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"Returning Home to Fight:"
Bristolians in the Dominion Armies, 1914-1918*

Kent Fedorowich and Charles Booth

On 31 October 1914, a picture of Canadian soldiers marching through Shirehampton Park, near Bristol, appeared in the newly-launched fortnightly *Bristol and the War*. In a column four-abreast, men of the 11th Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF) smile and wave to the camera. Wearing their distinctive roughrider hats, this "fine body" of men from the Canadian prairies had arrived in Avonmouth on the 11,000-ton Royal Line passenger liner-cum-troopship RMS *Royal Edward*, which had quietly slipped into its home port on Sunday, 18 October. Owing to the *Royal Edward's* early morning arrival, residents had been taken unawares; but as the *Bristol and the War* enthusiastically reported, those that did witness the event gave their colonial cousins a warm and hearty welcome. As "the great liner swept majestically into the entrance harbour," the journal recorded, "there came from her decks and port holes cheer after cheer. Clad in Khaki, these bronze-featured soldiers from the Dominion shouted enthusiastically their greetings to Britain's shores."[1] As debarkation proceeded, "bugles and drum and fife bands announced to the people of Avonmouth the fact of their arrival. The inhabitants speedily turned out of their houses and gave the Canadians a rousing reception," until these men departed in special trains to Salisbury Plain, where they joined the rest of the 31,000-strong First Canadian Contingent, most of which had arrived in Plymouth four days previously.[2] The *Bristol Times and Mirror* commented on "the warmth of the reception accorded to those who represent England's strength from across the sea."[3] The 18 October arrival, in fact, marked the beginning of a long wartime association between

Bristol and soldiers from the colonies of white settlement, especially Canada. In fact, the *Bristol Times and Mirror* quickly identified seven "Old Bristolians", several with impressive sporting credentials in boxing, cycling, association football, and rugby, who had emigrated to Canada prior to the war and were now returning "home" to help defend "King, Country and Empire." "In a word," boasted the newspaper, "Bristol has a grand showing of her sons, who have left their land of adoption to give their best for the Mother Country."[4]

Sir Charles Lucas, in his five-volume history *The British Empire at War*, observed that one of the hallmarks of the dominions' participation was that, by the end of the conflict, they were no longer considered imperial "accessories;" rather, like their British cousins, they had willingly taken up the "gauntlet and made and shouldered the war."[5] In this partnership, the mobilization of dominion manpower, an aggregate of 1.3 million men and women, had been a critical factor in the empire's victory. Of this total, 978,000 saw service overseas.[6] Manpower was also sourced through British reservists and dominion personnel joining British Army units in the opening stages of the war. For instance, there were 6,500 South Africans either of British birth or British extraction who returned "home" to enlist in imperial units over the course of the war.[7] In Canada, there were 3,294 British reservists residing in the dominion, of whom 2,779 returned home, while some 150 joined the CEF. Moreover, an estimated 50,000 Canadians served with British forces, either enlisting directly into British units or, once overseas, transferring out of the CEF to join the British Army, the Royal Flying Corps, the Royal Naval Air Service, and, after 1 April 1918, the Royal Air Force.[8] But there was another huge pool of dominion manpower that has yet to receive the scrutiny of military or migration historians: returning migrants.

Until recently, migration historians have not considered soldiers a worthy subject or a fruitful field of investigation. There are a few exceptions, but even these isolated works have focused on government sponsored ex-service migration schemes, largely ignoring the

importance of soldiers as agents of the greater migratory and diasporic processes themselves.[9] Military and social historians have made important observations in their studies of troops garrisoned in particular towns, cities, regions, and overseas territories, especially concerning soldier interactions with local populations and military contributions to the local economies. Much less is known, though, about the role of soldiers in the processes of cultural transference between the imperial metropole and the colonial periphery, or, in the case of the United Kingdom, how these soldiers helped construct a wider British identity and culture overseas that in turn fed a broader Britishness, some of which was exported back "home."[10] Using the analogy of the soldier as "tourist," several antipodean scholars have explored the apparent contradictions in identity formation that emerged between dominion forces and their British hosts.[11]

But what of soldiers as "migrants?" Ulbe Bosma has convincingly argued that six million European soldiers serving in colonies primed the pump for nineteenth century colonization and made significant contributions to the growth of settler societies in areas as diverse as Algeria, Australia, Cuba, the Dutch East Indies and South Africa. His clarion call is for the "writing of these colonial soldiers back into migration history," even when, for the purposes of this chapter, we are talking about return migration.[12] The unprecedented number of dominion and colonial soldiers who found themselves in Europe, Africa, and the Near East between 1914 and 1919 is an excellent example of both mass migration and global Britishness at work. The war did not undermine the imperial connection. Quite the contrary, it raised the consciousness of many of these men about their role and place in the Empire.[13] This new interpretation challenges a longstanding tenet that the Great War broke or at least severely undermined imperial ties and, therefore, helped shape new national identities. Recent scholarship has challenged these assumptions, suggesting more nuanced interpretations.[14]

This essay makes a similar plea for the examination of those tens of thousands of British-born migrants who returned home to fight in the dominion contingents during World War One. Using Bristol as a case study, this essay explores several inter-locking questions concerning migration, identity, and war. At its core is what it meant by Britishness, the contours of which are still being mapped by British World scholarship. The digitization of passenger lists, school magazines, honor rolls, newspapers, dominion attestation papers, personnel records, nominal rolls, and repatriation files allows us to trace more confidently, and with greater accuracy, not just the outward migration of these men; it allows us to chronicle a unique phase of return migration to the United Kingdom. This complements the revolutionary way online records have been used in local studies of military service in the United Kingdom, what Richard Grayson has labelled a "military history from the street approach."[15] In addition, these digital resources help locate and chart strands of the English diaspora, something that has been a challenging and, until now, under-studied chapter of the British migratory process.[16] Crucially, it is also about breaking away from the narrow confines of a "nationalist" historiography. Lately, Jonathan Vance has made the observation that only "recently have [Canadian] historians turned back to Britishness, seeing it as something more than a sign of youthful immaturity."[17] Vance argues that, in the Canadian context, Britishness must be seen as a Canadian hybrid because it allows one to gauge and comprehend one of the great mass migrations of the twentieth century – the return of close to one million Canadians to the United Kingdom during the two world wars.[18] It was an entirely natural response for people who saw themselves as belonging to a "Greater Britain," which included the home islands and the "white dominions."

They were products of a "British World" that grew out of mass migration from the British Isles.[19] Its core was the "neo-Britains," where migrants found they could transfer into societies with familiar cultural values. The United States remained the main beneficiary of

British settlers from all parts of the United Kingdom throughout the nineteenth century – an estimated sixty-two per cent. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, that had changed. Between 1901 and 1910, nearly half of the 1,670,198 souls who left Britain chose imperial destinations - primarily the dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. This rose to sixty-eight percent in 1910-11, to seventy-eight percent in 1913, and it showed no signs of abating by the time war broke out in 1914.[20] Even more illustrative, Canada, the "senior" dominion, experienced six of its ten largest annual immigration levels ever recorded - over 200,000 each year between 1903 and 1913. Many came from the "mother country," with well over one million British immigrants settling in Canada between 1900 and 1914, the largest immigration flow of any ethnic group in those years.[21]

The immigration experience of the Pacific dominions was similar. A net influx of almost 121,000 arrived in New Zealand between 1900 and 1914, two-thirds from the British Isles and one third from Australia. Attracted by a re-energized economy and new employment opportunities, this improving picture was also fuelled by the reintroduction of government assisted passage schemes in 1904 and 1906. Farmers constituted one-third of the assisted passages.[22] A similar pattern was echoed in Australia between 1910 and 1914. The Western Australian government's "Land for Opportunities" campaign, coordinated in London, helped. In 1911, a peak of 9,562 government-aided British immigrants chose a new life in the state.[23] As elsewhere in the settler dominions, these new arrivals would be the first to rally to the colors in August 1914.

Bristol and the British World: Return Migration and Remembrance

Private Thomas G. Spoors, whose family lived in the arboreal Bristol suburb of Bishopston, had emigrated to Canada in 1912. He was one of the 1,197 CEF volunteers on board the *Royal Edward* and on their way to Bristol in October 1914.[24] Spoors, who was born

in 1891, was one of tens of thousands of British migrants who had been attracted to pre-war Canada by the promise of free land, higher wages, and a better life. His destination was Winnipeg, the provincial capital of Manitoba – gateway to the Canadian prairies and the "last, best West."[25] An office clerk by profession, he had decided to become a farmer, and, as such, was eagerly sought after by local emigration and steamship agents, who secured Canadian government bonuses for desirable settlers such as agriculturalists and female domestics.[26] Whatever had enticed this young bachelor to the western plains, Spoors was one of the many British-born migrants who immediately answered the call to the colors when war broke out. In September 1914, he enlisted in the 11th Battalion CEF at Valcartier, Quebec, where he found that close to eighty percent of his unit was British-born. After a brief period of training, he journeyed across the Atlantic in a thirty-two ship convoy, escorted by units of the Royal Navy. He would no doubt have been heartened by the warm reception at Bristol, and it is probably safe to assume that he had some contact with his family, while in Bristol or while on leave from training at Salisbury Plain.[27] What we do know for certain is that he survived the war, returned to Bristol when he demobilized, got married in March 1919, and lived out his remaining days in Westbury-on-Trym.[28]

Spoors was one of thousands British-born migrants who returned home to fight with the CEF. This pattern was repeated throughout the war by thousands of others who had emigrated to Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa; they either volunteered in their adopted dominion forces, as in the case of some 1,100 Bristolians, or they returned to enlist in British regiments.[29] Little is known of this returning group of migrants, however. Military historians from the former dominions have long acknowledged the ethnic composition of their respective national armies during the Great War. Nearly seventy percent of the First Canadian Contingent was British-born, for example. And when Canada's second contingent was raised in November 1914, more than sixty percent of its 22,000 men were British-born

and bred. In fact, by the end of 1915, when the dominion had recruited 213,000 men, seventy percent of CEF soldiers were British-born.[30] Although the proportion of British-born naturally declined as the war continued, even by the end of the conflict it has been estimated that nearly half were still of British birth.[31]

Smaller, but similar, patterns of ethnicity were replicated in the antipodes. In New Zealand, according to Paul Baker, British-born recruits made up one-quarter of the strength of New Zealand Expeditionary Force (NZEF) Main Body and the early draughts of reinforcements that fought at Gallipoli.[32] Native New Zealanders may have outnumbered their British brethren but, for the prodigy of British migrants, the bond of "kith and kin" was a powerful glue that bound the two communities to each other. "Far from regarding the empire as a constraint upon their freedom," notes Ian McGibbon, "most New Zealanders saw it as a positive benefit and were proud to be part of it."[33] Their loyalty was absolute and for most they were British to the core. The Australian case was similar. New research suggests that one in five soldiers of the Australian Imperial Force (AIF) were British-born.[34] Nonetheless, as Charles Bean, Australia's official historian and a keen promoter of the Anzac legend noted, the men who streamed to the state enlistment centers – whether Australian or British-born – did so because "the British connection had always been sacred."[35] "Loyalty to Britain," as Joan Beaumont has recently observed, "was much more than strategic pragmatism;" it was a "core value" of Australian Federation.[36] And, as Jean Bou describes in Chapter 3, the Australian government was so committed to the Empire that it soon found itself facing serious manpower challenges.

At the battalion level, Australian units had an equal, if not higher, proportion of British-born migrants on their establishments that, in turn, reflected settlement patterns in the various regions of the Commonwealth. In the early stages of recruitment, despite attempts by the Australian command to kindle a sense of regional identity, old country and imperial

identities flourished. The 2nd Battalion AIF, for example, possessed a genuine "imperial" flavor with men from New Zealand, Great Britain, Canada, and South Africa who had settled in Sydney and northwards along the coast to Queensland.[37] The 3rd Battalion AIF, which initially drew its recruits from Sydney, proudly claimed how valuable was the contribution that British ex-regulars had made in the early days of mobilization. Many of the original non-commissioned officers (NCOs) were "seasoned campaigners" who had seen active service in India and Africa: "Quite naturally their influence played no small part in the making of the battalion."[38] The 11th Battalion AIF also boasted that Western Australia attracted the "best of the manhood from the British Isles;" many of its men had previous war service in India, Africa, and China, and they were deliberately selected as NCOs to "stiffen" the raw recruits.[39] The Australian governor-general, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson, made an interesting observation when he reviewed the last batch of 5,000 troops embarking for Europe in December 1914: "they looked more like veterans, being older men, than new levies. There are a great number of Scotch NCOs in several of the Battalions."[40] In fact, there was a "good seasoning of veterans" throughout the first Australian contingent with "nearly two-thirds having had some military training before enlistment."[41]

The waves of British migrants who flooded the recruitment stands in Canada testified to the determination of newcomers to preserve that all-important imperial connection. Harold Baldwin, a British-born migrant from Burton-on-Trent who enlisted in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, summed it up nicely: "[T]he majority of us were Britishers who had left the Old Country to try our luck in the new land; but many were veterans of other wars who wanted to get in to the game again . . . "[42] Prince Arthur, the Duke of Connaught and Canada's governor general (1911-16), confirmed the same sentiment when he inspected the first contingent at Valcartier in October 1914.[43] And no one could doubt the depth and passion which many Anglo-Celtic Canadians felt towards the mother country.[44]

Canadian units had stronger and more identifiable British elements in their expeditionary forces, at least in the earlier stages of the conflict. For example, it was estimated that three-quarters of the 10th Battalion, whose recruits were drawn largely from Winnipeg and Calgary, were British-born, including a colourful smattering of ex-regulars who had recently arrived from Australia, Egypt, India, Malta, and South Africa.[45] According to one veteran, Sergeant Christopher Scriven, "H" company (120 men) was composed entirely of "seasoned Imperial troops," with many others scattered throughout the remaining seven. A similar pattern was reflected in the recruits from the 13th Battalion (Royal Highlanders of Canada) where between sixty-five and seventy-five percent were from the "Old Country."[46] The regiment was also kilted, so Scottish-born migrants were eager to join.[47] Other Canadian Highland battalions within the 1st Canadian Division mirrored the overwhelming "Scottishness" of the 13th Battalion. These units included the 15th Battalion (48th Highlanders) from Toronto and the 16th Battalion (Canadian Scottish), in which half the officers and eighty percent of the other ranks were from the British Isles.[48] By the end of the war, half of the 268 officers who had served in the 16th Canadian Scottish were British-born, as were 3,300 out of the 5,223 other ranks, among them twenty-nine year old Private Frederick G. Flook of St George in Bristol. [49] He was wounded on 20 May 1915, while fighting with his battalion during the battle of Festubert, at La Bassée in France.[50]

The politics of Scottish identity and its invented traditions were not confined to Canada alone.[51] In Australia, the 5th Battalion, affectionately known as the Victorian Scottish regiment, clung to longstanding Scottish connections in that state centered on Melbourne. In South Africa, Scots rallied to enlist in the Cape Town Highlanders, the 1st and 2nd Transvaal Scottish, and the Cape-based Duke of Edinburgh's Rifles. The 4th South African Infantry (also known as the South African Scottish) formed part of the South African Brigade, which served as part of the 9th (Scottish) Division in France, and which also reflected an interesting

demographic between South African and British-born recruits. The brainchild of mining magnate William Dalrymple the 4th Regiment was formed by recruiting through various Caledonian societies, which eventually raised 1,282 troops of all ranks. According to John Buchan, the official historian of the South African forces in Europe, 337 of the unit were Scottish-born, 258 were English, 30 were Irish and 13 were Welsh. There were also 595 South African-born in the regiment, but a large proportion of them were first-generation South Africans of Scottish descent.[52] Ethnically-driven appeals for volunteers were not limited to communities of Scottish heritage, as Richard Grayson argues in his essay on Irish identities in the British Army.

"Imperial seasoning" was crucial in providing the backbone of these dominion contingents during early-war days, as they transformed from an enthusiastic, civilian rabble into disciplined military forces. Some 18,959 members of the CEF were ex-British regulars, who, as Canadian historian Desmond Morton has observed, were "barely 3.1 per cent of the total but conspicuous in almost every unit history and memoir."[53] A large but unspecified number of these soldier migrants had joined the Permanent Force, Canadian militia and other auxiliary units after migrating to Canada prior to the war. Of fundamental importance were those ex-imperials from the non–commissioned ranks, especially those who had served in South Africa or India. Often placed in pivotal positions such as regimental sergeant major (RSM) or company sergeant major (CSM), these men provided a steadying hand during the initial stages of basic training.

For instance, there were two sergeants from Bristol who enlisted in "B" company, 15th Battalion CEF, recruited out of Toronto: Frederick J. Harcombe and Henry W. Hooper. Both Harcombe and Hooper had served in the 6th Battalion, Gloucestershire regiment, before emigrating to Canada in April and May 1912 respectively. There is no indication how long Harcombe served with the Bristol-based Territorial Force battalion, but Hooper had served

6½ years. Soon after their arrival to Toronto these friends both joined the 48th Highlanders of Canada, which later formed the core of the 15th Battalion. Badly gassed at the battle of Second Ypres in April 1915, Hooper was invalided back to the UK to convalesce. Continuing to suffer from the effects of poison gas, he was made an assistant training instructor serving out his military career as an acting CSM at a host of Canadian training facilities in southern England until his demobilisation in 1919.[54] Harcombe was taken prisoner during the fighting at St. Julien and sat out the rest of the war in Germany. This "seasoning" also occurred in the South African Scottish. According to John Buchan, sixty-four men had served in the regular army and many of the 760 who had been in the territorials, the volunteers, the yeomanry, or the militia had seen active service during the South African War.[55] In both cases these men brought with them their military skills, their operational experience, and, perhaps most important for this inquiry, their Britishness.

A Few Bristolians at War

To help illustrate the interconnection between British World identities, transnationalism, and return migration, let us examine the following five examples of Bristolians who fought with dominion forces, starting with Cecil Garnet Stiff. Born in Bristol, he worked as a trainee blacksmith at the colliery in Frampton Cotterell, a small Gloucestershire village north-east of the city. In May 1908, this single young man emigrated to Canada from Liverpool on the Dominion Line passenger ship SS *Kensington*. Upon landing, he travelled by rail to Winnipeg, Manitoba, where he intended to start a new life. While there, he joined the local militia, the 106th Regiment, Winnipeg Light Infantry. Formed in 1912, this unit eventually supplied wartime reinforcements for a number of Canadian units overseas. Stiff joined the CEF in early June 1915 and was drafted into the 61st (Winnipeg) Battalion.[56] Shortly after arrival in England, the 61st was absorbed into the 11th Reserve

Battalion based at Shorncliffe in Kent, where the Canadians had established their training facilities. When sent to France as a reinforcement, Private Stiff was attached to the 44th (Manitoba) Battalion, with which he eventually fought at Vimy Ridge (9-12 April 1917). Stiff was seriously wounded in the back and abdomen at Vimy, one of more than 7,000 wounded in battle that remains a focal point of Canada's coming-of-age story. Despite being evacuated from the battlefield and repatriated to a hospital in Cardiff, Stiff eventually succumbed to his wounds. His body was returned to Frampton Cotterell, where it now lies in the tranquil grounds of the parish church. Stiff had come full circle. The poignancy of his story is neatly captured in the inscription on his Commonwealth War Graves Commission head stone, itself emblazoned with the Canadian maple leaf: "He Loved Canada/His Adopted Home/And Died For His Native Country".

An equally rich story, which displays the British World and its multifaceted networks, concerns two brothers: Harold and Lancelot Bacchus, "prominent farmers" from Manakau (near Auckland),[57] who enlisted together with the New Zealand Rifle Brigade in February 1916. Harold was born (1875) in Sarawak where his father, Captain George Henry Bacchus, late of the 7th Dragoon Guards (The Princess Royal's), was serving as the commandant of the local defense forces. For whatever reasons – the debilitating climate or professional advancement – shortly after Harold's birth, the Bacchus family left Borneo for Australia, where Captain Bacchus took a commission in the New South Wales artillery. In the meantime, his wife Constance, who was a daughter of the first principal of the University of Sydney (John Woolley), gave birth to Lance (1877). Tragically, Captain Bacchus died seven months after Lance's birth, leaving his widow with three young boys to raise on her own.[58] She returned to England, where she chose Bristol as their new place of residence. Between 1887 and 1889, Harold and Lance attended nearby Clifton College and they enjoyed playing rugby for the Clifton Rugby Club.[59] The Bacchuses did not stay put for long. In 1899, the

family returned to Sydney where Lance married and began raising a family of his own. And a few years later, the family moved again, this time to New Zealand, allegedly because the boys' mother thought Australia too hot a climate for raising Lance's newborn son. Whatever the reason, the entire family moved across the Tasman Sea and settled in New Zealand in 1902.

When war broke out twelve years later, the two brothers resisted the temptation to enlist, at least initially. Instead, they worked their farms and provided food for the war effort. However, they eventually volunteered in early-1916, and were attached to a reinforcement draft for the 1st Battalion, 3rd New Zealand Rifle Brigade. They went straight to France and pretty much straight into the Somme campaign with the New Zealand Division in September 1916. Harold and Lance, who were both lance corporals by this time, were detailed as stretcher bearers. The fighting was ferocious and, although the New Zealanders achieved their preliminary objectives, the gruesome toll of life was the worst the division had experienced to that time – 7,000 casualties, including more than 1,500 killed in just three weeks of fighting.[60] Both men were killed by a German shell while they were carrying a wounded comrade back to an aid station. Lance, who was described by the *Wanganui Chronicle* as a "quiet, unassuming young man," had been an "enthusiastic and first-class [field] hockey player and a lay reader in the Anglican Church." He was thirty-eight when he died. He and Harry, who was forty-one, have no known grave and are commemorated on the Caterpillar Valley Memorial.[61]

When the Anzacs hit the beaches at Gallipoli on 25 April 1915, several Bristolians were amongst the earliest casualties. Twenty-four-year-old Private Harold James Pring, who was serving under the pseudonym William Clarke was one of them. Pring lived in his native city and worked as a blacksmith's striker until January 1908, when he enlisted in the Royal Navy. His naval career was far from stellar, however. Five entries in his service record

indicate that he served between three and ten days in the brig. He was twice charged with absence from duty and refusing to work, convictions for which he was awarded forty-two days hard labour. Finally, after almost four years of questionable service, he jumped ship in Colombo, from where he eventually made his way to Western Australia, where he hewed railway sleepers until enlisting in the AIF in September 1914. He did so under the name William Clarke, no doubt to avoid censure by the Royal Navy. [62] At any rate, after two months of preliminary training near Perth, he set sail from Fremantle on HMAT *Ascanious*. Originally drafted into "D" company, 11th Battalion AIF, Pring, who had attested to having seven years' experience in the Royal Navy, underwent further training and acclimatization in Egypt as well as the Greek island of Lemnos, from which the Gallipoli campaign was launched. When 20,000 Anzacs assaulted Gallipoli on the disastrous morning of 25 April 1915, Pring, now attached to "H" company, went missing. A court of enquiry held in Flêtre, France, almost a year later pronounced that he had been killed in action. His remains were eventually discovered by an exhumation team in early August 1921 near Mortar Ridge opposite Quinn's Post. His leather identity disc permitted the team to verify the dead soldier, who was then interred at Quinn's Post war cemetery, near Anzac Cove.[63]

The travels of another immigrant to Australia, Royal H. S. Bailey, also make for interesting reading. When war was declared, this head teacher from a rural school in Myrrhee, Victoria, was rejected for AIF service on medical grounds. Undaunted, he took passage to England to enlist, but when his ship docked at Durban, he seized an opportunity to join the Umvoti Mounted Rifles, an Active Citizen Force unit that saw action in German South West Africa. When hostilities there ceased in July 1915, Bailey once again sought passage to England. In August 1915, he enlisted with another mounted unit, the North Somerset Yeomanry, which deployed to France, where Bailey served throughout 1916. He must have impressed his superiors because, in January 1917, he returned to England for

officer training and commissioning. After four months at Fleet, in August 1917, he was gazetted to the Royal Marine Light Infantry (RMLI). He crossed to France in December and joined the 1st Battalion RMLI, which was part of the 63rd (Royal Naval) Division. Just over a fortnight later, on 5 January 1918, while the rest of the battalion was supplying work parties for their sector of the line, he led a patrol to assess German intentions in Villers Plouich. Meeting heavy machine gun and rifle fire, he ordered his men to return to their trenches then proceeded to probe the enemy position himself. His body was recovered three days later. His wife later wrote to the Victorian Department of Education: "He always cherished very happy memories of the kindness he had met with in your country [Australia], and had hoped to return there."[64]

Conclusion

The use of soldiers as a lens through which historians can view the migratory process is long overdue. As demonstrated above, this approach offers some fascinating avenues for future research at many levels—local, regional, national, and transnational. For military historians, preoccupied with the grand strategies of national forces, the deployment of armies during war, and battle, the soldiers themselves are too often "lost," nameless cogs in a vast military machine. Individuals matter. And we now have the ability to look at where they came from and what they did. The revolution provided by the world-wide-web and the subsequent digitization of personnel records, regional newspapers, and passenger lists has provided a plethora of material with which to examine individual soldiers. The surfeit of military records allows one to chart their return "home," plot their careers on the battlefront, and chronicle how they were commemorated by friends, family, and community. Migration historians, in particular, have benefitted from the digital revolution that has provided them easier and

greater access to material that allows them to pursue a more in-depth interrogation of not just the British migratory process, but also the stories and journeys of return migrants.

What preliminary conclusions can we draw from this study of those Bristolians who emigrated to the far reaches of the empire and returned home to fight between 1914 and 1919? Geographical proximity and Bristol's longstanding commercial links with Canada meant that the largest share of Bristolians who returned to England during the First World War did so with the CEF. Not surprisingly, distance and expense (even with sporadic government sponsorship after 1902) meant fewer men travelled to the Pacific dominions where they might have enlisted with the AIF or the NZEF. South Africa was different. British migrants hoping to start new lives there required capital and/or particular skills, imperatives which narrowed the categories and restricted the flow of potential migrants to this region. Nevertheless, it is certain that Bristol's connection to a wider British World had become well established prior to 1914, and that Bristolians used the migration channels available to them to start new lives and exploit opportunities overseas. Critically, when the "mother country" was threatened, British-born migrants were almost always first to answer the call to arms, most often as soldiers, not officers. Although many had not acquired the social capital in their respective dominions to enlist as officers, early trends indicate that many of the returning Bristolians did have previous military experience that proved invaluable, particularly in providing NCOs, the men who proved so foundationally important during the formative stages in the construction of the dominion armies. Of course, these men also became the first casualties during the early campaigns at Ypres and Gallipoli in April 1915. Most of the men we have tracked emigrated to one dominion and then returned home in their adopted country's expeditionary force once war was declared. The circumstances of some, like Garnett Stiff from Frampton Cotterell, also demonstrate that others travelled full circle – migrating overseas, returning with a dominion contingent, dying of wounds received in

battle, and being buried in the parish church they had worshipped in as a boy. Equally intriguing are those examples of men who emigrated to one particular colony or dominion, and then used the first destination as a stepping stone to pursue employment in another. The Bacchus brothers are cases in point in which multiple empire destinations, including a sojourn back to Bristol, were experienced before the family finally settled in one of the dominions. As such, it is not a simple matter of travelling from the metropole to the periphery; but of travelling from one part of the British World to another before returning "home" to fight. More mapping needs to be completed before a fuller understanding of the life histories and networks of these returning soldier-migrants can be reached. By piecing together individual soldier stories and incorporating them into the broader migratory developments at work, a better understanding of those processes can be charted. If migration is at the heart of the British World, it is also fundamental in understanding both the local and transnational forces at work regarding war, identity, and memory.

NOTES

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[1] *Bristol and the War*, October 1914.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 19 October 1914.

[4] Ibid., 31 October 1914.

[5] Sir Charles Lucas, *The Empire at War*, vol. 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 299.

[6] E. A. Benians et al. *The Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. 3 *The Empire-Commonwealth 1870-1919* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 641-642; Robert Holland, "The British Empire and the Great War, 1914-1918," in *The Oxford History of the British Empire,* vol. 4 *The Twentieth Century*, ed. Judith M. Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 117. The figure for India, for which there were no less than seven expeditionary forces fighting on three continents, are equally impressive at 1.44 million combatants.

[7] *The Union of South Africa and the Great War. Official History* (Pretoria: Government Printing and Stationary Office, 1924), 3.

[8] Richard Holt, *Filling the Ranks: Manpower in the Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017), 43-44.

[9] Kent Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995).

[10] Kent Fedorowich, “The British Empire on the Move,” in *The British Empire: Themes and Perspectives*, ed. Sarah Stockwell (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 64.

[11] Richard White has led the way with three essays, including: “The Soldier as Tourist: The Australian Experience of the Great War,” *War & Society* 5, no.1 (1987): 63-77; Bart Ziino, “A Kind of Round Trip: Australian Soldiers and the Tourist Analogy, 1914-1918,” *War & Society* 25, no. 2 (2006): 39-52; and Felicity Barnes, “Dominion Soldiers on Leave in Europe (New Zealand) 1914-1918,” in *International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*, ed. Ute Daniel et al. (Berlin: Frei Universität Berlin, 2014).

[12] Ulbe Bosma, “European colonial soldiers in the nineteenth century: their role in white global migration and patterns of colonial settlement,” *Journal of Global History* 4, no. 2 (2009): 317.

[13] James Bennett, “‘Massey’s Sunday School Picnic Party:’ ‘The Other Anzacs’ or Honorary Australians?” *War & Society* 21, no. 2 (2003): 31-5; Barnes, “Dominion Soldiers on Leave,” 4.

[14] Michael McKernan, *The Australian People and the Great War* (Melbourne: Thomas Nelson, 1980), 116; E. M. Andrews, *The Anzac Illusion: Anglo-Australian Relations during World War I* (Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 185; Roger Beckett, “The Australian Soldier in Britain,” in *Australians in Britain: The Twentieth-Century Experience*, ed. Carl Bridge, Robert Crawford and David Dunstan (Clayton, VIC: Monash University ePress, 2009), 6.1 to 6.17, challenges the negativity of both McKernan and Andrews.

[15] Richard S. Grayson, “Military History from the Street: New Methods for Researching First World War Service in the British Military,” *War in History* 21, no.4 (2014): 465-95.

[16] Tanja Bueltmann, David T. Gleeson and Donald M. MacRaild, eds., *Locating the English Diaspora, 1500-2010* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012).

[17] Jonathan F. Vance, *Maple Leaf Empire: Canada, Britain, and the Two World Wars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3-4.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, "Mapping the British World," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 31, no. 2 (2003), 3.

[20] Stephen Constantine, ed., *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions between the Wars* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 2; Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: Hambledon, 2004), 225.

[21] Fedorowich, "British Empire on the Move," 89.

[22] Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, companion series, *Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 87; W. D. Borrie, *Immigration to New Zealand, 1854-1938* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1991), 152.

[23] F. K. Crowley, *Australia's Western Third: A History of Western Australia from the first settlement to modern times* (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1970), 157-8.

[24] A. F. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919, General Series, vol. 1: Chronology, Appendices and Maps* (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1938), appendix 132, 112-13. Passenger list for Spoors: http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/immigration-records/passenger-lists/passenger-lists-1865-1922/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=12415&.

[25] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 60.

[26] Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, 297.

[27] A. F. Duguid, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-1919: August 1914 to September 1915* (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaude, 1938), 138; Harold R. Peat,

Private Peat (Middlesex: Echo Library, 2008), 12; *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 7 November 1914; Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Victor Odlum papers, MG 30, E300, vol. 15, war diary, notes and battalion orders for 7th Battalion (November 1914).

[28] Eugene Byrne and Clive Burlton, *Bravo, Bristol! The City at War 1914-1918* (Bristol: Redcliffe Press, 2014), 44; LAC, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 9201-34, service file for Thomas G. Spoors; John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), 24, gives the unit strength as 1,124 with 874 or 78 percent born in the British Isles.

[29] To date, the authors have identified the following number of Bristolians serving in the dominion forces: Canada 954; Australia 121; New Zealand 31; and South and East Africa 31. Only a handful were conscripted, and these were by the Canadian authorities after August 1917.

[30] Desmond Morton, *When Your Number's Up: The Canadian Soldier in the First World War* (Toronto: Random House, 1993), 9 and 278; Terry Copp, "The Military Effort, 1914-1918," in *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown*, ed. David Mackenzie (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 37-8 and 59, footnote 32; *Canadian Annual Review 1914*, 188; Lucas, *The Empire at War*, vol. 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 17.

[31] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 278; Duguid, *Official History*, *General Series*, appendix 86, 58.

[32] Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988), 11, 15 and 17; Steven Loveridge, *Calls to Arms: New Zealand Society and Commitment to the Great War* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2014), chapter 2 explores what it meant to be "British" in New Zealand at this time.

[33] Ian McGibbon, "The Shaping of New Zealand's War Effort, August-October 1914," in *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, The Allies & The First World War*, ed. John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Exisle Publishing, 2007), 51.

[34] Robert Stevenson, *To Win the Battle: The 1st Australian Division in the Great War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Peter Dennis and Jeff Grey, "New Zealanders in the AIF: An Introduction to the AIF Database Project," in *New Zealand's Great War*, ed. Crawford and McGibbon, 394-405, especially 399 on UK enlistments in the AIF; Jean Bou and Peter Dennis, *The Centenary History of Australia and the Great War*, vol. 5 *The Australian Imperial Force* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2016), 71-99.

[35] C.E.W. Bean, *Anzac to Amiens* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1961), 41.

[36] Joan Beaumont, *Broken Nation: Australians in the Great War* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 2013), 14; L. L. Robson, *The First AIF: A Study of its Recruitment 1914-1918* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1982), 14-17.

[37] Stevenson, *To Win the Battle*, 23.

[38] Eric Wren, *Randwick to Hargicourt: History of the 3rd Battalion, AIF* (Sydney: Ronald G McDonald, 1935), 15-18.

[39] Captain Walter C. Belford, *"Legs Eleven." Being the Story of the 11th Battalion (AIF) in the Great War of 1914-1918* (Perth, WA: Imperial Printing, 1940), 4 and 6-7; James Hurst, *Game to the Last: The 11th Australian Infantry Battalion at Gallipoli*, 2nd ed. (Newport, NSW: Big Sky Publishing, 2011), 3-4; Suzanne Welborn, *Lords of Death* (Fremantle, WA: Freemantle Arts Centre Press, 1982).

[40] National Library of Australia, MS 696, Sir Ronald Munro-Ferguson papers, box 5, fols. 3667-70, Munro-Ferguson to General Sir Ian Hamilton, Commander-in-Chief, Home Army, 25 December 1914.

[41] Ernest Scott, *Official History of Australia in the War of 1914-1918*, vol. 11 *Australia during the War* (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1941), 213.

[42] Harold Baldwin, *"Holding the Line"* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1918), 4.

[43] Bodleian Library (Oxford), Sir Lewis Harcourt papers, dep 476, fols. 175-9, Connaught to Harcourt, 5 October 1914.

[44] Recent scholarship has shown that there was even strong support for the war amongst Irish Catholics. See Mark G. McGowan, *The Imperial Irish: Canada's Irish Catholics Fight the Great War, 1914-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017).

[45] Daniel G. Dancocks, *Gallant Canadians: The Story of the 10th Infantry Battalion 1914-1919* (Calgary: Calgary Highlanders Regimental Fund Trust, 1990), 6.

[46] R. C. Featherstonhaugh, *The 13th Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada 1914-1919* (Montreal: The 13th Battalion Royal Highlanders of Canada, 1925), 6.

[47] J. King Gordon, ed., *Postscript to Adventure: The Autobiography of Ralph Connor (Charles W. Gordon)* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938), 196.

[48] Mark Zuehlke, *Brave Battalion: The Remarkable Saga of the 16th Battalion (Canadian Scottish) in the First World War* (Mississauga, ON: Wiley, 2008), 13.

[49] Kenneth Radley, *We Lead, Others Follow: First Canadian Division 1914-1918* (St Catharines, ON: Vanwell Publishing, 2007), 46; Hugh M. Urquhart, *The History of the 16th Battalion (The Canadian Scottish Regiment)* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1932), appendix 6, 415.

[50] Information obtained from the family headstone at Avonview cemetery provides further information of his wounding at La Bassée and his attachment to the 16th Canadian Scottish; LAC, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 3156-43, service file for F. G. Flook.

[51] Jonathan Hyslop, "Cape Town Highlanders, Transvaal Scottish: Military 'Scottishness' and Social Power in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century South Africa," *South African Historical Journal* 47 (2002): 96-114; Bill Nasson, *Springboks on the Somme: South Africa in the Great*

War 1914-1918 (London: Penguin, 2007), 205-18, for John Buchan's role in constructing the "Celtic credibility" of the South African Brigade.

[52] John Buchan, *The History of the South African Forces in France* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1920), 16-17 and 21. There were 638 British-born and 595 South African born; but if you add the 49 from the other unspecified nationals to the latter figure the total is 644.

[53] Morton, *When Your Number's Up*, 279.

[54] LAC, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 4036 – 47, service file for Sergeant Frederick J. Harcombe, Passenger list for Harcombe: https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/immigration-records/passenger-lists/passenger-lists-1865-1922/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=12415&; ibid., Box 4483 – 39, service file for CSM Henry W. Hooper. Passenger list for Hooper: https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/immigration-records/passenger-lists/passenger-lists-1865-1922/Pages/item.aspx?IdNumber=5897&

[55] Buchan, *South African Forces*, 17.

[56] LAC, RG 150, Accession 1992-93/166, Box 9331-37, service file for C. G. Stiff.

[57] *Feilding Star*, 5 October 1916.

[58] *Sydney Morning Herald*, 31 July 1872, announcement of his marriage to Constance Woolley, 4th daughter of John Woolley DCL, University of Sydney; ibid, 22 December 1877, birth of Lance; ibid, Bacchus senior's death notice, 2 August 1878.

[59] "Club Members 1872-1945. B," Clifton Rugby Football Club History, accessed October 4, 2015, http://www.cliftonrfchistory.co.uk/members/membersB.htm.

[60] Ian McGibbon, ed., *The Oxford Companion to New Zealand Military History* (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2000), 602.

[61] *Manawatu Standard*, 7 November 1916; *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 October 1916.

[62] The National Archives, London (TNA), Admiralty papers, ADM 188/422, Pring's personnel file.

[63] National Archives of Australia, AIF Personnel files, B2455, Pring, H. J. (aka William Clarke); *Sydney Sun*, 22 November 1921.

[64] *The Education Department's Record of War Service, 1914-1919 Victoria* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1921), 29-31. He is also honoured on the following website which records a number of casualties from the Bristol Diocese: http://bristol-cathedral.co.uk/we-have-our-lives/person/roy-bailey. TNA, ADM 196/98/12, Bailey's personnel file while in the RMLI; ADM 137/3065, war diary, 1st Battalion, RMLI, May 1916-November 1918, fols. 365-9.