'the toffs', as migrants from Germany, Russia, Italy or Ireland. Britain's rapid industrial expansion created apalling slum areas on the margins of cities like Manchester, which teamed with people drawn to the factories from rural areas in the UK and Ireland as well as mainland Europe and this created a volatile melting plot, where the whiff of revolution was in the air as never before.

In 1903, a Royal Commission on Alien Immigration concluded that immigration was a contributory factor to the growing overcrowding and unrest in these slum areas, but also pointed to other factors, including widespread poverty and poor housing. However, the survey with its detailed and considered findings did little to stop the growing fear that mass-foreign invasion; by immigrants from within and invading armies poised across the North Sea was the true cause of the nation's malaise.[4] The arms race and the system of alliances that were dividing Europe into armed camps preparing for war also created a level of unprecedented paranoia that the country was teaming with German spies. The 1905 novel, *The Riddle of the Sands* by Erskine Childers, for example, was based around the idea that there was a secret German plot afoot to invade Britain, while newspapers were regularly filled with stories of German spies lurking and ready to undermine Britain ahead of the increasingly likely prospect of war.[5]

In 1904 the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* joined the growing clamour for some form of regulation of immigration, stating "that the dirty, destitute, diseased, verminous and criminal foreigner who dumps himself on our soil and rates simultaneously shall be forbidden forever."[6] But there were also calls for moderation. Winston Churchill, in a letter to the *Times* in 1904 wrote that he could see no good reason to abandon "the old tolerant and generous practise of free entry and asylum to which this country has so long adhered and from which it has so greatly gained".[7] Free movement of labour was associated with free trade and control of the former, it was feared, might lead to tariffs and restrictions on the latter. Despite fears that control of immigration marked the thin end of the wedge and the beginning of a trade war, in 1905 the Passage of Aliens Act was introduced, marking the first controls on immigration into Britain.[8] The powers of the act were limited, compared to what

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[4] Royal Commission 1903, p.23
https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951001537094i;view=1up;seq=52

[5] Geddes Poole, Andreas, Stewards of the Nation's Art: Contested Cultural Authority 1890-1939
https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=bGYbcr7qg9QC&pg=PT176&lpg=PT176&dq=Andreas+Geddes+Poole,+Riddle+of+the+Sands&source=bl&ots=foMnNGAskE&sig=I_vGx6A0njfqoDtrSTFNMZFYCMg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiZr4imnu7OAhUoDcAKHaT1AF8Q6AEIHDAA#v=onepage&q=Andreas%20Geddes%20Poole%2C%20Riddle%20of%20the%20Sands&f=false

[6] *Manchester Evening Chronicle* 1905
https://web.archive.org/web/20071214001608/http://www.channel4.com/culture/microsites/O/origination/immigration_frenzy.html

[7] Winston Churchill to Mr. N. Laski, *The Times*, May 31, 1904, 10, see Alison Bashford and Jane McAdam, The Right to Asylum: Britain's 1905 Aliens Act and the Evolution of Refugee Law and History Review May 2014, Vol. 32, No. 2
http://www.academia.edu/6936598/The_Right_to_Asylum_Britains_1905_Aliens_Act_and_the_Evolution_of_Refugee_Law

[8] Passage of Aliens Act 1905
http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/+/http://www.movinghere.org.uk/deliveryfiles/pro/Aliens_Act_1905/0/3.pdf

was introduced when war with Germany became a reality, and it is interesting to note that the checks on entrants did not extend to first or second class passengers entering the country. However, the act did, mark the beginning of an age of growing controls on immigration into Britain which the recent Brexit vote seems likely to continue.

In terms of the fear of foreign immigrants and in particular Germans that supposedly gripped the nation, it is difficult to assess how deep seated this really was. There is plenty of the evidence of scare stories about German spies, but in many ways, this was a by-product of the wider anti-German sentiment that preoccupied the nation as it saw Germany's growing military and colonial power threatening to at least partially eclipse that of Britain, with its Empire on which 'the sun never set'. A healthy fear and indignation at Germany's growing strength and influence was seen as part of a necessary state of patriotic readiness for war by the media, but at grass-roots level, in a country in a perpetual state of unrest there were far greater enemies for ordinary men and women in a cities like Manchester and Liverpool, in the form of disease, poverty and injustice. In 1911 Liverpool was gripped by a transport strike that brought the city to a standstill and left it teetering on the brink of anarchy. Troops were mobilised and a battleship was sent, by home secretary Churchill, to the Mersey. On 13th August 85,000 people assembled for a strike meeting outside St Georges Hall on so-called Bloody Sunday.[9] In the rioting that followed, two people were shot dead by the police and scores of others injured. The country seemed close to revolution and a fear of foreigners was surpassed in the mind of those in power, like Churchill, by a fear of revolution by the 'enemy within'. The nation was in turmoil and even when war came and concentrated minds, this could barely keep the lid on the climate of unrest that was to persist throughout the years of the conflict. Foreigners of almost any description were convenient targets. However, it was to be the Germans who were, not surprisingly, singled out for the most merciless attacks. This state of unease about Germany and the Germans, that still preoccupies Britain today, was of course exacerbated when the Second World War began and the German people, along with Poles, Russians, Latvians and many others remained common demons to a nation gripped by fear of what might be lurking beyond the English Channel.

Bernard Gainer, The Alien Invasion: The Origins of the Aliens Act of 1905, London, Heinemann Educational books LTD, 1972

[9] Bloody Sunday Liverpool
http://londonsocialisthistorians.blogspot.co.uk/2011/10/liverpool-general-transport-strike-of.html

Foreigners and Enemies

The Lusitania riots in the Northwest

When War broke out in August 1914, the British were already well accustomed to the climate of paranoia and the many far-fetched claims that German spies and plotters were ready and willing to undermine Britain from within that went with it. This frenzy was whipped up by newspapers, who amidst a tide of jingoistic rhetoric, called on the public to do their duty by reporting any Germans who might be spies. For example, The *Daily Mail* regularly campaigned against the employment of "enemy aliens" and particularly those 'stationed' along the east coast of England who, in the words of the paper "…act as spies".[10] Stories about German skulduggery were rife, but it took one truly tragic incident to turn the tide irreparably against the dreaded 'Hun'. Sadly, it would be the thousands of innocent Germans, many who had lived peacefully in Britain for decades, who would feel the backlash.

On May 7th 1915 the passenger liner, Lusitania, was torpedoed by a German submarine off the southwest coast of Ireland. The sinking left 1467 people drowned and this atrocity led to an almost immediate outpouring of undisguised hatred towards Germany and all things German in a way that, even after years of anti-German propaganda in the press, took things to a new and dangerous level.[11] On Saturday 8th May, The *Manchester Evening Chronicle* proclaimed "Loss of 1467 lives in the Lusitania" and went on, "Germans gloat over the murders of women and children".[12] Over the next week, as the news of the sinking continued to fill the newspapers, rioting erupted across the country. It began in Liverpool, where a number of the Lusitania's crew and their families lived, and took the form of attacks against German businesses and homes; although those singled out for abuse had often lived in Britain for generations, were married to Germans or simply had German-sounding names.

On May 10th, all licensed premises in Liverpool were ordered to close in an attempt to quell rioting that was only exacerbated by the general climate of lawlessness that existed in Britain's industrial cities at the time.[13] As we have already seen, cities like Liverpool lived with levels of rioting and unrest that are hard to imagine today. Gang warfare was widespread and in the industrial suburbs, disturbances fuelled by drunkenness and resentment of the poor conditions people were forced to live in were common. Throughout the First World War, there were almost constant newspaper campaigns against excessive drinking and calls for far stricter licensing laws. We may, therefore, conclude that the outpouring of hatred against Germans that manifested itself in days of rioting against German people and enterprises, including pork butchers, furriers and other businesses across Britain, was also fuelled by drink and a hostility to authority in general that existed in slum areas across the North.

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[10] Daily Mail, 12 September, 1914 https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=r3vhAgAAQBAJ&pg=PT258&lpg=PT258&dq=Daily+mail+german+spies+in+restaurants+1914&source=bl&ots=cOWiRsuDw4&sig=EqLmeBVjGv8ivxQzavhuy8vuwYc&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj8h-KLpu7OAhWkAsAKHepECicQ6AEITjAJ%20-%20v=onepage&q=daily%20mail&f=false#v=snippet&q=daily%20mail&f=false

[11] See https://www.encyclopedia-titanica.org/lest-we-forget-the-lusitania.html

[12] *Manchester Evening News*, 8th May 1915

[13] See http://liverpoolremembrance.weebly.com/anti-german-riots.html

In Manchester and Salford there were a series of incidents. Areas affected included Ancoats, Gorton, Openshaw, Bradford, Clayton, Broughton and Eccles. On the nights of the 11th, 12th and 13th of May there were regular flashpoints and attacks against shops, homes and businesses that, according to rumour and hearsay, had some link to Germany. The incidents usually consisted of vandalism of property and looting, rather than attacks on the person, although the police frequently had to intervene to rescue people who suddenly found themselves under siege. For example, at Stevenson's box works in Ancoats, a group of German workers had to be escorted from the premises and across a canal by police to avoid a baying mob. Meanwhile, the popular press had a field day; condemning the rioters on one hand, while gleefully pouring out vitriol against Germany on the other. *John Bull* magazine announced on the 13th of May "Lusitania Crime – Now for the Vendetta" and it was this kind of headline that helped to light a bonfire under German homes and businesses which, in many cases, belonged to families who had lived in England for years and were thus naturalised citizens. In Salford, feeling against the Germans was as strong as in Liverpool and perhaps equally miss-directed, as attackers frequently rounded on the premises of other people perceived as dangerous aliens, including Russians, Italians and Scandinavians.

In some cases, such was the fear amongst those being targeted that they would go to quite extraordinary lengths to try to prove their Englishness. In the days following the fateful sinking, across Britain, small advertisements started to appear in newspapers, in which those of German descent attempted to distance themselves from their German past. In some cases, they even offered a reward, to anyone who could prove they were German, presumably in the safe knowledge that it could not be done. On the 15th May, The *Salford Reporter* stated that the attacks had prompted some businesses to put notices in the newspaper declaring their "Britishness by birth and their allegiance to the British cause", presumably to quell the clamour of rumours that they were 'Huns'. The newspaper went on to list a number of business resorting to this measure, including A.C. Renk of Chapel Street, D Flacks of Broad Street and Alphonse Herzog of Lower Broughton Road. Flacks, the newspaper reported, had even gone as far as offering £100 to anyone who could prove that he was a German or Austrian by birth.[14]

Rioting continue for several days, before subsiding around the 17th May, when the authorities and those who had seen their properties and livelihoods damaged could finally take stock. One consequence was that all enemy aliens, in other words, those who did not have a claim to British citizenship, were ordered to be interned on the Isle of Man. However, a vast number of those affected had lived in Britain for decades and for them, the future must have felt alarmingly uncertain, as they had nowhere to go and could only ever be afforded limited protection. Many, if they had not already done so, would follow the example of the King, who had changed the name of the Royal Family from Saxe Coburg Gotha to Windsor, by attempting to anglicise their own name and blend still further into a country that was to remain in a high state of agitation.

When the perpetrators of the riots began to appear before magistrates, it is interesting to see both the nature of their crimes and the makeup of the mob itself. Of the 89 people who appeared before magistrates in Salford on the 29th May 1915, 71 were charged with looting or receiving goods, known to be stolen and in one case a man was charged with stealing an entire piano from the Royal Hotel in Phoebe Street, Salford.[15] The other thing of note about the offenders is the number of them who were young women and girls, often from the mills and

[14] *Salford Reporter 15th May 1915*
[15] *Salford Reporter* 29th May 1915

factories of Manchester and Salford. Of 65 who appeared in Salford on the 25th May 1915, 40 were women or girls, while of the 21 who appeared in the Manchester Police court on the 12th of May, 13 were also women. It can, perhaps, be concluded that although the catalyst to the rioting was the sinking of the Lusitania and the calls for revenge that reverberated through the press in the aftermath of the tragedy, other forces may have been at work. The number of women in factory work was already growing as men joined the armed forces and the war economy stepped up to equip the armies in France and Belgium. However, in 1915, mass conscription had not begun, so what we may actually be seeing are cases of young women showing greater independence as they enjoyed their new-found freedoms and felt able to join in with the menfolk.

The level of looting and sheer lawlessness that developed is also noteworthy, as it suggests a kind of mass-hysteria gripped the young inhabitants of industrial Briain in the days after the tragic sinking of the Lusitania. In what became a climate of almost giddy agitation, spontaeneous anti-German protest seems to have been superseded by a more widespread and deepseated need, particularly amonst the young, to 'break-out' and kick wildly against authority.   There can be little doubt that anti-German sentiment was rife across the country in 1915, but as we have seen, this was part and parcel of a more general need to find scapegoats and generally lash out at any available target. This is backed up by reports that immigrants from Russia, China, Italy and Scandinavia were also targeted. As we have also seen, there were other forces at work; and the level of unrest and lawlessness that persisted in Britain, despite the fact that the nation was on war footing, suggests that the volatile climate was born of a wider undercurrent of unease that stubbornly persisted in a country undergoing rapid social and economic change. The gnawing uncertainty of wartime, the slow realisation that the conflict was not going to be a quick 'over by Christmas affair' and the presence of so-called foreigners or aliens in our midst all fuelled panic and unrest and the need to find someone else to blame. Sadly, this was most frequently the Germans.

Foreigners and Enemies

Northwest Connections

The Themans brothers and the Ghurka knife

The Northwest's Museums, libraries and archives contain much material illustrating the torrid time endured by immigrants and particularly Germans living in Britain in the War. The Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Race Relations Resource Centre at Manchester Central Library has researched the case of the Themans brothers.

Marcus and Henry Themans were the sons of Saloman Themans, a Jewish immigrant who came to Scotland from the Netherlands in the mid-nineteenth century and originally made his home in Glasgow. Henry ran a tobacco business in the city, also supplying cigars and pipes, before moving to Manchester and opening shops there; firstly on Market Street in 1853 and later at Hanging Ditch. Saloman became an active member of the Manchester business community, involved in charitable work and when he died in 1897 passed the business on to his two sons. Everything suggests that by the beginning of the First World War, the Themans family were thoroughly respectable and well integrated into the community. However, this did not stop them being singled out for retribution when, in 1915 they displayed a Gurkha knife, or Kukri, in their shop window.[16]

Ironically, the incident was born of the Themans' desire to demonstrate support for the British war effort. However, their attempts to show solidarity with British troops fighting overseas backfired disastrously. Sometime in 1914, the Themans were given a pair of Gurkha knives (a kukri and a small blade for sharpening it) by a customer who had recently returned from South Africa, where he claimed to have gained knowledge of the Gurkhas and their methods of warfare. Early in 1915, the Themans' decided to display them in the window of one of their shops and wrote a card to go alongside the display stating:

> Genuine war trophies.
>
> Poisoned throwing knife and Kukri
>
> As now being used by the Indian Gurkhas with great success against the Germans

Although the display was intended to give a message of support to the troops, the Themans were immediately inundated with complaints from customers, who saw the underlying message that our brave soldiers were using poisoned knives at the front in France as a gross insult to the British forces in general. Many of these customers, presumably thought that the Themans themselves were German and in the climate of hostility that we have already seen existed towards anyone even vaguely connected with Germany, it is perhaps understandable that the whole case, which was in most respects based around a simple misunderstanding, escalated. The police were called in and the two brothers were eventually taken to court. Henry was charged with 'making a false statement in writing likely to cause disaffection to His Majesty', under the Defence of the Realm Act, and Marcus with aiding and abetting. The prosecution claimed that a great insult to the British forces had been carried out and called upon expert witnesses to explain the etiquette of Ghurka regimental practise, thus demonstrating that to use

[16] http://www.racearchive.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/Marcus-and-Henry-Themans.pdf

poison blades, or indeed knives in the way suggested was an insult to them and thus to the wider British army. In their defence, the Themans brothers were only really able to plead a level of ignorance and point to the dubious quality of the information on the use and purpose of the knives they received, in good faith, from the original donor. The court took the matter extremely seriously and fined the brothers what was then the considerable sum of £25 each. However, what is perhaps most telling in a case which today seems to revolve around a trivial matter and an honest mistake when trying to give out a patriotic message, is the lengths that the Themans' barrister went to in order to affirm to the court and assembled journalists that the Themans were, in fact, of Dutch and not German descent. For what this strange case perhaps best illustrates is the level of anti-German sentiment and sheer fear and paranoia that were at large in the country at the time. Britain believed itself to be under siege and saw slights and insults like this at every turn, even when they did not really exist. One perhaps predictable outcome of the sorry affair was that one of the Themans brothers, Henry, soon after changed his surname to Thornley. The Themans' business seems not to have suffered unduly and they continued to show support for the army by issuing cigarette cards celebrating war heroes.

Marcus died in 1926 and left the business to his son, Laurence. Henry died in 1949.

The 'Knokcaloes'

More than 100 years after the start of the First World War, new material and information about the lives of Germans living in England who were caught up in the conflict are still coming to light. In 2016, a number of items were donated to *Gallery Oldham*, the town's museum and art gallery, by a local woman who said that the objects on her mantelpiece, including a vase had always been called 'the Knockaloes'. Beyond this she had little idea of their significance, apart from knowing that they had been made by her Great Uncle, Hermann Lorenz; known in the family as 'Hermann the German'. They included a vase, carved from animal bone, and several other inlayed wooden items, all inscribed 'With kind regards from Hermann, Isle of man, X-mas 1916'. A survey of the internet showed that the items were typical of those made at the Knockaloe internment Camp on the Isle of Man.[17]

The day after war broke out on August the 14th 1914, the British Government passed the Aliens Restrictions Act. As we have seen, this act allowed the British Government to control and restrict the movement of "enemy aliens".[18] However, it was not until May 1915, following the sinking of the Lusitania, that all German men of military age, who were not naturalised British Citizens, were compulsorily rounded up for internment, principally on the Isle of Man. The first 'internees', those thought to be of particular danger to Britain's security, had begun arriving on the island in September 1914 at the outbreak of war. They had been detained at the former Cunningham's Holiday Camp in Douglas, but following a riot over overcrowding and the poor quality of food, which led to the death of five internees, Knockaloe, a training camp for Territorial soldiers, was the identified as a more suitable venue.[19] In 1915 the camp started to accept the huge, post-Lusitania influx of men and rapidly grew to become the largest internment camp in Britain, housing not only Germans but also Austrians and Turks whose only crime was choosing to reside in a country now at war with Britain. At its height, Knockaloe held almost

[17] http://www.knockaloe.im/page_340521.html

[18] http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/1919-aliens-restriction-act

[19] http://beyondthetrenches.co.uk/civilian-internment-on-the-isle-of-man/

24,000 prisoners in 23 compounds and was guarded by a force of 4,000 old soldiers acting as an armed Isle of Man National Guard. There were also 250 civilians employed to attend to their basic needs and comforts. The camp was three miles in circumference and made secure by no less than 695 miles of barbed wire.

Conditions were harsh and in order to avoid the kind of rioting seen at Cunningham's, efforts were made to find activities that would fill the men's time and stave off the dreaded "barbed wire sickness". It was a pacifist Quaker, James Baily, the "industrial advisor" to Knockaloe, who was responsible for getting the raw materials and tools and creating workshops to keep the internees occupied. He would source tools and wood for the carving and marquetry, and bones for the internees to carve. It was very much a make do and mend society and one where you had to take advantage of any available materials. Beef shin bones were, initially at least, readily available and it is likely that the vase was carved from one of these.[20] The quality of carving varied significantly but certainly most of the internees seemed to have had a go at this at some point. Knockaloe camp is now a heritage site and its staff are researching the life of Hermann Lorenz in order to find out who he was and what ultimately happened to this particular poor unfortunate, caught up in the global conflict.

The Tragic Case of F.H. Lieboldt

The Knockaloe donations encouraged curators at Gallery Oldham to see what other material was in their archive and this led to the discovery of material relating to Franz Hugo Lieboldt. As a naturalised British citizen, who came to the country from Saxony in 1883 and moved to Oldham two years later, Lieboldt was exempt from the compulsory internment that condemned men like Hermann Lorenz to years of incarceration on the Isle of Man. However, Lieboldt's experience during the First World War sheds light on what life was like for the many Germans living in Britain who, through no fault of their own, found themselves exposed to verbal and even physical abuse, simply because of their names and ethnic origin. Despite the fact that both of his sons were serving in the British Army at the time, Lieboldt was frequently subjected to insults and attacks on the streets of Oldham. He had built up a successful watch and clock menders business in the town and become a well-known local character, with his shock of white hair, love of countryside rambling and preference for wearing sandals at all times. Indeed, this slightly eccentric appearance probably helped to make Lieboldt an easily recognisable target for abuse and there are several contemporary accounts of him being attacked, most notably shortly after the sinking of the Lusitania in May 1915. On this occasion, he was openly abused in the street by what the *Oldham Standard* described as a 'brawling woman', who not only verbally harangued him, but also "plucked at his hair".[21] Although Lieboldt himself refused to press charges, the woman was arrested and charged by a policeman with a breach of the peace and later confined in a mental institution. Lieboldt must have been shaken by the incident, but nevertheless, as a devout Christian and Salvationist, his reaction was to send his daughter to visit the woman and to take flowers. His kindness went further still when he personally paid her funeral expenses to save her the ignominy of a being laid to rest in a pauper's grave.

In the years after the war, Lieboldt continued to be a highly visible figure in Oldham due to his unusual choice of clothing and love of being out on the moors in all weathers. But this quiet and peace-loving existence was shattered when storm clouds gathered in Europe and the continent

[20] http://www.knockaloe.org.uk/baily

[21] *Oldham Standard*, 8th June 1938

once more moved towards war with the rise of the Nazis in Germany in the 1930s. According to newspaper accounts, Lieboldt became gripped with depression and tragically he was found hanged in his shop by his sons in the spring of 1938. He left a note saying "I can stand the strain no longer". A coroner's inquest, which considered evidence from his family, concluded that although he had financial worries, it was the prospect of going through what he'd endured between 1914 and 1918 that had really pushed him over the edge.[22]

The sad case of Lieboldt graphically illustrates the human cost of anti-German sentiment that grew in Britain from the 1860s and reached fever pitch in 1915 after the sinking of the Lusitania. People continue to seek out opportunity and a better life in new countries and work incredibly hard to integrate and make a meaningful contribution to their chosen communities. However, the fear of enemies and 'aliens' lead some people to question their rights, restrict their movements and, in the most extreme cases, attack them verbally and even physically.

This essay accompanies an exhibition set of three banners created for the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Education Trust by Bill Longshaw. This project was funded by the AHRC 'Voices of War and Peace' World War One Engagement Centre, in association with the Manchester Centre for Regional History at Manchester Metropolitan University. If you would like to borrow the banners, please contact the Ahmed Iqbal Ullah Education Trust on 0161 275 2920.

[22] *Oldham Chronicle*, 28th May 1938