

# BENEDICTINE MILITARY CHAPLAINS IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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**D**URING THE FIRST WORLD WAR fifty Benedictine monks from abbeys of the English Benedictine Congregation and from English houses of Continental Congregations served as temporary commissioned military chaplains to the British forces. Like other regular and secular priests they answered the call to serve not only King and country but also their co-religionists in the circumstances of war. Four Benedictines - Frs Rawlinson, Sweetman and Birt of Downside and Fr Dawes of Ampleforth - had already served as military chaplains in the Boer War but the war of 1914-1918 was to be unlike any previous conflict in nature and extent. Monks who volunteered for military chaplaincy left the safety and stability of abbey, mission or priory and enlisted in vast military organizations operating on a continental scale and with the latest technology of destruction at their disposal.

## CONTROL OF CATHOLIC MILITARY CHAPLAINS

Military responsibility for army chaplains lay with the Army Chaplains Department, established in 1796 and heavily biased towards the Church of England in administration and number. There was no comparable organization within the Admiralty for naval chaplains. During the Crimean War, Bishop Thomas Grant of Southwark, had acted on behalf of the Catholic Hierarchy in matters of army and naval Catholic chaplaincy and his successors retained ecclesiastical control of military chaplains until 1903 but when Bishop Francis Bourne of Southwark was elevated to Westminster he took this responsibility with him. Naval chaplains had been supervised by the Bishop of Portsmouth but in 1900 Cardinal Vaughan was asked by Bishop Vertue to take on the responsibility. In 1906 the Vatican ratified the arrangements and Archbishop Bourne assumed sole ecclesiastical control of all Catholic chaplains serving British forces. It was to Cardinal Bourne, therefore, that the War Office and Admiralty turned on the outbreak of war in August 1914 when it became obvious that many more Catholic chaplains would be required.

## ARMY CHAPLAINS 1914

At the commencement of hostilities the total establishment of the Army Chaplains Department was 89 Anglican, 17 Roman Catholic, and 11 Presbyterian chaplains. The deployment, age and health of Roman Catholic chaplains meant that only seven accompanied the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) to France in August. By October another five chaplains had been sent to France whilst others were ordered to serve either on home stations or other overseas garrisons. The Senior Catholic Chaplain with the BEF was Mgr. William Keatinge, Chaplain First Class with the rank of Colonel.

Educated at Downside and the English College, Rome, Mgr Keatinge was ordained in 1893, commissioned in 1897 and had served in the Boer War. At the declaration of hostilities he was recalled from Cairo and accompanied the 3rd Division to France.

The early battles and engagements of the war were far more mobile than the later setpiece offensives and consequently chaplains found it difficult to minister to their scattered flocks. The thought of battle and the proximity of injury and death caused great anxiety among soldiers unable to avail themselves of spiritual consolation and the concentration of Catholic units proved too much for the chaplains to minister effectively. In the initial BEF of five divisions there were eight Irish infantry battalions and three cavalry battalions - all predominantly Catholic. In addition, Scottish and English battalions had large Catholic minorities. The absence of Catholic chaplains was acutely felt. When 127 dead of the Royal Munster Fusiliers were laid to rest during the retreat from Mons in August 1914, a German Catholic chaplain had to conduct the service. The Irish Rifles had not seen a priest nor attended Mass since they left for France.

By the end of 1914 the BEF had become two separate armies. Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, had astounded everyone by predicting a much longer conflict and demanding the expansion of the Army to 70 divisions. His call for volunteers was eagerly answered and commensurate with this response was that of Catholic priests willing to serve as military chaplains. It was obvious that the Chaplains Department, untouched by previous military reforms, would have to be re-structured to meet new demands. In November 1914 the War Office recalled Mgr Keatinge to discuss the number, organization and deployment of RC chaplains 'required for performing adequately the necessary spiritual ministrations to the Catholic troops.\* Mgr Keatinge was granted four chaplains per division - one for each brigade and one for divisional troops. In addition, there was to be one chaplain for each Irish battalion and adequate provision for hospitals and base camps. In the overall re-structuring of the Chaplains Department in France Mgr Keatinge was appointed Assistant Principal Chaplain and Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain. The Principal Chaplain to the BEF was Dr John Simms, an Irish Presbyterian, but the new arrangements were essentially administrative as each of the four major denominations (Anglican, Catholic, Presbyterian and Wesleyan) retained ecclesiastical control of its own priests and ministers through their own Senior Chaplains. Military control rested with the senior officer in the field.

#### EARLY VOLUNTEERS

Dom Stephen Rawlinson of Downside volunteered for active service in August 1914 and was assigned to the second battalion of the Royal Irish Regiment with the rank of Captain (temporary Chaplain 4th Class). In the early engagements of the war, at Mons, Le Cateau, the Maine and on the Aisne, the battalion, which was part of the 8th Infantry Brigade, suffered heavily and was taken to Headquarters BEF at St Omer. Fr Rawlinson accompanied his battalion throughout and once again made the same impression recorded over a decade earlier: 'Fr Rawlinson. . is a man out of the ordinary, a man of

notable ability and commanding presence.\* In 1915, over the heads of longer serving and more experienced chaplains, he became assistant to the Senior Chaplain with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel (temporary Chaplain 2nd Class) and was entrusted with day-to-day affairs as Mgr. Keatinge toured the front, made contact with his chaplains, and visited hospitals and bases. It was a staff-officer position which Fr Rawlinson filled admirably and when Mgr. Keatinge became Principal Chaplain to the Macedonia Army in early 1916 Fr Rawlinson, at the request of Dr Simms, was promoted to temporary Chaplain 1st Class with the rank of Colonel, became Senior Catholic Chaplain to the British Army on the Western Front and Assistant Principal Chaplain. From then until the cessation of hostilities Fr Rawlinson directed the efforts of all Catholic chaplains to the British forces and France and Flanders and his impact was to be considerable. The *Downside Review* was to later state with some accuracy:

Like every other unit in the Army the number of chaplains had to be increased out of all proportion to anything previously known or needed. Dom Stephen was transferred to G.H.Q. in 1915 and with the able help of Dom Dominic Young as Secretary, began the work of posting priests to every infantry brigade in the front line, to every base hospital, and many casualty clearing stations. This work entailed much travelling, and many contacts with members of the High Command, and the exercise of the gifts of charm, tact and wisdom so conspicuous in Dom Stephen's character.

Writing in 1934 on the death of Keatinge, Mgr Mullins wrote that chaplaincy in the early part of the war was disorganized and that chaplains lacked direction and training. Mgr Keatinge and Fr Rawlinson changed this by issuing guidelines and instructions to chaplains, keeping a close watch on those who were unable to maintain the high standards they demanded, and resolving the many difficulties thrown up by the circumstances of war, personal idiosyncracies, misunderstandings and failings of those with whom they were called to work. Chaplains were introduced to military organization, command structures and customs. They were instructed in their duties and above all in their responsibilities as Catholic priests serving Catholic soldiers. Nothing was laid down in Army regulations about the duty of a chaplain except that he was 'generally speaking, to seek the spiritual and moral welfare of the men of his denomination at the station or in the formation to which he is attached.\* The methods adopted by chaplains were left to individual initiative, circumstances and the requirements of the military authorities.

Throughout the war RC chaplains became known for their determination to be with troops in the front line and many exercised initiative which frequently placed them in the same danger as the fighting men. Whilst those of other denominations recognised the bravery of Catholic chaplains who accompanied their men in the firing line, Dom Stephen was cautious in his support. He saw the necessity for chaplains to visit men in the trenches but wrote that

A chaplain... must take all possible care not to expose himself needlessly and should get to know particularly dangerous spots. He should remember that one live chaplain is worth more than fifty dead ones.

At base, casualty clearing station or field ambulance, Fr Rawlinson continued, the chaplain should exploit opportunities to exercise his ministry to the full. The work to be done in camps was equally as important as there men could attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, and whilst tending the wounded chaplains could perform sacramental

duties, assist with administrative details, record injuries and deaths, and write letters.

Fr Rawlinson left nothing to chance: the chaplain had to learn military courtesy and discipline, if necessary learn how to ride a horse, and avoid discussing religion. Above all, the chaplain must always be on hand, always try to bury RC dead or at least make a note of those buried by non-RC chaplains, and must never forget his Mass kit. Fr Rawlinson's letters testify to his ruthless determination in maintaining high standards among RC chaplains on the Western Front. Despite the constant shortage of chaplains, he would remove those who did not match his requirements or somehow failed in their duties and responsibilities as priests.

Other people besides those who served with him recognised Fr Rawlinson's qualities. When he and Cardinal Bourne attended a dinner party given by Field Marshal Haig in October 1917, Haig was uncomplimentary about Bourne but praised Rawlinson, albeit mistakenly:

The Cardinal is neither eminent in appearance nor in conversation. On the other hand Rawlinson is a most agreeable fellow and seems to have all the qualities of an efficient Jesuit father.

Fr Rawlinson was not the only Benedictine to volunteer in August 1914 nor was he the only one with previous military experience. Dom Stephen Dawes of Ampleforth was commissioned in July 1914 and in August became chaplain to the 8th (Irish) Battalion, King's Liverpool Regiment. As chaplain he succeeded the famous Bishop Robert Brindle of Nottingham, previously Auxiliary Bishop in Westminster and prior to that one of the most respected and highly decorated of all RC military chaplains, having served with Kitchener at Khartoum. Following missionary work in South Africa, Fr Dawes had worked at Our Lady and St Michael's, Workington, and at St Anne's, Edgehill, Liverpool. In July 1914 he applied directly to the War Office but although he was gazetted the regiment sailed for France without him. After some delay and with the help of Cardinal Bourne, Fr Dawes was able to join his battalion and arrived in France in April 1915. He was to serve on the Western Front from 1915 until 1918, at first as temporary Chaplain 4th Class with the rank of Captain and then from October 1917 as temporary Chaplain 2nd Class with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel until he was demobilized in February 1920. In June 1916 the *Catholic Herald* reported that Fr Dawes had been in the line for six weeks.\* On one occasion he was wounded on the brow but not seriously hurt. Later, he had a 'miraculous escape' when his shelter received a direct hit. His groom, standing ten yards away, was killed. Commendations reported Fr Dawes' 'high order of intelligence and untiring zeal', his 'excellent good service and devotion to duty', and his 'fine example' to all.

Dom Anthony Barnett, also of Ampleforth, was commissioned in November 1914. Ordained in 1911, Fr Barnett was attached to the Northumberland Fusiliers and served with them in France seeing early action at Ypres. His letters to his abbey recorded experiences and emotions replicated by hundreds of other chaplains. Of his work at the casualty clearing stations after fierce fighting at Second Ypres he wrote:

It is a *ghastly* thing to see the state of some of the poor fellows brought in. How the human body can stand such terrible rips and holes is a marvel to me. All the ambulance work is done at night. All the night through the doctors and bearers are collecting the wounded, bringing them in, washing, cutting and binding up the poor fellows. Then the chaplain goes to them and does all that is possible. All night I stay with my ambulance, and the first thing in the

morning I hurry off to the other ambulance\*s dressing station. They are a mile away - rather nearer the firing line. If any RC is really badly hit an orderly is kept here ready for me to come over to administer the Last Sacraments, I just stumble off through the darkness, and administer the last rites. Poor fellows! They do so appreciate the priest\*s visit. The morning is spent in arranging for funerals and in getting to the billets of troops before they go up to the trenches at night. The priest just goes amongst them, draws them aside in turn, and, as they stand, hears their confessions... The work of a chaplain is extraordinarily fascinating and you really feel that you are doing the good God\*s work here amongst these poor fellows who today are in robust health, and tomorrow are twisted and contorted in agonies or just asleep in death... One just rushes here and rushes there, trying to get at them wherever one can find them. Tommy is always ready to make his confession and appreciates work done for him. Even those with no religion stand by in solemn silence awed by the gravity of the priest\*s work.

Dom Anthony, like other chaplains, was subject to the same conditions and privations as those he served during his time in France, Salonika, on a hospital ship in the Mediterranean, East Africa and Russia. He contracted pneumonia and dysentery. From Macedonia he wrote: ‘On the whole I preferred Ypres to Macedonia.\* And then from Africa he wrote: ‘I thought Salonika was remote but East Africa is almost on the edge of the world.\* He later volunteered for a mission to Russia with the ‘Syren Force\* and was attached to the 84th Casualty Clearing Station. In between all this he even managed a trip to Canada.

In August and September 1914 many priests had volunteered for duty but there was no immediate urgency on the part of the War Office to increase the actual establishment of chaplains at the front. Consequently, there was often a time-lapse between a chaplain being given leave by his bishop or superior, Cardinal Bourne\*s office completing the necessary paperwork, and the War Office taking action and posting the chaplain. Catholic public opinion became enraged at the delay and the Irish bishops in particular clamoured for Irish chaplains for Irish regiments. Cardinal Logue of Armagh and others were quick to blame Cardinal Bourne, his assistant Mgr Bidwell, and the War Office for the delay. The Irish bishops resolved that nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of ‘a fit and efficient number of Irish priests ministering to their wounded and dying countrymen on the field of battle.\*

Kitchener ignored the bishops and resisted attempts to enlist Irish support: ‘They would only bring their priests with them and start wholesale proselytizing,\* he said. The Prime Minister Asquith\*s wife, Margot, aware of the consequences of ignoring Irish sympathy, told Kitchener that he ‘should give them their priests.\* Letters from France and Flanders told of overworked and exhausted chaplains whilst those sympathetic to Bourne claimed that the situation was improving. It was a complex, very political and far from one-sided argument which Bourne was eventually to lose and with it the control of all army chaplains for in 1917 the Pope appointed Mgr Keatinge as first *Episcopus Castrensis* or Bishop of the Army.

However, priests continued to offer their services. From Douai two monks left their abbey in 1914 to serve as army chaplains, Frs Maurus Kelly and Francis O\*Shaughnessy. Ordained in 1890, Dom Maurus was commissioned as a temporary Chaplain 4th Class with the rank of Captain in November 1914. He was attached to the 6th Field Ambulance with the 2nd Division BEF. In June 1915 he wrote to his brother

Fr Michael Kelly in Maesteg:

It is a strange but thrilling life, one day facing shot and shell, another basking in the sun, or tearing on horseback or by motor car over the wooded and undulating country; then at evening listening to the songs of nightingales.

Dom Maurus was later promoted to major and also received the Military Cross and Bar but of far greater value to him ‘was the genuine respect and affection of the men for whose sake he never spared himself\* Like Dom Maurus, Dom Francis was also commissioned in November 1914 and he too served with the BEF in France but was to leave the army when his contract expired a year later, not, however, before he had been mentioned in despatches by Sir John French.

Dom John Lane-Fox of Fort Augustus was another Benedictine to be commissioned early in the war. Having received his temporary commission in September 1914 he served with the 1st London Irish of the 47~” Division and was with them as they kicked a football across no-man\*s-land in their assault on German positions during the Battle of Loos in 1915. For his ministrations on the battlefield Fr Lane-Fox was recommended for the Military Cross but an accident on March 3, 1916, placed the award in jeopardy. During grenade practice a bomb exploded in Lane-Fox\*s hand seriously wounding him and killing Lord Desmond Fitzgerald. General Cecil Pereria wrote immediately to Mgr Bidwell, Cardinal Bourne\* s secretary, informing him of the incident and of Lane-Fox\*s anxiety that he would not be able to celebrate Mass again due to the injuries to ‘his right eye and the fingers of his right hand.\* He asked, on Lane-Fox\*s behalf, for an assurance that the injured priest would not be prevented from saying Mass. Pereria pointed out that he received nothing but the best accounts of Fr Lane-Fox and that he would be ‘very much missed by the men.\* Bidwell was able to reassure Lane-Fox, via Pereria, that he could get permission to officiate when he had recovered.

Mgr Keatinge, conscious as he was of the chaplains\* reputation and the importance of them receiving their fair share of decorations, described the incident as ‘fooling around with bombs.\* Eventually, Fr Lane-Fox received the award and was later mentioned in despatches. He was also recommended for the French *Medaille Militaire* for his ‘remarkably gallant and efficient\* work for French civilians, in 1918 he was promoted to temporary Chaplain 2nd Class with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, to be Senior Catholic Chaplain to the 47th Division.

#### AMPLEFORTH

The six Benedictines who had received army commissions very early in the war were joined later by monks from their own and from other abbeys. From Ampleforth Dom Ambrose Byrne was commissioned in March 1916 and served until November 1919. Fr Ambrose was one of the first students at St. Benet\*s Hall, Oxford, and was ordained in 1908. Attached to the 8th Battalion, East Lancashire Regiment, Fr Byrne saw action in France and served under the command of Major Hon. Edward Stourton who had been Captain of Ampleforth in 1898. Shortly after his enlistment Fr Byrne wrote to Cardinal Bourne seeking advice and clarification on a range of pressing issues. Could he, for example, be allowed to say Mass alone as he could not ‘very often secure the presence

of anyone without some disturbance to the working of this unit.\* Furthermore, he wished for guidance on how to deal with unconscious and dying men when they have no indication of their religion. ‘I have a great opportunity\*, he wrote, ‘of helping non-Catholics who are dying\* and whose ‘dispositions are excellent.\* He realised the need to avoid giving the impression ‘that non-Catholics had the same claim to the Sacraments as Catholics\* and that a formal reception into the Catholic Church was impossible for these men ‘but there seems such an opening and they do welcome the attention of a Catholic priest.\* Such was his sensitivity to his predicament that he concluded by stating that ‘my ministrations to the non-Catholics must not be talked about.\* Although he spoke little of his wartime experiences in later life, his obituary stated that Dom Ambrose ‘did rejoice exceedingly in the many holy deaths at which he ministered.\* He also felt that his time with the army was of great value as ‘it gave him a broader and more sympathetic outlook.\* Another Ampleforth monk, Dom Francis Primavesi, was commissioned in December 1917. Born in 1887 and educated at St. Benet’s, Fr Francis was ordained in 1913. He served in France and was demobilised in April 1919.

#### BELMONT

From Belmont four monks were to serve as military chaplains. Dom Dunstan Sibley was commissioned in May 1915 and served, mainly in Egypt, until June 1920. Dom Wilfrid de Normanville was commissioned in October 1915 and relinquished his commission in 1921. Dom Wilfrid served in India, where he contracted enteric fever, in France from early 1917, and later as chaplain to the 1<sup>st</sup> Division of the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force. The Mesopotamian campaign has been described as the worst-run British campaign of World War I whilst a chaplain wrote ‘The Mesopotamian Desert is the lid over the Purgatorial Fires.\* A large number of chaplains, some of whom had served in France, Salonika and Gallipoli, were posted to Mesopotamia as the casualty rate there was so high. Three chaplains were to die in Mesopotamia and many more terminated their contracts during the campaign on the grounds of ill-health. One chaplain who was to arrive during the later stages of the campaign was Dom Anselm Lightbound. Ordained in 1914, Dom Anselm arrived in ‘Messpot\* after being commissioned in 1917. He was to leave the army in 1919 and later became fourth Abbot of Belmont. Dom Ambrose Buisseret was also commissioned in 1917 and served in Egypt before being demobilised in 1919.

#### DOUAI

Twelve monks from Douai were to become army chaplains. Frs Kelly and O’Shaughnessy had been commissioned in 1914 and they were later joined by Frs Alphonsus Webb in 1915, William Buggins and Dunstan Collingwood in 1916, Adrian Coughlin, Aidan Coyle, Clement Green, Raphael Ludford, and Ignatius Rice in 1917, and Dominic Fennell and Anthony Jordan in 1918. Dom Alphonsus was ordained in 1898 and commissioned in August 1915. During the early part of his service he was

a chaplain on the Western Front but was later assigned to a hospital ship in the Far East. Whilst serving in Egypt Dom Alphonsus contracted malaria and also underwent an operation to repair his ears damaged by sand penetration. Bernard Buggins was ordained in 1904 and served from 1916 until 1919 with the BEF being attached to 184th Infantry Brigade. Dunstan Collingwood was ordained in 1902 and like Dom Bernard served in France from 1916 until 1919 being attached to 6th Field Ambulance, 2nd Division. Dom Adrian Coughlin had already experienced a full priestly and academic career before he became an army chaplain. Having received his Doctorate he was ordained in Rome in 1904. He later became Prefect of Studies and headmaster at Douai, and then Professor of Philosophy at Belmont. After work in Australia and New Guinea, Dom Adrian spent the early part of the war working in Rome. Towards the end of 1917, however, he received permission from Abbot Hurley to volunteer as an army chaplain. For the next four years he was to be chaplain to the forces in the Middle East and Egypt. Dom Aidan Coyle was commissioned in October 1917 and left with the rank of major in 1919. Fr Coyle served in France and like other chaplains won the respect and affection of the officers and men he ministered to. For his devotion to his arduous and dangerous duties he was mentioned in despatches. Dom Clement Green served exactly a year as a chaplain, entering in May 1917 and leaving in May 1918 after service in France. Dom Raphael Ludford also entered in late 1917 and served in France. He was demobilised in 1920. Frs Ignatius Rice, Dominic Fennell and Anthony Jordan were all to be commissioned in the latter months of the war and all served on the Western Front. Their obituaries contain little detail of their military careers.

#### DOWNSIDE

In 1915 six monks from Downside were commissioned as army chaplains: Frs Oswald Berkeley, Norbert Birt, Bede Camm, Odo Langdale, Raymund Webster and Dominic Young. Dom Oswald was to serve for over three years in France as a chaplain with 17th Division, 52nd Brigade, and was promoted temporary Chaplain 3rd Class with the rank of Major. He was awarded the Military Cross for bravery and also mentioned in despatches several times. Of his effect on the troops it was written that ‘his unobtrusive earnestness drew soldiers to their religious observances which gave them confidence in danger.\* It may also have been his yellow two-wheeled cart drawn by his small pony nicknamed ‘the rat\* which endeared him to the men. The citation for the award of the Military Cross was as follows:

For excellent work with the 17th Division for the past two and a half years. During that period he has shared the hardships of front line life, although over 50 years of age. His unalterable cheerfulness under all circumstances has been an example to officers and men.

A chronic asthmatic, Fr Berkeley contracted pneumonia and was invalided out of the army.

Aged 54 on entering service for a second time, Dom Norbert Birt again served with distinction but this time as commissioned Chaplain at the Military Hospital, Netley, until he was demobilised in 1919. Such was the rate of casualties that Fr Birt, who was mentioned in despatches for his work, was in control of three hospitals

‘where he never spared himself night or day.\* Dom Bede Camm, who served from 1915 to 1919, was attached to the 27th General Hospital in Cairo and during his service, like Dunstan Sibley, was to participate in a unique military pilgrimage on the Feast of the Assumption, 1918. Following the capture of Jerusalem in December 1917 it was decided to hold a Catholic Congress or pilgrimage in the city. After many delays and just before another of Allenby\*’s offensives, over 1,500 selected allied Roman Catholic soldiers paraded to the Holy Places marshalled by Catholic chaplains and officers. The soldiers made their way along the Via Dolorosa and down a steep road where in front of them were the Garden of Gethsemane and the Tomb of the Blessed Virgin. Passing on they eventually came to the church of St Anne where Mass was celebrated. In the afternoon the soldiers followed the Way of the Cross and a chaplain preached at each station. The day ended with Benediction at which Fr Sibley played the organ.

From the Garrison Church at Mustapha, Alexandria, Fr Camm wrote about his work among the one thousand soldiers convalescing ~under canvas\* after wounds and illness. He had opened a club for the troops in the barracks ‘as it will keep the men out of the streets and public houses.\* He wrote to Downside, ‘as the only Downside chaplain in Egypt,\* for financial assistance. He had managed to get £25 from the General and £20 from the Camp Commandant but he needed £100. ‘Everything is so dear\* he wrote, ‘furniture, crockery, games, fuel and light and the rest.\* He was desperate for books, games and Catholic newspapers for the men for whom he nothing but praise: ‘They come magnificently to church and the Sacraments\*, he wrote.

In 1915 Dom Odo Langdale reported to Penkrige Camp, Cannock Chase, Staffordshire, and was then attached to the 3rd Brigade of Guards on the Western Front. He later served in France with the 13th battalion of the East Yorkshire Regiment and was demobilised in 1922 whilst attached to the Army of Occupation in Germany. Dom Raymund Webster also served in France with 12th King\*’s Royal Rifles as part of the 20th Division, 60 Brigade, but relinquished his commission after two years and was invalided out of the army following fifteen months\* service at the front. The heavy work (he had ministered to 497 injured Catholic soldiers in a twenty-nine hour period), for which he was physically and psychologically unfit, eventually took its toll on Fr Raymund and he made no secret of his distaste for chaplaincy work which became ‘repugnant\* to him. He was promoted to work at the Headquarters of 5th Army in December 1916 but pressed Rawlinson to be released. On his arrival in London ‘he was mistaken for a wounded hero and pelted with flowers by an enthusiastic crowd.\*

Dom Dominic Young was initially attached to the 4th London Ambulance but later joined HQ BEF and became assistant to Fr Rawlinson. Together with a few other Catholic priests he was to be responsible for the administration of all chaplains of the BEF except those of the Church of England. In February 1918, Abbot Butler wrote to Fr Rawlinson for the release of Fr Young. In response Fr Rawlinson wrote that Fr Young was responsible for the deployment of 800 chaplains of all denominations.

He is the only one who understands anything about it, besides myself.. Maj.Gen Simms (Principal Chaplain) relies heavily on him... and would put every difficulty in the way of his going. ..That the whole of the

P r i n c i p a l  
C h a p l a i n \* s

Department is  
being run by  
D o w n s i d e

would perhaps be also of some consideration to you.

No doubt Fr Rawlinson recognised the value of Dom Dominic to his own effectiveness as well. Fr Young was to receive the OBE, the DSO and was mentioned in despatches three times.

Of the two Downside monks who were commissioned in 1916 Dom Urban Butler was to serve in France and Italy and was promoted to the rank of Major. Born in 1882 and ordained in 1911, Dom Urban was from a military family. Initially attached to the 9th Battalion Cheshire Regiment, Fr Butler worked for seven months on the Western Front without leave. He was later transferred to the 4th Battalion Grenadier Guards of the 3rd Guards Brigade with the BEF and became Senior Catholic Chaplain to the British Army in Italy (48th Division) He was twice mentioned in despatches during 1918 and was later awarded the OBE.

Four other Downside monks, all aged under 30, entered service in 1917 and served in France- Frs Ambrose Agius, Paul Brookfield, Ferdinand Friend and Richard Davey. Abbot Butler, like his brother abbots, was well aware of the impact that the loss of such talented and able young men had on the monastic community, its parishes and schools. Writing to Fr Rawlinson in April 1917 for the release of Fr Webster, the Abbot informed him that thirteen monks were now serving as chaplains. Their absence, together with the loss of eight laymen, had left the school very short staffed.

Attached to the Field Artillery, Fr Agius wrote to Fr Rawlinson in May 1917 describing conditions under which so many chaplains bravely ministered to their men:

We had to hold the Hindenburg Line, with the Hun holding the same trench system on our right. The trenches were in a terrible mess, smashed up by our guns, with dead Huns sticking out of collapsed dugouts, and a litter of equipment, clothes and arms that beggars decription. As we went up the Hun began strafing. Two men and myself slipped into a shelter full of debris. We were glad of cover as the high explosives were dropping very close, on the parapet even, and before getting under cover we had been covered with earth.

Fr Agius, who was wounded on 26th September 1917 during the Battle of Polygon Wood, later gave an account of his short wartime experiences in the *Downside Review* under the romantic title ‘Christmas In Picardy\*’. His time at Passchendaele in late 1917, however, was ‘a period of continuous and considerable strain.\*’ In early December he was involved in the Battle of Cambrai and by Christmas Eve the weather was so cold that whist saying Mass in a tent ice formed in the chalice. On Christmas Day he went to say Mass only to find his ‘congregation\*’ had been sent elsewhere He eventually found them and celebrated Mass in a stable! Writing to Fr Rawlinson after the war when the latter was preparing a history of Catholic army chaplains, Dom Ambrose recalled the impact of the Last Sacrament:

In the piteous work of clearing up the wreckage of battle the chaplains found to their hand a potent instrument in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Easy and quick to apply, this Sacrament could help men beyond the reach of human aid and put to precious use the last, often agonizing moments of life. The physical *alleviations* which other chaplains - in default of more practical opportunities - busied themselves in applying, were useless at that stage. But the RC chaplains, not necessarily more patient, skilful, dedicated or courageous than their companions, could awake recognition in the last glimmer of consciousness and succour both

soul and body in the extreme crisis. No wonder that, as they worked in aid posts and dressing stations, they caught the glances, curious yet longing, and heard whispered words which brought home to them a realisation of the immensity of their privilege.

When Dom Ambrose left the army to return to Downside, Fr Rawlinson wrote to Abbot Butler that he had been an ‘exceptional chaplain\* who had performed ‘heroic and devoted work.\*

Fr Richard Davey was attached to the 2nd Royal Marine Light Infantry with the BEF and was astounded at the way in which he had to perform his ministry:

When I meet a person or find someone who has been slack I get him to go to confession on the spot. I hardly knew I possessed such cheek till I came out here.\*

He was able to report to Fr Rawlinson that he had over 300 Catholics in 188th Brigade, the great majority of whom ‘come to the Sacraments.\* In October 1917 Fr Davey\*’s work came to an end when he was wounded through the shoulder and invalided out.

The last monk of Downside to volunteer for duties as a military chaplain was Dom Roger Hudleston. Ordained in 1904, Dom Roger had been Headmaster of the school at Ealing Priory and editor of the *Downside Review*. He was commissioned in April 1918 and was demobilised a year later. Within that year, however, he had served in Salonika, Turkey, Georgia, Armenia, Kurdistan and Azerbaijan. Attached to the 81 Field Ambulance, he had been sent on a mission to Constantinople. From there he had travelled to Batum and then to Tiflis in Georgia ‘to keep the peace\* and where all the Russian names and signs had been defaced. Whilst in Tiflis he received notification of his demobilisation and a month later was back at Boulogne for his papers to be stamped:

I advanced gravely and camouflaged by that transforming consonant, I passed from khaki back to cowl again, to resume the task of ‘muddling through\*’ monastic life, in which my brief military career had furnished such a pleasant interlude.

#### FORT AUGUSTUS

Of the ten monks of Fort Augustus who served as military chaplains, six were army chaplains. Fr Lane-Fox had been commissioned in 1914 but it was not until 1917 that the next monk from Fort Augustus, Dom Ninian McDonald, entered army service. After seeing action in France with the Yorks and Lancs Brigade and serving at the 29th Stationary Hospital in Italy, and being mentioned in despatches, he was demobilised in 1922. In May 1918 Frs Ambrose Geoghegan, Francis Blackwell and David Parker were all commissioned and served in France. Attached to 291 H.Q. Royal Field Artillery, Fr Geoghegan was wounded on 17th August 1918. By 1920 they had all been demobilised. Dom Roderick Andrew McDonnell served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France. Born in 1870 of Scottish parents, Fr McDonnell was professed at Fort Augustus in 1889 and ordained in 1896. During the war he was attached to Fort Augustus and served with the Canadian Seaforths.

#### OTHER ABBEYS

From St Michael\*’s Abbey, Farnborough, Dom Michael Bertini was commissioned in 1917. Born in 1885 and ordained in 1913, Dom Michael served in France but died of

pneumonia on 30th September 1918. Dom Michael Guthrie of Quarr Abbey died of wounds on 24~” November 1916. He had been involved in the battle for Beaumont Hamel. Dom Augustine Keniry of St Augustine\*s, Ramsgate, entered in 1915 and served in France until August 1918 when he relinquished his commission. And from the Maredsous community at Erdington Abbey, Birmingham, Thomas Campbell and John Chapman were commissioned in 1915 and 1916 respectively. Dom Thomas served in Salonika whilst Dom John served in France with the 12th King\*s Liverpool Regiment. Fr Chapman later transferred his stability to Downside where he became fourth Abbot in 1929.

Despite the immense size of the Royal Navy there were only five RC chaplains attending to the spiritual needs of sailors in August 1914. To augment this pitiful number an army chaplain was dispatched to Scapa Flow and by the end of the year a further seven priests were appointed as full-time officiating chaplains. Of these, however, two were dead by the end of 1914. The situation was even more desperate than the shortage of army chaplains and it provoked a similar outrage among Catholics civilians and sailors. The Admiralty had always been reluctant to provide RC chaplains, commissioned or officiating, and none were allowed on warships. Whilst there were 233 Anglican chaplains to the Fleet afloat there was only one RC chaplain. Admitting the difficulty of ministering to seamen on scattered ships, Catholic opinion nevertheless complained bitterly about the situation. A press campaign was again waged by the Irish bishops and once again Cardinal Bourne, as ecclesiastical superior for naval chaplains, was their target. For his part, however, the Cardinal claimed that he had done all that he could to ensure spiritual support for Catholic sailors.

Although many were prepared to blame Bourne for no immediate improvement in the situation, it was obvious to many Catholics the Admiralty was as bigoted as it had been in the days of Bishop Grant and despite the many letters from sailors, their families and their chaplains, the establishment of Catholic naval chaplains was increased by derisory numbers, from five in 1914 to 31 at the end of the war.

#### BENEDICTINE NAVAL CHAPLAINS

The first chaplain of any faith in all the British services to die in World War 1 was Dom Basil Gwydir of Douai Abbey and St David\*s Priory, Swansea. Following his appointment as full-time officiating chaplain, Canon Gwydir worked at Rosyth and Queensferry and at the end of October 1914 departed for Portsmouth in the Home Fleet hospital ship *Rohilla* carrying sick and wounded seamen and marines. During a storm on October 30 the ship was wrecked off Whitby. Fr Gwydir remained on board with the wounded and was drowned with them.

Four monks of Fort Augustus served as naval chaplains. Dom Odo Blundell, had acted as officiating chaplain at Cromarty, Invergordon and Kirkwall since 1905 and in 1908, off the Isle of Arran, had the distinction of being the first Roman Catholic priest to say Mass on a Royal Navy ship on a home station since the days of King James 11. It became the custom among some captains to evade an official ruling and allow Mass to be celebrated on board but on the outbreak of war the Admiralty again re-issued the

order preventing this. The large number of Catholic officers, seamen and stokers in the Navy made no difference to their Lordships.

Immediately following the outbreak of hostilities Dom Odo wrote to Westminster for permission to include in his faculties heresy and censures attached to illicit marriages. Mgr Bidwell replied that despite Dom Odo's experience among seamen in Scotland such powers were reserved for the Holy Father. Undaunted, Dom Odo kept up the correspondence with Mgr Bidwell but his letters concentrated on the practical difficulties facing naval chaplains, a theme to be repeated by many of his colleagues throughout the war. In October 1914, from the hospital ship *Rohilia*, Dom Odo described the difficulty of ministering to forty or fifty ships which call into harbour, take on coal and then leave. In such a situation there was no opportunity for the priest to visit the ships or for individual confessions. However, his work was not entirely fruitless for in the following month, from *HMS Colossus* in the I ~ Battle Squadron, Dom Odo reported that 1,500 men had received Holy Communion after individual confessions. He also reported that there was still uncertainty and confusion regarding the Admiralty's rule which forbade *dissenting* public services as some captains allowed and had even requested RC chaplains to hold public services.

By 1916 six Roman Catholic chaplains were attached to 1st Battle Squadron and Dom Odo was anxious that the arrangement should not be disturbed. Roman Catholic chaplains, including Dom Odo, were certainly present at the Battle of Jutland, as one, Fr Stewart Phelan OMI, was killed when *HMS Black Prince* was sunk. After the war, Dom Odo was to write to Bishop Bidwell to remind him of the need to have the bravery of naval chaplains recognised:

I trust that you will allow me to express the hope that our title to Jutland and other war medals will be carefully watched. Such medals are of the greatest value in school work, in begging for churches, etc.

Three other monks of Fort Augustus entered service as naval chaplains in 1915. Dom Adrian Weld-Blundell served with **St** Battle Squadron and was then transferred to *HMS Queen Elizabeth* with the Eastern Mediterranean Fleet at the Dardanelles. He left the navy in July 1919. Dom Lawrence Mann served at Nigg Camp, then with 1st Cruiser Squadron, and in *H.M.S. Conqueror* with the **2nd** Battle Squadron in the North Sea. Fr Mann's appointment terminated in 1919 but he re-entered in 1920 and was placed on the retired list in October 1926. His commanding officers reported his assiduous approach to his duties and his popularity among the men. The men of *HMS Erin* presented Fr Mann with an inscribed chalice. Dom Wulstan Knowles entered service in 1915 and after carrying out his work at Invergordon 'very conscientiously and with considerable tact and efficiency' left the navy in 1920. Dom Stanislaus Chatterton of Downside entered service in 1915, served in *H.M.S. Ajax* with the Battle Squadrons at Scapa Flow, with the hospital ship *Drina 3*, and left the navy in 1919. Fr Stanislaus was Chaplain to *HAtS Hampshire* which carried Field Marshal Lord Kitchener on his last fatal, voyage in June 1916 but failed to get back to the ship from leave before she sailed.

In total, forty Roman Catholic priests served as chaplains to the Royal Navy and of these two were killed in action. Naval chaplains, like their army brethren, served God and their flock in a most fitting and glorious way in terrible conditions.

## THE END OF THE WAR

For Fr Rawlinson peace brought more, not fewer, problems. Provincials, abbots and bishops expected their priests back immediately but the shortage of Catholic chaplains meant that even though demobilization was in progress the number of chaplains was inadequate. Most pressing were the problems of the Benedictines and the Jesuits who had provided large numbers of men. The English and Irish Provinces of the Jesuits had given nearly eighty men and no Order or diocese had suffered greater casualties. To Fr John Wright, the Jesuit Provincial, Fr Rawlinson was fulsome in his praise:

The greatest consideration is due to the English Province.. .for the magnificent way in which they have responded to the needs of the Army.

In November 1918 Bishop Keatinge wrote to all bishops and superiors informing them that demobilization of military chaplains would be arranged according to military requirements. Regarding the BEF in France, Keatinge left the responsibility with Rawlinson: ‘As far as the BEF is concerned you must be the final judge to say whether or not they can be spared.\* When the Army of Occupation was established Keatinge urged the War Office to appoint Rawlinson as assistant to Dr Simms. It was vital, he wrote, to have an experienced RC chaplain in charge of RC chaplains at an operational level.

In February 1919 Abbot Wilson of Fort Augustus wrote to Rawlinson about the release of his priests. Rawlinson answered by stating that whilst he had some control over the demobilization in process in France he had none in England where it rested with Bishop Keatinge. The Abbot was advised to stress the ‘urgent civilian\* need of priests. In October 1919 Abbot Hurley of Douai wrote to Rawlinson expressing his great anxiety that unless his priests were released he would ‘have to let missions go.\* Whilst he was grateful for the return of Frs Collingwood and Fennell, of others he wrote, ‘I am afraid they are getting to be globetrotters.\* Fr Aidan Coyle certainly was for in November 1919 he was urging Rawlinson to have him posted to the Army of Occupation in Germany. Ambrose Byrne was serving in Germany in September 1919 and wrote to Rawlinson that he was happy ‘to remain here.\*

The urgency with which each abbot requested the return of his priests depended to some extent upon the size of the community and its commitments. Ampleforth, with eighty-one priests, still had four serving as chaplains in 1919. Belmont with thirteen priests in total also had four in service in 1919. Of seventy-two priests at Douai thirteen were serving in 1918 and ten were still in service the following year. In 1919 ten Downside priests out of a community total of seventy-four were still serving. Nine out of twenty-five priests from Fort Augustus were still serving in 1919.

Fr Rawlinson himself returned to Downside in July 1920. On demobilization he was Chaplain to the Forces First Class with the rank of Colonel. He was Assistant to the Principal Chaplain (BEF) and Senior Catholic Chaplain to the armies in France. In 1916 he had been created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. He was also awarded the O.B.E. in 1918, the French Legion of Honour, the Portuguese Order of Christ, and had been mentioned in despatches five times. Post-war letters from his former chaplains also testify to the high regard in which he was held among those with whom he worked.

Slowly but eventually all the monks of the English Benedictine Congregation were demobilized and returned to their abbeys. In 1919 Fr Lane-Fox returned to Fort Augustus but never wore the medals he had received. Such were the changes in his appearance that the girls in the village wept when they saw him as he had been the most handsome man in Fort Augustus before the war. By 1920 all had returned to Ampleforth; by 1921 all had returned to Belmont. The last chaplain returned to Douai in 1921 and to Downside in 1922. Erdington and Quarr received their brothers back in 1919 whilst the last chaplain of all to be demobilized, Dom Lawrence Mann, returned to Fort Augustus in October 1926.

### CONCLUSION

There is (writes Peter Liddle) some general understanding that the war eroded the religious beliefs of a great number, challenged and overcame them for a fair number, for some reaffirmed their faith and for others, far fewer in number, brought them for the first time into a positive spiritual conviction.

This was true of Catholic servicemen as of others. 2nd Lieutenant Cuthbert Fitzherbert, a Catholic officer of the Coldstream Guards, practised his religion at the front but was disappointed at the lack of response among the troops. Captain George Eyston thanked his mother for Mass offerings but continued 'I really am damn slack in my religious duties of late We drink a lot and swear a lot and share the awful discomforts and risks everyday.\* Conditions were so appalling that one man wrote 'only the devout Christian can hear the still, small voice above the cannon.\* And yet men did pray. Matania\* s painting of the Munsters on their way to Aubers Ridge in 1915 is a graphic illustration of the closeness of chaplain and men in prayer before battle. One padre wrote that prayer was a natural, impulsive cry for help. 'Men say their prayers before going into action. Some who come out safe never say them again till the next time they are in danger.\* Bede Camm\* s account of the pilgrimage in Jerusalem emphasised devotion among troops whilst Catholic officers recorded the piety, relief and thanksgiving among men before and after action. An officer of the Tyneside Irish wrote that 'the idea of death, sudden and violent, was impressed on one far better than by the most elequent Redemptorist retreat father.\* Durham pitmen were prepared to wait for three hours for the confessional. The example did not go unobserved. Dom Ambrose Byrne wrote of the 'disposition\* of non-Catholic men who were so near to death and *The Tablet* estimated 40,000 conversions to Catholicism on the Western Front during the war.

The role of the Catholic chaplain was a vital factor. For most, contact with their men was based on the particular social relationships of urban Catholicism. It was a relationship in which men wanted a priest nearby and appears to have none of the social acrimony which characterised relationships between other padres, particularly Anglicans, and their regiments. Dom Anthony Barnett referred to non-Catholics who were 'awed\* by his work; another Catholic chaplain wrote that men were happy to have him with them - they felt proud of his actions and missed him when he was not available. It was the willingness of most Catholic padres to share the privations and dangers of trench, warship and battle that earned them and their religion a respect not

easily won.

The conviction among Catholic men and their chaplains that the personal attention of priest to man was the essential part of their relationship was very strong and was not hidden from view. It was a relationship based on the power of the Sacraments, cynically described by a non-Catholic officer as a ‘tragic confidence of the ranks in the mechanical efficacy of pious observances.\* It was acknowledged from the beginning of the war that non-Catholic chaplains had little spiritual consolation to offer a wounded or dying man. Anglicans could not acquire ‘any miraculous aid from a parson on the battlefield\*, however brave or diligent that padre may be. One Anglican padre wrote that he had ‘hovered in seeming priestly impotence over miracles of cheerful patience lying on stretchers in dressing stations.\* For him there was no ‘magnetic incentive to endanger his life in the trenches.\* Fr Stephen Thornton, ‘a venerable white-haired old man with spectacles on the end of his nose\* serving with the Royal Naval Division in France wrote that ‘ a man wants to see his priest before he is dead.\* Brigadier Roe wrote that on the first day of the Somme on July 1, 1916, ‘Roman Catholic priests came into our trenches which were piled high with dead and dying soldiers to read the prayers for the dying.\* And in *Goodbye lo All* That Robert Graves wrote that ‘we never heard of one (Catholic chaplain) who failed to do all that was expected of him.\* And yet the priests endured the same physical and psychological stress as soldiers and sailors. ‘You will find me greyer if not quite white\*, wrote the Jesuit Fr Peal, ‘the sights we meet cannot but crush one.\* Another chaplain wrote that ‘the Somme was too much for me and I broke down.\*

Benedictine monks were among 810 Roman Catholic priests who served with the Army Chaplains\* Department during the First World War. At the end of the war 3,475 chaplains, including 649 Catholic chaplains were still serving. 172 chaplains of all denominations gave their lives. Of the 36 Catholic chaplains who died two were Benedictines. 41 Catholic priests served as Naval Chaplains, including 6 Benedictines. Of the two Naval Chaplains who died , one was a Benedictine monk. Benedictines, whether on active service abroad or on home stations, served in the same spirit as their brothers of other orders, dioceses, and denominations. Their motives for serving, like those of other chaplains, probably varied from young men wanting to experience the excitement of war like their contemporaries, to older men wishing to serve God and be of spiritual assistance to their fellow men in extra-ordinary circumstances Whatever their motives, the length and extent of their service was considerable, their bravery was exemplary, and the quality of their ministry was inestimable.

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APPENDIX  
 COMMISSIONED BENEDICTINE MILITARY CHAPLAINS  
 IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR

ABBHEY	MONK	START	FINISH
Ampleforth	W.S.Dawes	16 July 1914	14 Feb 1920
Ampleforth	H A Barnett	14 Nov 1914	18 July 192
Ampleforth	W V A Byrne	23 Mar 1916	23 Nov 1919
Ampleforth	A F Priniavesi	18 Dec 1917	5 Apr 1919
Belmont	A D Sibley	25 May 1915	23 Jun 1920
Belmont	C.W deNormanville	26 Oct 1915	1 Sep 1921
Belmont	A A Lightbound	11 Apr 1917	7 Jun 1919
Belmont	F A Baisseret	20 Jul 1917	29 Aug 1919
Douai	R.BGwydir #	Sep 1914	30 Oct 1914
Douai	J.M.Kelly	13 Nov 1914	13 Dec 1919
Douai	J.F.O'Shaughnessy	18 Nov 1914	20 Dec 1915
Douai	F A Webb	31 Aug1915	6 Mar 1918
Douai	W B Buggins	10 Mar1916	22 Mar 1919
Douai	B D Collingwood	20 May 1916	25 Oct 1919
Douai	W I Rice	8 May 1917	8 May 1918
Douai	T.C Green	22 May 1917	24 May 1918
Douai	J.A.Coyle	30 Oct1917	3 Dec 1919
Douai	W R Ludford	1 Nov 1917	4 Aug 1920
Douai	J A Coughuin	8 Nov 1917	21 Oct 1921
Douai	A A Jordan	15 May 1918	20 Mar 191
Douai	E.D.Fennell	13 Aug 1918	10 Nov 1919
Downside	B.S Rawlinson	5 Sep 1914	14 Jul 1920
Downside	S.D.Young	1 Feb 1915	7 Aug 1919
Downside	HJ.Chapman	2 Jun1915	17 Mar 191
Downside	D.R.Webster	5 Jul 1915	5 Jul 1917
Downside	H N Birt	6 Aug1915	8 July 191
Downside	R.B Camm	21 Aug 1915	2 Jan 1919
Downside	G.O.Langdale	23 Oct 1915	1 Apr 1922
Downside	R.U.Butler	8 Mar 1916	1 Apr 1922
Downside	J O Berkeley	26 May 1916	28 Nov 1918
Downside	T A Agius	17 Apr1917	18 Apr 1918
Downside	J R Davey	17 Apr 1917	18 Apr 1918
Downside	P P Brookfield	17 Apr1917	16 Apr 1917
Downside	F F Friend	1 May 1917	31 Mar 191
Downside	G.R.Hudleston	25 Sep 1918	30 Apr 1919
Downside	S Chatterton	Aug 1914	19 Jul 1919
Erdington	T.Campbell	5 Jun 1916	21 Aug 1919

Farnborough	M.Bertini *	2 May 1917	30 Sep 1918
Fort Augustus	R J.Lane-Fox	21 Sep 1914	1 Mar 1919
Fort Augustus	J.N.MacDonnell	1 May 1917	1 Apr 1922
Fort Augustus	W.F.Blackwell	7 May 1918	10 Apr 1919
Fort Augustus	J D Parker	14 May 1918	29 Nov 1918
Fort Augustus	A A Geoghegan	7 May 1918	27 Apr 1920
Fort Augustus	W.Knowles	1917	15 Jun 1920
Fort Augustus	L.Mann	1914	7 Oct 1926
Fort Augustus	A.Weld-Blundell	1914	26 Jul 1919
Fort Augustus	O Weld-Blundell	Aug 1914	
Quarr	M Guthrie +	7 Apr 1916	21 Nov 1916
Quarr	A Palmer	1 Dec 1917	28 Feb 1919
Ramsgate	A Keniry	5 Oct 1915	13 Aug 1918

\* Died on active service + Died of wounds # Drowned on active service

#### SERVING ON HOMES BASES

Ampleforth	V.Corbishley	Military Hospital, Winnick
Ampleforth	I Barton	Military Hospital, Warrington
Ampleforth	I.Williams	Military Hospital, Hovingham
Ampleforth		German P.O.W.s
Douai	B MacKinlay	Military Hospital, Ormskirk
Douai	L.Baines	Military Hospital, Horton
Douai	B.Ryan	Military Hospital, Cheltenham
Douai	D Ryan	Military Hospital, Mortimer
Douai	G.Green	Military Hospital, Frizington
Douai	O.Campbell	Military Hospital, Toucher
Douai	J.Murty	Military Hospital, Basildon
Douai	I Webb	Military Hospital, Hartley
Fort Augustus	C.Edmonds	Cromarty, Nigg Naval District
Fort Augustus	A.Kirk	Home bases, Canadian Forces
Quarr	A.Palmer	Home bases