

THE CORDEAUX YEARS*

By Ian Bruce

Governor Gallwey's term of office ended on 10 September 1911, Dr Wilberforce Arnold being sworn in as acting governor just after midday and Gallwey sailing to London the same afternoon to take up his new appointment as governor of Gambia. Captain Harry Edward Spiller Cordeaux had been too ill to take up his appointment as governor of Uganda in 1910 and was eventually appointed to the same position at St Helena in December 1911. He delayed his arrival until 21 February 1912, when he was swiftly sworn in as Governor. He was promoted to the rank of Major in July and married Maud Dundas (widow, daughter of Hon. George Wentworth-Fitzwilliam) at St Paul's on 2 October 1912. Unusually, she was given an "Address of Welcome to the Bride Elect" on her arrival at St Helena.¹ The St Helena Guardian newspaper doubtless had many of its readers scrambling for their dictionaries when it described the bride as "the cynosure of all eyes". The choral service was jointly conducted by Bishop Holbech and Canon Porter. After the service, Cordeaux lost no time whisking his new wife back to Plantation House, the wedding reception being held several days later. The last marriage by a serving governor at St Helena was between Sir Patrick Ross and Eliza Bennett on 27 December 1849, also at the Cathedral.²



Governor Cordeaux³

* This article excludes several subjects such as the Papanui disaster and the progress of the fish and lace industries during the period, which will be separately reviewed.

Incomes only grew slightly during Cordeaux's period and were far exceeded by a rampant increase in the cost of living, especially during the war years. Neither incomes nor inflation were indexed or measured with any accuracy, so the figures quoted in government reports were merely indicative. In 1913, average labourer wages were about 1s/9d a day but the following year rose to a minimum of 2s a day in Jamestown as a work arising from a major project to upgrade the wharf.⁴ Against this, it was reported that the cost of living had grown by some 40%, with significant rises in the cost of staple foods. This was partly blamed on hoarding. Cordeaux therefore issued a proclamation on 13 November that limited the maximum retail price of essential foods such as flour, bread, canned milk and salted meat. The regular reissuing of food price proclamations became a regular feature during the war. The cost of locally caught fish doubled in 1914. Whilst acknowledging there were fewer fish in the sea that year, Cordeaux still found grounds for criticism, "the fisherman class has deteriorated, both in numbers and in energy and resource". His implication that the fishermen were lazy was wrong – they were running a cartel whereby prices were maximised by limiting the size of their catches, this having been a feature of industry for at least a century, John Barnes alluding to the problem in 1817.⁵

Throughout the early part of the war, the leading retailers had refused Cordeaux's appeals to import greater quantities of essential foods. Because of food shortages, there was a degree of hoarding and prices began to rise rapidly. The government issued a series of proclamations controlling prices, but shortages continued. In October and November 1917 there was a complete absence of many essential foods on the island and has been described as a period of actual starvation. Dixon reported: "This however was looked upon as the fortune of war by the poorer classes, who bore it without grumbling, and it is pleasant to record the fact that there were no disturbances or demonstrations of any sort". The following month permission was given by the Colonial Office for Dixon the importation of six months of supplies. He expected the leading merchants to finance this, a suggestion that was declined and seems to not to have understood the problems of cash flow, the lack of storage space or the difficulty of long-term protection of foods at St Helena from insects, rodents, humidity and heat. The government had the monopoly of supply and Dixon's tight controls in supplying the retailers proved so unpopular that a public meeting on 27 June 1918 voted to petition London that the acting governor to be recalled.

Food shortages were significantly worsened by the loss of good agricultural land to the flax (Phormium tenax) industry and increased dependence of imports, especially during the war with less frequent visits by ships. Governor Gallwey had opened the first new flax mill at Longwood in December 1907 with the words, "[...] may the throb of the engine and the song of the stripping machine be long heard in the land".⁶ The mill was run by the government in the hope it would provide a model for private enterprise to copy. In the event it exemplified the worst way of running the industry. Either Governor Gallwey did not understand his own figures or was under pressure from the Colonial Office to show quick results. For whatever reason, he embarked on a reckless hell for leather production, processing all the available flax crops at such a rate that the flax fields were stripped before new plantings could reach maturity. Some 250 acres of flax were available to when Longwood Mill opened, enough to produce about 300 tons of finished fibre. It took about three years for newly planted flax to reach maturity, so Gallwey knew average annual output of finished fibre from the mill should not exceeded 100 tons a year in the first three years of operation. In the event, Gallwey oversaw the manufacture and export of 334.5 tons of finished fibre (including tow) in the first two years to the end of 1909.

Longwood Mill was therefore forced to close its doors, throwing men and women out of work, for eight out of 24 months in 1910-11. In those years, only 59.5 and 26.5 tons of fibre were respectively exported. In desperation, the mill processed immature leaves but this was abandoned when it was proved this could only be done at a loss because it took the same time and effort to process each leaf for an unviable yield. Only when new plantings reached maturity did operations return to normality in 1912 when 149.5 tons of fibre and tow were produced. Output increased to 219.5 and 347 tons respectively in 1913 and 1914, aided by more plantings and the increased processing capacity that followed the opening of a privately-run mill at Bamboo Hedge (Sandy Bay district) in July 1913 by Solomon.

Governor Cordeaux strove to further expand plantations of flax, a policy that was relentlessly pursued until the end of the First World War. Governor Gallwey's enthusiasm to expand flax plantations had

known no bound when in a report he cited “[...] a gentleman farmer in the Colony, whose opinion was well worth having, considered that at least 50,000 tons of green leaves could be grown annually at St Helena on certain waste lands that were then unproductive”.⁷ Even if the fact that flax grown in poor soil takes longer than three years to reach maturity is ignored, from other figures quoted in his same report Gallwey was here suggesting that 15,000 acres be planted with flax. Governor Cordeaux continued to pursue Gallwey’s enthusiastic approach to expand flax plantations, no consideration being given to either the island’s ability to feed itself or its ecology. Pressure on landowners to increase their acreage to flax came not just from the government but the media too, the St Helena Guardian commenting in 1913: “[...] the flax industry is fairly started, and if only landowners would go in for planting flax on a larger scale there is no reason why two more mills at least should not be running in 5 years time and the fibre exported be 50 tons each month [...]”.⁸

In 1914, Cordeaux made available some 25 grants of Crown waste land (26 acres) suitable for flax planting “by the poorer class”. Pre-war London prices for St Helena’s fibre ranged between £24-28 per ton, but prices had risen to an average of over £32 per ton by 1915, by which time some 730 acres of land had been planted with flax. The government and Solomon’s mills exported 395 tons that year and this increased to 472 tons in 1916, reflecting the impact of a third mill opened in July by large landowners, the Deason brothers at Hutts Gate. By now, London prices had risen to nearly £49 per ton and there were good profits to be had by mill and landowners. Some 750 acres of land had now been planted.

The island was never self-sufficient in food, and 1916 Cordeaux’s annual report to the Colonial Office contained contradictory comments, commenting on the progress to expand flax plantations with an expression of concern that good farming land was being lost: “[...] the breaking up of fresh ground for that purpose [of growing flax] will, it is hoped, lead to greater cultivation of foodstuffs whilst the flax plants are yet young”. This seems to be more an expression of hope than anything, and nothing has been found that shows the government ever followed up on this idea of mixing food and flax plants on the same land. Solomon opened their second mill at Broadbottom in April 1917. With four mills now running, fibre exports almost doubled to 742 tons. Prices in London were extremely buoyant, standing at an average level of over £81. By now, some 900 acres of land had been planted with flax. For the first time in the island’s history, the value of its exports exceeded its imports, a feat that was to be repeated in 1918.

By 1918, flax plantations had increased to about 1,000 acres of land, reflecting strong demand for island fibre during the war years. The statutory power to preserve good agricultural land for food production or to protect vulnerable native endemic species was always available to the island government, yet there is no evidence such action was taken during the Cordeaux period. Such controls would have been unpopular amongst the few elite islanders who were profiting from the new industry but would have been justified by the food shortages suffered during the war. Only in 1918 did Acting Governor Dixon express his concern that indigenous plants had been cleared from areas of the ridge and replaced with flax, but his anxiety merely reflected anxiety that this might affect supplies of water due to reduced rainfall.

Only in 1919 was official concern expressed that the flax plantations had further decreased the island’s capacity to feed itself. This coincided with a year of food shortages and Governor Cordeaux, who had returned from a two-year leave of absence, decided to heap all blame for the situation on the landowners: “The high prices obtained for fibre have, not unnaturally, stimulated the planting of flax to an almost reckless degree, to the neglect of other forms of agriculture, with the result that the greater portion of the money brought into the Island by the flax industry goes out again to pay for costly imported foodstuffs, many of which or their substitutes could be produced locally”.⁹

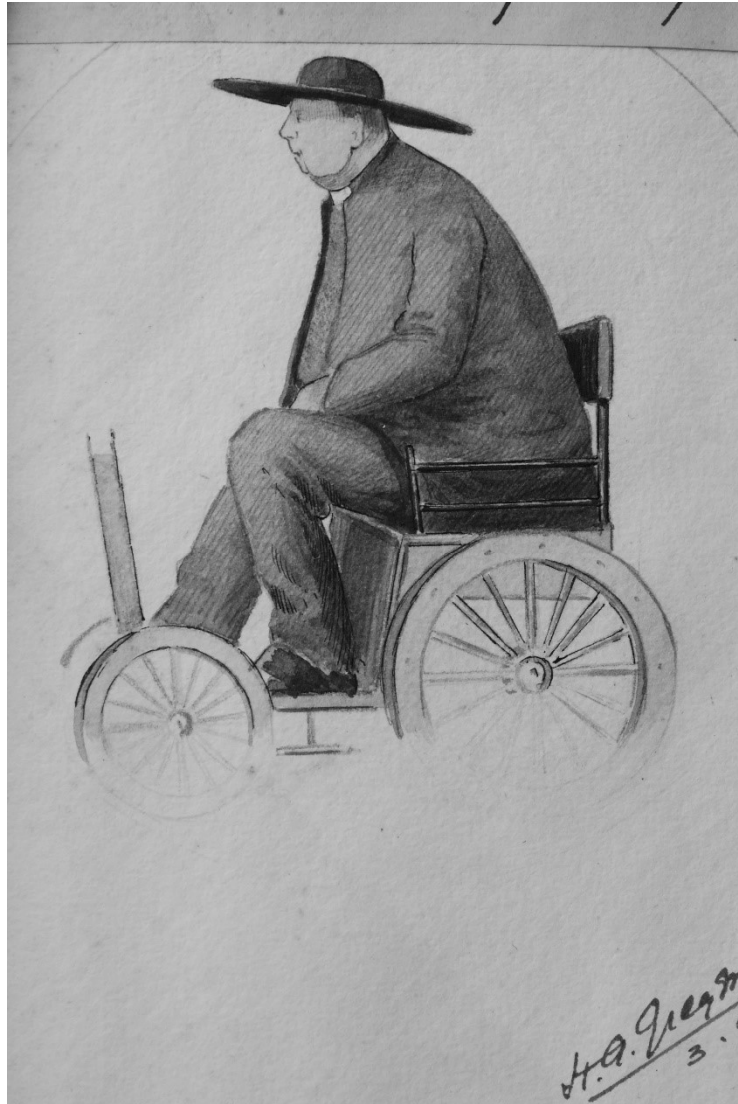
In truth, the island government was at least equally responsible for the situation. This rewriting of history was all too successful, Philip Gosse following the same attribution of blame, except he went on to misquote Cordeaux and suggested the entire population profited from the war: “Meanwhile, stimulated by the fantastic prices paid for it, the St Helenians grew reckless over their planting of flax,

and gave up growing anything else. They made a lot of money, but most of it had to be spent buying, at fancy prices, things to eat which before the flax boom they had grown for themselves”.¹⁰

Gosse should have paid greater attention to other statements in Cordeaux’s 1919 report that the cost of living grew at such a rate that “the cost of essential foodstuffs greatly increased during the year under review, and as there was no increase in the rate of wages it is difficult to understand how the labouring classes exist.” Again, in 1920, Cordeaux commented: “The cost of clothing during the year was also abnormal, many people went barefoot who had never done so before”. This was hardly the image of false prosperity portrayed by Gosse.

The Anglican church at St Helena was led by Bishop William Holbech (appointed in 1905) throughout the Cordeaux period, continuing at his post until his death in England in 1930. Holbech’s efforts in founding the St Helena Lacemaking Association about 1906 have yet to receive proper recognition by historians. He also appointed Lawrence Walcott as Vicar of Jamestown in 1909, but faced objections and resignations by churchwardens at both St Paul’s and St Matthew’s when Walcott took a service at the latter church. This was based on Walcott’s racial origin – he was the son of a West Indian barrister father and an English mother. Some 515 Jamestown parishioners signed a petition in support of Walcott, asking Holbech to “frustrate any wicked design against our much respected Vicar”. This did not entirely inhibit hostility to Walcott, especially at St Matthew’s Church. Walcott formed the first Jamestown Troop of Boy Scouts in 1915, the movement having been inaugurated at Plantation House three years earlier at the instigation of the Duke of Connaught, Dominion Chief Scout, who had visited the island in October 1910. Canon Walcott’s wife Winifred likewise formed the first Girl Guide troop in June 1921, although at least one source has claimed this was the inspiration of the wife of Bishop Aylen in the 1930s.¹¹

Several legal prosecutions occurred during the Cordeaux period. One case, not reported at St Helena, was the trial of the Reverend Father Daine, who worked on the island between 1891-1906 as its Catholic priest and chaplain to the troops and prisoners during Boer war period. In March 1912, aged 59 he was found guilty at Leeds Crown Court of gross indecency against a 14-year-old boy employed as a page and sentenced to ten years imprisonment at Wakefield Prison.¹² In his history of South Atlantic island churches, Bishop Cannan described Daine as “somewhat eccentric” with claims of being related to the Portuguese Royal family.¹³ In his trial Daine claimed to be the uncle of King Manuel of Portugal, his name being entered as Ferdinand Louis Maria John Henry Daine, de Saxe and Braganza. Daine was represented by Edward Marshall Hall, but even with this famous defence barrister on his side the jury pronounced a guilty verdict without even leaving their box.¹⁴



Father Daine on his carriage

After a glittering career within the island government, James Homagee finally retired as the manager of the island's savings bank in 1917. Serious discrepancies were found in the accounts and in February 1919 Homagee was convicted of embezzling £4,828-13s. He died shortly afterwards in August.¹⁵

Magic lantern shows were being presented on St Helena from at least 1900 onwards.¹⁶ The earliest known example of moving films shown to a public audience was a bioscope provided by William A. Thorpe in 1914 at the Rickmer's building in Jamestown.¹⁷ The film would have been hand-cranked but it is not known whether images were projected onto a screen, as exemplified by the Charles Urban Trading Company, or viewed directly through lenses placed around the perimeter of the instrument.¹⁸ Brass bands were always popular on the island life and the demise of the W. D. Grant band a new group was founded by Thomas R. Bruce (Postmaster) in February 1910. This performed in several locations, most often under the trees on Main Street, in the public park, at Plantation House and occasionally on the Post Office balcony. Outdoor performances were often timed to coincide with the full moon periods so that musical scores could more easily be read.

In early 1914, the French government agreed to the repair and redecoration of Napoleon's residence, Longwood House, and this work was undertaken the following year.¹⁹ Sharing a common assumption that St Helena's latitude resulted in a hot and steamy climate, Professor Keith of the Royal College of Surgeons gave a lecture in 1913 that claimed clear proof that, in addition to gastric cancer, Longwood's "unhealthy tropical conditions" contributed to his death.

[...] it is easy to see, with our modern knowledge of tropical diseases, that the Emperor was the victim of a general infection. [...] It is not wonderful that he became so infected, for the sources of disease abounded. Mosquitoes buzzed around him, the water which he drank was carried from a distance and stored in open vessels. We know that some of the water sources were infected. In November 1817, the convict ship *Friendship* came into the harbour of Jamestown with all on board well when she arrived. She took in water and in ten days over 100 of the convicts were prostrate with attacks of diarrhoea and fever, similar to those which overtook Napoleon. There were goats in St Helena and rats abounded at Longwood, both of them possible carriers of infection.²⁰

Keith also dismissed claims that the surgeon Francesco Antommarchi surreptitiously sliced off a section or the whole of Napoleon's flaccid sexual appendage during his post-mortem examination of the Emperor. Napoleon's valet Mameluck Ali had claimed in his memoir published in 1852 that this organ was removed and smuggled out the island. Keith argued that there were simply too many witnesses to allow this to happen and that Assistant Surgeon Rutledge was afterwards under instructions "[...] not to lose sight of the body or the vase [containing body parts], to take care and not to permit of the cavities being opened a second time for the purpose of the removal of any part of the body". The British witnesses included five doctors, two assistant surgeons and three officers. Six French witnesses were also in attendance. Keith's views do not seem to have inhibited the auction five years later in London of "a mummified tendon taken from [Napoleon's] body during post-mortem" by relatives of Napoleon's chaplain, Abbé Ange Vignali.²¹ This item has been several times been sold, its last known owner being a urologist in America.²²

In the run-up to the war and at the height of the suffragette movement, several politicians suggested that convicted members of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) would be far less troublesome if exiled to St Helena. The mood of the times was well caught by a cartoon based on Orchardson's portrait of the Bellerophon, Napoleon and his companions dressing as suffragettes.²³



In Britain, the Representation of the People Act was passed on 6 February 1918 which finally gave women over 30 who met minimum property qualifications the right to vote at elections. This was extended in 1928 to all women over 21. Other parts of the Empire made much faster progress on female voting rights, all women in New Zealand getting the vote as early as 1893. Alas, despite vociferous demands dating back to the 1850s that the island's government should be representative of its population, universal suffrage for either sex did not reach St Helena until 1962 when the Advisory Council (Elections) Ordinance was passed.²⁴ The slow and tortuous process at St Helena that preceded this has been well described by Alexander Schulenburg.²⁵

Shortly before the First World War, St Helena was suggested as an ideal place to send Irish militants. Reports of German atrocities in Belgium in the first weeks of the war also prompted calls for the Kaiser to be sent to the island. This idea was repeatedly suggested during the war, but at its end it was reported that many French regarded the possibility of the Kaiser's presence on the island an insult to Napoleon's memory.²⁶

In 1915, the Colonial Office drew up plans to deport "undesirable persons" from Egypt to the island. This progressed to the point of shipping a Royal Marine officer from Britain as Camp Adjutant and the installation of wooden huts for the prisoners. However, these plans came to nothing and the island government was eventually instructed to clear the camp and sell off the huts.

On 4 August 1917 arrived an unexpected party of exiles at St Helena headed by Sayyid Khalid bin Barghash bin Sa'id Al-BuSa known by his supporters as the Sultan of Zanzibar and by the British authorities as the Pretender. Khalid was the first cousin of the fifth Sultan of Zanzibar, Sheikh Hamad bin Thuwaini Al-Busaid. The latter declared Zanzibar a British protectorate on terms that gave Britain a veto on the succession. However, the Sultan died unexpectedly on 25 August 1896, several sources suggesting he was poisoned by Khalid. Certainly, Khalid immediately pronounced himself the sixth Sultan. The British disapproved, he was not their choice, and two days later their gunboats bombarded the palace. After an action that lasted less than 45 minutes, the ships were notified that Khalid had left his palace, and taken refuge in the nearby German consulate. This is often cited as the shortest war in recorded history. He later stepped directly from the consular grounds onto a German war vessel and was transported to German East Africa (modern day Tanzania) where he lived for the next two decades.²⁷

When captured by British forces in 1917 during the East African Campaign, it was deemed necessary to remove him from the African continent.²⁸ The rationale for this is not obvious - by this date, he had little support in Zanzibar and was a threat to no one. The decision may have reflected the sensitivities of the ninth Sultan of Zanzibar who later voiced his objection to Khalid's early release from St Helena. Khalid and a retinue of family and supporters left East Africa on 22 June and were shipped to Durban. From there, he boarded the SS Berwick Castle arriving at the island with an entourage of 25 (two wives, children, relatives, servants and an interpreter).

Amongst the arrivals were three political exiles from Kenya including Sebe and Ayouls bin Mbaruk, sons of Mbaruk bin Rashid of Gasi. The latter was a Mazrui chief, who had resisted the British creation of the East Africa Protectorate in 1895 from the East African coastal strip of Kenya, including Mombassa.²⁹ This began over a dispute about the succession within the Mazrui clan, the British intervening against the wishes of the Muslim majority. Mbaruk flew a German flag and supplied his men with arms given by Germans. The British brought troops from India and it took nine months of hard fighting to subdue the uprising. Mbaruk caused greater problems for the British in Kenya than Khalid in Zanzibar. Ultimately, the result was the same, Mbaruk and his sons taking refuge in German East Africa where he died. Like Khalid, these sons were captured when the British invaded German East Africa.

Governor Cordeaux had cabled London the previous March to confirm he could arrange to receive the exiles, but later that month left the island for his sick leave and seems not to have informed acting

governor Dixon. The latter complained the arrival of these exiles was entirely unexpected and in the absence of any instructions had placed them in military custody under guard in the lower block of the Officers Quarters (today Pilling School). Had the Colonial Office not instructed the disposal of the camp for the Egyptian “undesirables”, Dixon would presumably have housed Khalid’s party there.³⁰



Bundesarchiv, Bild 105-D04009
Foto: Dabbertin, Weither | 1908/1918

Sayyid Khalid, “Pretender” of Zanzibar³¹

Dixon imposed a stringent eleven-point set of rules. These required the exiles to immediately obey instructions by the officer in charge, confine themselves strictly to their grounds, and maintain all rooms, passages (subject to twice-weekly inspections) and the yard (inspected daily) in a scrupulously clean condition. They were also told to refrain from any communications outside their own party and to limit their food consumption to a full ration for the men, a half for women and quarter rations for children. Correspondence from 1920 reveals that the annual budget to feed and clothe all the exiles was only £120. This compares with a budget of £12,000 (at early nineteenth century prices) for Napoleon’s party of 28 French exiles – Napoleon complained this was insufficient and demanded £20,000. Dixon also imposed censorship restrictions on the St Helena Guardian from publishing anything about the exiles, ordering that complete copies had to be censored before being printed. On 25 October 1917, the newspaper notified its readers about this without explanation, presumably because this would have been censured. Given the speed with which news is still verbally exchanged on the island, it is debatable whether the government gained very much from its action. This secrecy says much about the military minds then controlling the island. In one respect the policy was all too successful, very little information about Khalid and his party today existing in the Jamestown archives.³²

Khalid sent several appeals to be allowed to return to East Africa, never asking to go to Zanzibar. The first in December 1918 comprised three pages of Arabic addressed to King George V and lamented

“We cannot live on this island because we are people from East Africa, the climate of this island is not agreeable to us and it is dangerous to our lives, and there no Muslims [...]”. It is not known whether any response was given to this. A second appeal was sent to Governor Cordeaux in October 1919, who by now had returned to the island: “[...] there are no Muslims or mosque or a Muslim who makes the necessary Muslim’s affairs when one dies, to be found on this island of St Helena. [...] If my above request is not granted I beg the government to permit my women and children to return to their home so that they may not neglect their religious usages for my sake.” Based on the advice of Major F.B. Pearce, the first Resident in Zanzibar, this was rejected because the ninth Sultan Khalifa II bin Harub Al-Said was opposed to the return of Khalid to the African continent. Khalid and his companions continued to languish in their quarters until 11 February 1921 when the Secretary of State for the Colonies ordered that Khalid’s party, now numbering 21, should be shipped to the Seychelles, located in the Indian Ocean some 1,250 miles from the Kenyan coast. By this date, the Seychelles was awash with other royal exiles including Otumfuo Nana Prempeh I, King of Ashanti exiled in 1896; Musa Mollah, King of Fullader, exiled from Gambia in 1916 for enforcing slavery and Chwa II Kabalega, King of Bunyoro in Uganda and exiled in 1899.³³ The climate here was presumably more equitable, although the Muslim faith was no more practised at the Seychelles than at St Helena. The British believed Khalid was in possession of money or other valuables because at the Seychelles he was given no money to feed or support his party. He appealed that all his assets were in East Africa and inaccessible. In April 1922 a decision was made to send him to Mombassa, Kenya, where he died on 19 March 1927 at the age of 53.

The War office had withdrawn the island garrison in 1906 and thrown the island into an economic crisis. The saving was small and the decision also made little military sense because it was an important Admiralty coaling point and its telegraphic cable station was an essential part of Britain’s worldwide communications, yet for five years the island was left entirely undefended. Within months of Cordeaux’s arrival, questions were being asked in Parliament about the island’s vulnerability to attack in an increasingly dangerous world. With the appointment of Winston Churchill as First Lord in October 1911, the Admiralty took over responsibility for the defence of all the Atlantic islands. A small detachment of Royal Marines Artillery (Captain G. Mathew and 15 other ranks) sailed from Portsmouth, arriving 27 December. They manned two 6-inch guns with a firing range of up to four miles that had been delivered to St Helena in 1903. The gunners practised firing at targets out at sea or blind to Prosperous Bay Plain over the island from gun placements at Ladder Hill and Munden’s. Recent investigations suggest that, with only two guns at Ladder Hill Fort, one was regularly stripped down, the components taken to Munden’s and then reassembled. After firing a test round, it was broken down again and transported back to Ladder Hill for reassembly. The Ladder Hill complex included a command centre midway between these two points and underground magazines beside each gun, complete with mechanical shell hoists. The number of Marines rose to 49 in 1912 and 56 in 1913. Post war, a contingent of least several marines stayed on the island until 1938, but they were sent back again the following year.³⁴

To counter the vulnerability of Britain’s worldwide network of telegraphic cables, the Colonial Office contracted Marconi to erect an alternative communications system based on a chain of powerful wireless stations, including one at St Helena. Parliamentary approval for this was given in August 1912. Ordinance No 7 was therefore passed at St Helena the following October. This banned wireless transmissions in the harbour or, if in territorial waters, of a nature likely to cause interference with signals from the island. In the event, this network of Imperial wireless stations was not created until after the war, the project not being helped by accusations of insider trading when politicians such as Lloyd George bought Marconi shares before the contract was agreed. All communications passing through St Helena continued to be channelled through the telegraphic cable. Radio messages were limited to a small Morse code station run by the Royal Marines from Ladder Hill Fort, presumably to signal passing ships. These transmissions were probably rather weak, ever more stringent regulations being imposed to minimise radio interference from incoming ships. Restrictions imposed in May 1917 were on the edge of being neurotic - not only were ships in harbour ordered to unplug aerial wires from their radios but also to hang the plug-ends onto the main rigging. Additionally, physical access to the equipment was denied to the crew, the harbour master being required to seal the doors of radio rooms

of all ships in harbour. The military radio station was dismantled in 1920 without regard to its civil value. The St Helena Guardian protested:³⁵

It is a great pity that the Wireless Station in use here during the war has been dismantled. Situated as we are in the midst of the South Atlantic, it is a matter of surprise to visitors that we have no wireless installation for the purpose of communicating with ships.³⁶

Improvements were also made to improve internal communications. Telephone lines used by the garrison had been integrated into the civil system when troops were withdrawn in 1906. A total of 574 telephonic messages were recorded in 1914 between 17 phones (14 being privately owned) using 40 miles of cable. This system was initially shared with the military after the restoration of the garrison that year. After “a certain amount of friction having occurred with the Civil Authorities” the civil and military systems were separated. The army at once laid 4 miles of additional telephone cabling in November 1914 and an additional 20 miles of cable was ordered from South Africa.³⁷

The stupendous arrival on 2 February 1914 of a squadron of three German battleships (Kaiser, König Albert [both later scuttled at Scapa Flow in 1919] and Strassburg) en-route to Rio de Janeiro brought home to islanders their vulnerability to naval attack or invasion. In July 1914, Governor Cordeaux asked the Colonial Office what added steps should be taken to protect the island in the event of war. The Admiralty and War Office suggested the formation of a local volunteer force to defend the island until a regular garrison could be restored with troops sent from Britain and South Africa.

News that Britain had declared war against Germany on 4 August 1914 arrived by cable at St Helena in the early hours of the following day. Martial law was at once declared and an island militia volunteers, the St Helena Volunteer Rifles, was formed within a few days under the command of Captain Mathew. This local force initially formed three officers and 100 men. Local militias were nothing new at St Helena being a feature of East India Company control from 1659. The local militia force was renamed Volunteers from 1802 onward and an ordinance giving governors the power to form a force of Volunteers in times of emergency was first enacted in 1854, being updated several times thereafter.³⁸

Many St Helenians recruited into the new Volunteers had previously been members of the Volunteer Sharpshooters during the Boer War. This trained “a number of the inhabitants of the Island to the use of the rifle so that their services in time of war may be available for the defence of the Island”.³⁹ The Volunteers never fired their rifles in anger during the First World War, and were mainly employed as lookouts. By 1915, the locally recruited force included 140 full-time Volunteers and a Supernumerary Section of 150 men held in reserve who, in addition to their usual jobs, also received training.

The St Helenian war dead are commemorated by the Bridge memorial clock, erected by public subscription. Based on a comparison of populations, St Helena’s contribution to the war and the scale of its losses was greater than that suffered by South Africa. A display in the porch of St Paul’s Cathedral lists some 46 St Helenians who volunteered to travel abroad at their own expense to fight abroad. An asterisk has been placed against the names of four men who were killed. Confusingly, the cenotaph on the wharf quotes six names, four of which are different from the list at St Paul’s. The cenotaph includes a Volunteer who died at St Helena and another who died in the Royal Navy several years after the war. Combining these lists, the names are as follows:⁴⁰

Percy John Broadway, died 19 July 1915, Gallipoli (St Paul).
James Basset Graham, died 20 November 1916, Colincamp (cenotaph).
Cavalla Isaac Grey, died 12 August 1916, Somme (St Paul/cenotaph).
James Edwin Nathaniel Joshua, died 27 November 1917, SS Camellia (cenotaph).
James Robert Moyce, died 4 May 1915, St Helena Volunteer Rifles (cenotaph).
John Joseph Riley, death details not found (St Paul).
George Edward Scipio, MM, died 20 August 1917, Ypres (St Paul/cenotaph).
Henry Seale, died 6 February 1921, HMS Birmingham (cenotaph).

As was the case throughout the empire, considerable pressure was put on young men to travel overseas and fight for King and Country. Coincident with an appeal to the Empire in 1915 by George V for “men of all classes, to come forward voluntarily and take your share in the fight” the St Helena Guardian published the following appeal.⁴¹

YOUNG MEN of St. Helena - all ye who are budding into manhood - your King appeals to you to come forward and join your brothers who are fighting for Freedom and Justice; then make up your minds and show not only to your King and Country but to the civilized world that you are true sons of the Empire by readily responding to the Call to Arms. The Mother Country has protected your hearths and homes for very many years, and made you a free people; therefore it is to your future wellbeing that you should give all the help you possibly can to bring this terrible war to a speedy termination. Rouse, then, brothers, rouse! Quit yourselves like men, and go forth to battle with the common enemy, and do that which is your bounden duty to do - fight for the Empire who has done so much for you and thus show your gratitude and loyalty, which even the West Coast Africans have done. Surely you will not be a whit behind them!

Think, too, that with your freedom you are a free agent, and that implies possession of enough manhood to know that this is your job to see through. In Germany men are not asked to go, not expected to go, they are ordered. Will the men of our great Empire by failing to voluntarily go forth, put our Government to the extremity of making service compulsory? It is the only alternative and put us down the scale on the level of the Huns. We are not many here, but those who are fit can show the way by wholesale volunteering.

In Britain, the introduction of conscription from the Summer of 1916 triggered an outcry against conscientious objectors. Viscount Knutsford took the lead in the House of Lords in 1917:

If men live in this country, accept the protection for property and person of the laws of the country, and yet will not obey those laws, I think this country should export them [...] there are places like St Helena which are complaining of a shortage of population to which they might be sent.⁴²

No evidence has been found that shows Knutsford himself ever had to face hostile fire but it is also hard to find any newspaper report suggesting his views were in the least hypocritical.

Service in the armed forces was voluntary at St Helena throughout the war. A campaign to persuade more men to leave the island and fight abroad continued throughout the period. For example, in 1916, flags and window cards were sent by the Red Cross in Britain to St Helena with instructions that they should be hung outside the house of every man who had joined the King's Forces. In total, some 33 million flags were distributed throughout the empire.⁴³ A leaflet arrived on the island in December 1917 that asked men what they had done in the Great War. The precise leaflet is not known but the example below is typical of material distributed throughout Britain in the years before conscription. The island newspaper objected strongly to this. Alluding to the number of St Helenian men already fighting abroad and serving in the Volunteers the paper complained it was “an insult for such a question to be placed under the nose of such men” and suggested that its creator in Britain had done not “an iota more than any of the rest of us here on St Helena.”



Recruitment Material⁴⁴

It is clear from the records that the regular British troops were regarded as the island's main defensive force. At the start of the war, the restoration of a full garrison suffered several delays. A company of infantry from South Africa was at the last minute redirected to the attack on German South-West Africa. Difficulties in finding a warship also delayed the despatch of Royal Garrison Artillery troops (RGA) from Britain. They eventually sailed on *Dover Castle* and dropped off two Captains and forty men at Ascension on 22 August 1914. This effectively doubled that garrison, which was only withdrawn in October 1916, when the threat to the island was judged to have passed. A further ten officers and 185 rank and file under the command of Colonel W. R. W. James arrived at St Helena on 26 August. Six months of supplies were transported to Ladder Hill Fort. Contracts were at once agreed locally for the supply of fresh meat and bread to the garrison.⁴⁵

The partial war diary of Sydney Gaitskell, who arrived in 1915, is kept at the Bodleian Library and offers an insight into the defence of St Helena. The absence of infantry troops fundamentally affected how the island was to be defended. Colonel James initially tried to release some of his regular artillery troops to infantry duties by recruiting 50 men from the St Helena Volunteers to undertake "electric light duties", i.e. to run the searchlights.⁴⁶ It was later reported that the recruitment was unsatisfactory and these volunteers were re-amalgamated back into the St Helena Sharpshooters. Two searchlights ran from Munden's and were initially used regularly until a passing ship, *HMS Indefatigable*, reported that the lights had been seen at 40 miles. The lights were used only intermittently thereafter. Two searchlight

batteries operated from the upper and lower sections of Munden's powered from a large generator house and it is presumed they were coordinated with the guns at Ladder Hill by telephone.

In the absence of trained infantry, it was considered impossible to defend every landing place. It has been estimated that St Helena has 43 places where landings could be made, of which 24 are deemed "practical" allowing access by invasion forces to the interior. A policy of defensive strongholds was therefore adopted. This approach was akin, albeit on a microscopic scale, to General Ironside's strategy for the defence of Britain for a brief period in 1940 when there was a shortage of tanks, guns and equipment due to losses at Dunkirk. The number of marines operating St Helena's 6-inch guns was minimised, the surplus being reassigned as infantry to attack any enemy that managed to land. The two most crucial points of defence were the Eastern Telegraph Company facilities and the cable landing ground at Ruperts Bay, each being defended by marines. The instruction given to the St Helena Volunteers should there be an invasion was simple – they should proceed to High Knoll and secure it. The likelihood of invasion must have seemed all the greater following German naval attacks at other key telegraphic cable landing places of Fanning Island in the Pacific Ocean and Cocos-Keeling Island in the Indian Ocean, respectively in September and November 1914.⁴⁷

Within weeks of their arrival at St Helena, the War Office realised that the RGA men, highly trained in the use of artillery, would be more gainfully employed on the western front.⁴⁸ A request to the Admiralty for their withdrawal was initially refused because of the invasion threat posed by armed German ships operating in the South Atlantic. However, several of the German capital ships were destroyed at the Battle of the Falkland Islands in December 1914 and most commerce raiders had been sunk or captured by the following year. The main menace thereafter came from submarines to merchant shipping. A compromise was therefore reached whereby the RGA troops were replaced by Royal Marine Artillery under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Sydney Gaitskell. By 1915, this regular British force included 11 officers and 149 troops.

Cordeaux's health was fragile and in 1916, the Colonial Office instructed him to take leave. However, he refused to leave the island because this would mean the commanding officer Sydney Gaitskell would take over as acting governor. Cordeaux accused Gaitskell of having a "harsh and overbearing manner" and "a noticeable want of tact and ordinary courtesy". The Admiralty replaced Gaitskell with Lieutenant Colonel William Dixon. Cordeaux finally left St Helena on sick leave in March 1917, travelling back to the UK via South Africa. Dixon acted as acting governor for a full 31 months, so the war had long finished before Cordeaux returned.⁴⁹

Dixon's period of office was not a happy one, in 1918 facing a petition (800 signatures) for his recall to England. In the event, it took more than another year and several pointed questions in Parliament (about his long absence and the salary he was receiving) before Cordeaux returned to his duties in early October 1919.⁵⁰

A curious photo of Jamestown in the late war period is shown above. It depicts a brass band led by bandmaster Thomas R. Bruce (the postmaster) leading the garrison down Main Street towards the wharf.⁵¹ Dated 4 August 1918, this was the fourth anniversary of the declaration of war and the image gives a celebratory impression of a mournful date.



Bruce's Band leading the Garrison

An international influenza pandemic broke out in 1918-19 throughout, Europe, Asia and North America leading to the deaths of 50 million people worldwide. Cases were first reported at South Africa in September 1918 and St Helena was most fortunate in avoiding the outbreak. Britain and much of the Empire celebrated Peace Day for 3-4 days in July 1919. At St Helena, peace was marked on France's Plain on 22 July. Reuters reported that the flag was saluted by almost the entire population, and medals were presented to 3,000 people.⁵² The report claimed, "Such a gathering has never before been seen." A project to issue a range of Peace Day stamps designed by the postmaster was started but early abandoned by the government. At the end of the war, most of the garrison returned to Portsmouth with their families on Chepstow Castle on or near to Christmas Day 1919. A newspaper report stated that on War Office instructions the marines were each given a pint of beer and a Christmas pudding when they arrived.⁵³

Rumours that Cordeaux had been appointed governor of the Bahamas began to circulate in April 1920 and he left the island for the final time in June, handing over control to Major Harold Godfrey St George Morgan RM as acting governor.⁵⁴ Cordeaux's new appointment was officially confirmed on 21 July and the appointment of the St Helena's next governor Colonel Robert Francis Peel MP was announced on 17 August.⁵⁵ The New Year Honours list for 1921 included a knighthood for Cordeaux.⁵⁶ His period (1920-26) as governor of Bermuda coincided with the imposition of prohibition in America (1920-33) and he oversaw a boom in liquor imports and re-exports. Despite American protests at the level of smuggling, during Cordeaux's period Bermuda, enjoyed a massive boost in liquor revenues from about £81K in 1919 to over £1,000K in 1923.⁵⁷ His application for war service medals was refused in 1924 on the basis that he had not been in active service and so was ineligible.⁵⁸ He retired in November 1926, although he was still at his post that year when two severe hurricanes passed over Bermuda on the 27 July and 18 September causing structural damage of £1.6M and the death of about 120 people.⁵⁹ He died aged 72 on 2 July 1943 at 43 Lowndes Square, London SW1 and was buried three days later at Little Faringdon, Oxfordshire.⁶⁰

In his standard history of St Helena, Philip Gosse only devoted a couple of pages to the Cordeaux period, sardonically commenting: “Few, if any, parts of the British Empire were less shaken by the World’s upheaval than St Helena”. Doubtless, the scale of misery and devastation was greater in other countries, but the island suffered a proportionate loss of life, continuing poverty, food shortages and fear of invasion. The foregoing text hopefully provides a more accurate description of the period.

Thanks are due to Colin Fox for accessing documents at the Bodleian Library, to Karen Henry at St Helena Archives and Edward Baldwin for photographs and information on the gun defences. All internet references were accessed in March 2017. URLs are given for many references below in condensed tinyurl format.

¹ **Dr Arnold Appointment:** *St Helena Guardian*, 14 September 1912. **Cordeaux Biography:** Harry Edward Spiller Cordeaux was born at Tanna, Bombay on 15 November 1870 under tragic circumstances. His parents (Edward Cordeaux, an assistant judge in the employ of the Indian Civil Service, and Harriett Catherine Spiller Jopp) had married only a year earlier at Rutnagherry, Maharashtra in December 1869, but Harriett died 15 days after the birth. [‘Marriages’, *Morning Advertiser*, 28 January 1870, 8; ‘Deaths’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 19 December 1870, 4]. Cordeaux was first educated in India at Tanna and then at Brighton College and Cheltenham College. He graduated in Classics at St John’s College, Cambridge in 1892 and joined the army two years later. He was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant on 2 June 1894 and Lieutenant on 2 Sept 1896. [‘Major Sir Harry Cordeaux’, *The Times*, 3 July 1943, 7; J. A Venn and John Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900* (Cambridge: University Press, 1922); H. G. Hart, *Hart’s Annual Army List* (London: John Murray, 1908), 439]. The same year, he was appointed to the Indian Staff Corps, which provided training either to command native regiments or, as was the case for Cordeaux, to fill civil and political appointments. Over the next three years, he learnt three languages (Hindustani, Persian and Somali). His life as a career diplomatist began with his appointment as an assistant political resident at Aden in 1898. Later that year, he was appointed assistant resident and vice-consul at the British Protectorate of Berbera on the Somali coast where he was directly involved politically and militarily with the uprising led by the “Mad Mullah”, Hajji Hafiz Sayyid Muhammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Hasan. He was awarded the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George (CMG) on 22 July 1902, appointed Consul in 1902, promoted to the rank of Captain on 2 June 1903 and Commander-in-Chief at Berbera in 1906. [*The London Gazette*, no. 27456 (22 July 1902): 4669]. His health deteriorated and he was unable to take up his next promotion in 1910 as Governor of Uganda. He was eventually appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of St Helena in December 1911. [‘Downing St, 9 December 1911’, *The London Gazette*, no. 12416 (15 December 1911): 1325]. **Arrival St Helena:** ‘Outwards Passenger Lists, BT 27/775BT’ 1912, The National Archives, Kew; *The Scotsman*, 22 February 1912, 11. **Promotion to Major:** *The London Gazette*, no. 28643 (30 July 1912): 6705. ² **Cordeaux Engagement:** ‘Court and Society’, *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 22 June 1912, 8. **Cordeaux Marriage:** ‘Court and Society’, *Cheltenham Looker-On*, 22 June 1912, 8. Ecclesiastical church record, St Paul’s Cathedral, p 8, URL: <http://tinyurl.com/j46h7t9>. **Governor Marriages at St Helena:** St Helena genealogical database compiled by Chris and Sheila Hillman.

³ Photograph of image displayed at Plantation House.

⁴ ‘1914 Annual Colonial Report’.

⁵ John Barnes, *A Tour Through the Island of St. Helena* (2007 Reprint) (Western Cape, South Africa: Fish Hoek Printing, Castell Collection, 2007), 192; R.A. Sterndale, *Sancta Helena: An Island in Extremis* (London: St Helena Relief Fisheries Fund, 1894), 10; ‘1897 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 240’ (London: Colonial Office, 1898), 6.

⁶ *St Helena Guardian*, 12 December 1907.

⁷ St Helena Government, ‘St Helena Flax’.

⁸ *St Helena Guardian*, 11 September 1913.

⁹ ‘1919 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 1039’ (London: Colonial Office, 1920), 10.

¹⁰ Gosse, *St Helena 1502-1938*, 349.

¹¹ **Scouts:** ‘Be Prepared! Life Skills Learnt at Scout’s Camp’, *The Sentinel*, 14 January 2016, 14. ‘The Scouts of the Empire’, *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette*, 7 February 1913, 2; ‘Boy Scout Notes’, *Luton Times and Advertiser*, 14 February 1913, 2; ‘Celebrating 100 Years of Scouting on St Helena’, *The Sentinel*, 4 May 2017, 14. **Guides:** ‘Girl Guiding: St Helena Concludes 90th Anniversary Celebrations’, *St Helena Independent*, 15 June 2012, 27. Philip Gosse, *St Helena 1502-1938* (Oswestry: Anthony Nelson, 1938), 350.

¹² The precise charge against Daine was that he “Feloniously, wickedly and against the order of nature, carnally knowing Benjamin Frederick Preston, and then with him committing and perpetrating the abominable act of sodomy, at Scotton, on the 17th January 1912” [West Riding and Yorkshire Calendars of Prisoners 1912, p73, Ancestry web site, <http://tinyurl.com/ybqabh4x>].

¹³ Edward Cannan, *Churches of the South Atlantic Islands, 1502-1991*. (Oswestry: Anthony Nelson, 1992), 166.

¹⁴ ‘Serious Charge against a Roman Catholic Priest’, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligence*, 21 March 1912, 4; ‘Father Dane’s Sentence’, *Derbyshire Times and Chesterfield Herald*, 23 March 1912, 9.

¹⁵ Trevor W. Hearl, *St Helena Britannica: Studies in South Atlantic Island History*, ed. Alexander Schulenburg (London: Society of Friends of St Helena, 2013), 277–82.

¹⁶ Alexander Hugo Schulenburg, ‘A Brief History of Cinema on St Helena’, *Wirebird: The Journal of the Friends of St Helena* 33 (2006): 6.

-
- ¹⁷ 'Back on the Big Screen', *The Sentinel*, 16 June 2016, 14.
- ¹⁸ The Charles Urban Trading Co. Ltd., 'Urban Bioscopes and Animated Picture Accessories' (London, 1907). URL: <http://tinyurl.com/zb5jn92>
- ¹⁹ 'Napoleon's Residence in St Helena', *Liverpool Echo*, 12 March 1914, 3; 'Good Evening!', *North-Eastern Daily Gazette*, 13 May 1915, 3.
- ²⁰ 'Napoleon's Illnesses, Cancer or Chronic Malta Fever', *The Times*, 9 January 1913, 3; Arthur Keith, 'An Address on the History and Nature of Certain Specimens Alleged to Have Been Obtained at the Post-Mortem Examination of Napoleon the Great', *British Medical Journal* 1, no. 2715 (11 January 1913): 53–59. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/gqwd5jc>.
- ²¹ Stanley M. Bierman, 'The Peripatetic Posthumous Peregrination of Napoleon's Penis', *The Journal of Sex Research* 29, no. 4 (1 November 1992): 579–80.
- ²² Harvey Rachlin, *Lucy's Bones, Sacred Stones, & Einstein's Brain* (Garrett County Press, 2013).
- ²³ **Suffragette exile:** 'Suffragists in Prison (Forcible Feeding)' (Hansard, House of Commons Debate, Vol 47, Col 2197, 5 February 1913). **Napoleon cartoon:** 'Off to St Helena', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 9 May 1913, 3. Originally published by the Daily Express.
- ²⁴ 'St Helena Report for the Years 1962 and 1963' (London: HMSO, 1965), 29; David L. Smallman, *Quincentenary: A Story of St Helena, 1502-2002* (Penzance: Patten, 2003), 162.
- ²⁵ Alexander Hugo Schulenburg, 'Transient Observations: The Textualizing of St Helena through Five Hundred Years of Colonial Discourse' (University of St Andrews, 1999), 262–71.
- ²⁶ **Irish Militant Exile:** 'In Aid of Ulster, Practical Suggestions', *Ballymena Observer*, 27 February 1914, 7. **Kaiser Exile:** 'French Views on the Kaiser', *The Times*, 11 November 1918, 7.
- ²⁷ **Egyptian Dissidents:** 'The National Archive of the UK CO 247/183 & CO 247/184 (Despatches 1915 & 1916)' 1915, The National Archives, Kew. **Sultan poisoning:** Ian Hernon, *The Savage Empire: Forgotten Wars of the 19th Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 148. **Zanzibar war:** Craig Glenday, *Guinness World Records 2008* (Guinness World Records, 2007), 118.
- ²⁸ **Sultan Capture:** The British government were first cabled on 19 February 1917 that the "Pretender to the Sultanate of Zanzibar" and several children had been captured by the Commander-in-Chief for East Africa, Major-General Sir Alexander Hoskins. He recommended their internment outside Africa (e.g. St Helena). [P. J. L. Frankl, 'The Exile of Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash Al-Busa'Idi', *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 33, no. 2 (2006): 161–77.].
- ²⁹ **Kenyan Exiles:** Thomas H. R. Cashmore, 'Studies in District Administration in the East Africa Protectorate, 1895-1918' (University of Cambridge, 1966), 87-1–5. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/jgu76an>; Kevin Patience, 'The Mwele Campaign, 1895-1896', *Kenya Past and Present* 28, no. 1 (1996): 25–28. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/ztvvycl>; Cynthia Brantley, *The Giriama and Colonial Resistance in Kenya, 1800-1920* (London, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 25, 44–45. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/zr34c3c>. Njogu Kimani, *Citizen Participation in Decision Making: Towards Inclusive Development in Kenya* (Twaweza Communications, 2014), 46.
- ³⁰ **Exile of Sultan of Zanzibar:** Frankl, 'The Exile of Sayyid Khalid Bin Barghash Al-Busa'Idi'. **Officer's Quarters:** Barbara B. George, *Officer's Quarters to Pilling School: A History of the Building Now Used as Pilling School 1790-2015* (Jamestown, 2015), 12–13.
- ³¹ Image taken from Wikipedia page <http://tinyurl.com/z3825rg>, image originally supplied by Deutsches Bundesarchiv. Photograph taken in German East Africa during the period 1906-1918 by Walther Dobbartin (1882-1961).
- ³² **Napoleonic Costs:** Gilbert Martineau, *Napoleon's St. Helena*, trans. Frances Partridge (London: John Murray, 1968), 57–60. **Newspaper censorship:** 'Imperial and Foreign News Items', *The Times*, 1 November 1917, 5. **Absence of information at Archives:** Susan O'Bey, 'A Place of Confinement', *Wirebird: The Journal of the Friends of St Helena* 44 (2015): 4–31.
- ³³ 'British Dependencies (Exiled Chiefs)' (Hansard, House of Commons, 2 March 1921). URL: <http://tinyurl.com/zzt17e4>.
- ³⁴ **Garrison Withdrawal:** Ian Bruce, 'The First Dozen Years', *Wirebird: The Journal of the Friends of St Helena* 45 (2016). **Undefended Island:** 'St Helena (Coaling Station)' (Hansard, House of Commons, 25 May 1911). **Royal Marines:** 'Military and Naval', *Diss Express*, 15 November 1911, 2; Ken Denholm, *South Atlantic Haven: A Maritime History for the Island of South Helena* (Jamestown: Education Department of the Government of St Helena, 1994), 40. **St Helena Guns:** These were Elswick Mark VII wire breech loading 6-inch guns. A paper has suggested there were four 6-inch guns and were still in place in 1938 when a decision was taken to return them to the UK, but the equipment needed to take them apart did not arrive before war broke out in 1939. [Bill Clements, 'St Helena: South Atlantic Fortress', *Fort* 35 (2007): 75–90. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/znskb4f>]. The paper provided no source for this claim which is doubted because only basic tools (e.g. large spanners) were needed to dismantle the guns. It is also seems unlikely there were four guns, first because no photographs have ever been seen of guns mounted at Munden's and second because in conversations with Edward Baldwin, Captain Driver RA insisted that the same guns used in WW1 were also in place during his period of service in WW2. The two gun beds and shields are dated 1901. The East barrel is dated 1903 and the West 1915, the latter obviously being a replacement because it lies on a bed and forward armour that are dated 1901. ['The Restoration of St Helena's Big Guns', *St Helena Connection*, no. 18 (June 2015): 14; 'Restoration of Guns at Ladder Hill', *The Sentinel*, 16 April 2015, 9.] **Gun Equipment:** 'Letter: Ladder Hill Gun Site', *The Sentinel*, 23 April 2015, 22.
- ³⁵ **Marconi:** 'The Marconi Contact', *The Times*, 7 August 1912, 5. **Island Radio:** Ken Denholm, *From Signal Gun to Satellite: A History of Communications on the Island of St Helena* (St Helena, 2001), 47.
- ³⁶ *St Helena Guardian*, 27 September 1920.
- ³⁷ **Telephones:** '1914 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 847' (London: Colonial Office, 1915). Sydney Gaitskell, 'Bodleian Library, Shelfmark: MSS. Atl. S. 23 / 56: War Diary', 1914.
- ³⁸ **German Ships Visit:** '1914 Annual Colonial Report', 13; Jürgen Prommersberger, *Seeschlachten des 1. Weltkriegs - Unternehmen Albion* (Jürgen Prommersberger, 2016), 34. **Island Defence:** 'The National Archive of the UK CO ADM 137/8/2 ; CO 247/181 (Despatches)' 1914, The National Archives, Kew. **Volunteers:** '1914 Annual Colonial Report'. G. C. Kitching, *A Handbook and Gazetteer of the Island of St Helena Including a Short History of the Island under the Crown 1834-1902* (St. Helena: GC Kitching, 1937), 26.

-
- ³⁹ '1902 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 392' (London: Colonial Office, 1903).
- ⁴⁰ **War Dead:** Tick Tock, Tick Tock...', *St Helena Herald*, 18 September 2009, 8). 'World War I Centenary', *The St Helena Independent*, 8 August 2014, 5. 'George Edward Scipio a True St Helenian Hero', *The Sentinel*, 25 August 2016, 21. Full names found in St Helena ecclesiastical records, University of Witwatersrand, URL: <http://tinyurl.com/jzczlq9>; Commonwealth War Graves Commission, URL: <http://tinyurl.com/95d97xa>.
- ⁴¹ 'The King's Appeal', *The Spectator*, 30 October 1915, 12; 'St Helena Floreat', *St Helena Guardian*, 28 October 1915.
- ⁴² 'Conscientious Objectors' (Hansard, House of Lords Debate, Vol 26, Col 1008-9, 11 November 1917); 'Treatment of Conscientious Objectors', *The Times*, 15 November 1917, 12.
- ⁴³ 'Our Day - World Wide Appeal for the Red Cross', *The Times*, 20 September 1916, 11.
- ⁴⁴ Published by Parliamentary Recruiting Committee. Copyright: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London 2016.
- ⁴⁵ **Diversion of Infantry:** 'The National Archive of the UK ADM 137/9/13 (Page 633. Admiralty Cape Telegrams)' 1914, The National Archives, Kew. **Arrival of RGA:** 'The National Archive of the UK, Admiralty, Ascension Island Various ADM 50/370' 1916 1905, The National Archives, Kew. URL: <http://tinyurl.com/zkggn3n>
- ⁴⁶ Gaitskell, 'War Diary'.
- ⁴⁷ **Defence Strategy:** G. C. Kitching, *Handbook of St Helena*, 12. Leo McKinsty, *Operation Sealion* (John Murray, 2014), 118–23. **Attacks at cable stations:** Geoff Bennett, *The Pepper Trader: True Tales of the German East Asia Squadron and the Man Who Cast Them in Stone* (Equinox Publishing, 2006), 173; Lawrence Sondhaus, *World War One: The Global Revolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 103; Daniel R. Headrick, *The Invisible Weapon: Telecommunications and International Politics, 1851-1945* (Oxford University Press, 2012). URL: <http://tinyurl.com/jllg2ze>.
- ⁴⁸ 'The National Archive of the UK CO ADM 137/8/2 ; CO 247/181 (Despatches)'.
- ⁴⁹ **Sydney Gaitskell:** 'The National Archive of the UK CO 247/184 (Despatches 1916)' 1916, The National Archives, Kew. **Cordeaux Departure:** 'Imperial and Foreign News Items', *The Times*, 23 March 1917, 5.
- ⁵⁰ **Petition:** 'The National Archive of the UK CO 247/184 (Despatches 1918)' 1918, The National Archives, Kew. **Food Shortage:** '1917 Annual Colonial Report: St Helena, No 974' (London: Colonial Office, 1918), 11; 'World War I Centenary', 5. **Cordeaux Absence:** 'St Helena (Governor)' (Hansard, House of Commons, 24 July 1919); 'St Helena' (Hansard, House of Commons, 4 August 1914); 'Imperial and Foreign News Items', *The Times*, 7 October 1918, 7.
- ⁵¹ Emma-Jane Yon, *For the Love of the Music* (St Helena: St Helena National Trust and the Bank of St Helena, 2007), 61. Dated photo from Major Moss's album. This image was a duplicate sent to the author by Trevor Hearl about 2000.
- ⁵² 'Peace Day at St Helena', *The Times*, 23 July 1919, 12.
- ⁵³ *The Times*, 27 December 1912, 7.
- ⁵⁴ 'New Governor of Bahamas', *The Scotsman*, 15 April 1920, 8; 'Imperial and Foreign News Items', *The Times*, 8 June 1920, 13. Major St George Morgan married Muriel Welby (granddaughter of Bishop Thomas Earle Welby) at St Paul's Cathedral on 21 May 1921. **Knighthood:** 'The London Gazette', no. 32178 Supplement (1 January 1921): 5. **Governor of Bahamas:** Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *A History of the Bahamian People: From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century* (University of Georgia Press, 2000), 238. **War Medals:** British Army WWI Medal Rolls Index Cards, 1914-1920, accessed through www.ancestry.co.uk. **Bahamas hurricanes:** 'The Hurricane in the Bahamas', *The Times*, 3 August 1926, 10; 'Damage in the Bahamas', *The Times*, 23 September 1926, 11; 'Telegrams in Brief', *The Times*, 16 November 1926, 13; 'Former Chief of Bahamas', *Gloucestershire Echo*, 3 July 1943, 4. **Burial:** Anglican Parish Registers, Oxfordshire Family History Society and Oxfordshire History Centre, Reference Number: PAR101_Temp04.
- ⁵⁵ 'The London Gazette', no. 31991 (23 July 1920): 7770. 'The Edinburgh Gazette', no. 13626 (24 August 1920): 190.
- ⁵⁶ 'The London Gazette', no. 32178 Supplement (1 January 1921): 5.
- ⁵⁷ Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *A History of the Bahamian People: From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century* (University of Georgia Press, 2000), 238.
- ⁵⁸ British Army WWI Medal Rolls Index Cards, 1914-1920, accessed through www.ancestry.co.uk
- ⁵⁹ 'The Hurricane in the Bahamas', *The Times*, 3 August 1926, 10; 'Damage in the Bahamas', *The Times*, 23 September 1926, 11; 'Telegrams in Brief', *The Times*, 16 November 1926, 13; 'Former Chief of Bahamas', *Gloucestershire Echo*, 3 July 1943, 4.
- ⁶⁰ Anglican Parish Registers, Oxfordshire Family History Society and Oxfordshire History Centre, Reference Number: PAR101_Temp04.