

# The Conundrum of Lionel Graves

by Andrew Leitch



This booklet was first published in PDF form in 2016 on the website of the Parish of Llandudno as part of its Great War Project. This project attempts to create biographies for all those named on the marble tablets in Holy Trinity Church's Memorial Chapel, an almost identical list to the names on the Llandudno Cenotaph. The project also includes the names of soldiers who died locally who are not thus remembered but who were buried within the boundaries of the parish. Lionel Perceval Graves is one of the latter group.

The parish's website is at [www.llandudno-parish.org.uk](http://www.llandudno-parish.org.uk)

A list of acknowledgements is printed on page 25. Particular thanks go to Vernon Morris for getting the ball rolling.

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**Parish of Llandudno**  
**Plwyf Llandudno**

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## Introduction

On the wind-swept Great Orme's Head limestone headland in North Wales, there is a small ancient church dating back to the 12<sup>th</sup> Century. Saint Tudno, a Celtic saint, is said to have introduced Christianity to the area, founding the first church on this site in the 6<sup>th</sup> Century. For many centuries, St Tudno's Church served as the parish church for the area but after its roof blew off in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, a new parish church, St George's (now closed), was built in the nearby village of Llandudno, later developed into a fashionable seaside resort. Nevertheless, St Tudno's Church was reroofed and the churchyard continued to be used as a burial ground for the parish. St Tudno's Church is still used for worship to this day.

Within the confines of St Tudno's churchyard is a grave marker placed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC) in its standard design



*St Tudno's Church, Great Orme's Head.*

using white Portland stone with a cambered top. The wording on the gravestone, which replaced an earlier stone in 2005,<sup>1</sup> is sparse. Between a regimental crest of the King's Own Scottish Borderers (KOSB) and a cross is inscribed:

**LIEUTENANT  
L. P. GRAVES  
K. O. SCOTTISH BORDERERS  
21ST DECEMBER 1918**

The dead officer's age is not given and there is no additional text which was, on about 50% of occasions, added at the bottom of a stone as an optional sentiment by the family.

The isolated location of the cemetery and the scant information upon the grave marker pose a conundrum: why was an officer of a Scottish regiment of the First World War buried, just a few weeks after the armistice, in such an isolated location in North Wales? If LP Graves had been a local man who had succumbed to his wounds or an illness (Spanish influenza was rife at the time), then it would be understandable, but there is no mention of him on the Llandudno civic cenotaph. Similarly, he is not recorded on the town's Roll of Honour or on tablets in the Memorial Chapel of Holy Trinity Church, the present parish church, which names all local men who had died in the Great War, irrespective of their religion or denomination.

The obvious route of initial enquiry is the record of the grave at the CWGC. This is readily available on line but in this instance, the only extra material information is that Lt LP Graves' battalion was the 9<sup>th</sup> KOSB. No family connections are recorded. This actually deepens the mystery as the 9<sup>th</sup> KOSB was a special reserve battalion which saw no active service. Furthermore, it was never located in Wales, spending most of the First World War recruiting and training in the Scottish Borders.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately the CWGC record does not give the dead officer's full name or age.

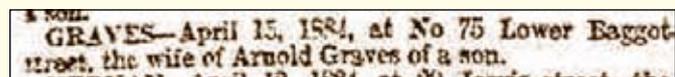
However, searching one of the numerous genealogical Web sites with the known facts reveals some vital additional information for an entry in a book of Irish casualties for 1914-1918 reads:

**GRAVES, LIONEL, PERCEVAL. Died from illness contracted in the trenches, Llandudno, December 21, 1918.**<sup>3</sup>

Fortuitously, the name Lionel Perceval Graves is seemingly unique and has certainly helped in tracing other records to unravel his extraordinary story.

## Birth

Lionel Perceval Graves was born in Dublin on 15 April 1884, the son of Arnold Felix Graves, a barrister at law and civil servant, and Constance Louise Graves of 75 Lower Baggot Street.<sup>4</sup> Lower Baggot Street is to the south of the River Liffey; parts retain typical Georgian architecture though No 75 is now a modern office block. The painter Francis Bacon was born at No 63 in 1909. Lionel



GRAVES—April 15, 1884, at No 75 Lower Baggot Street, the wife of Arnold Graves of a son.

*Lionel Grave's birth announcement.*



*St Stephen's Church, Dublin.*

was baptised at St Stephen's Church (Church of Ireland) on 7 November 1884.<sup>5</sup>

## Father: Arnold Felix Graves

Lionel's father, Arnold Felix Graves was born in Dublin on 17 November 1847,<sup>6</sup> the son of a prominent mathematician and Church of Ireland clergyman, Charles Graves, later the Bishop of Limerick. Arnold Felix's uncle, Robert Perceval Graves, a "highly esteemed" friend of the poet William Wordsworth,<sup>7</sup> was the Rector of Undermillbeck, Windermere in Westmorland. The 1851 Census for England records Arnold Felix Graves, aged 3, and his brother Alfred Perceval (father of poet and novelist Robert Graves), aged 4, as visitors at their uncle's rectory.

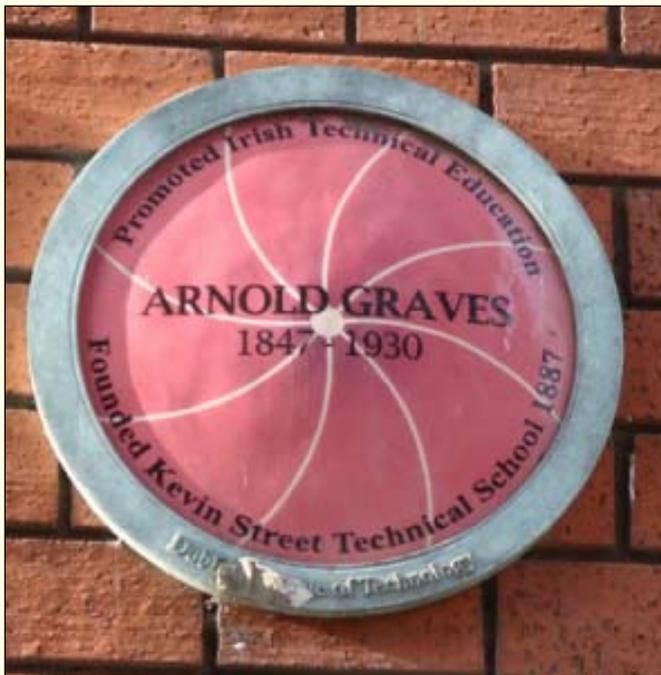
The association with Windermere was to continue as both Alfred and Arnold were later educated at a nearby private school, Windermere College. The school was originally founded c 1850 as St Mary's College for the sons of clergyman to prepare them for Oxford and Cambridge, but in 1855, the school was taken over by secular interests and renamed following the financial collapse of its founder.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it still offered discounted fees for the sons of clergymen.<sup>9</sup> From 1864, Arnold Felix attended Trinity College Dublin and was an accomplished sportsman. He graduated with a first in mathematics and passed the Indian Civil Service examination in 1868.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the death of his elder brother, John Cheyne Graves, in India in September 1868<sup>11</sup> changed Arnold Graves' mind about a career in the Indian Civil Service and he returned to Trinity College to

study law, passing his Barrister at Law examinations in May 1872. He was called to the Irish Bar later that month.<sup>12</sup> He practiced law until 1879 when he joined the Civil Service as Secretary to the Charity Commissioners and Commissioners of Education for Ireland. In addition, he became the Honorary Secretary and organiser of the City of Dublin Technical Schools, the Pembroke Technical Schools, the Technical Education Association, and the Irish Artisans' Exhibition. He also served on the committees of the Irish Industries Association, the Royal Society for the Training and Improvement of Women, and the City of Dublin Libraries Committee. Somehow, he also found the time to be an author and playwright.<sup>13</sup> He was usually known professionally as Arnold Graves or Arnold F Graves.

### **Mother: Constance Louise Wetherley**

Though the Irish branch of the Graves' family is well-documented<sup>14</sup> and can be traced back to the mid-1600s (before which they were in Gloucestershire), Lionel's mother, Constance's lineage proves far more difficult to unravel, complicated because various spellings of her surname exist. According to the 1911 Census of England, she was born in Dublin, and her given age, 47, would have made her year of birth 1863 or 1864, details confirmed, though not authenticated, by her death certificate. To get more answers it is necessary to go forward 13 years to 1894 when Lionel's parents were embroiled in a scandalous divorce. It was stated by his counsel in court that Arnold Graves had met his future wife "accidentally" in 1880 and that she was "in a position of life much inferior to his;" about her previous life "he knew little and what little he knew was derived from her own statements;" she had been on the stage in "some comedy opera company." Later, in his



*Wall plaque to Arnold Graves in Dublin.*

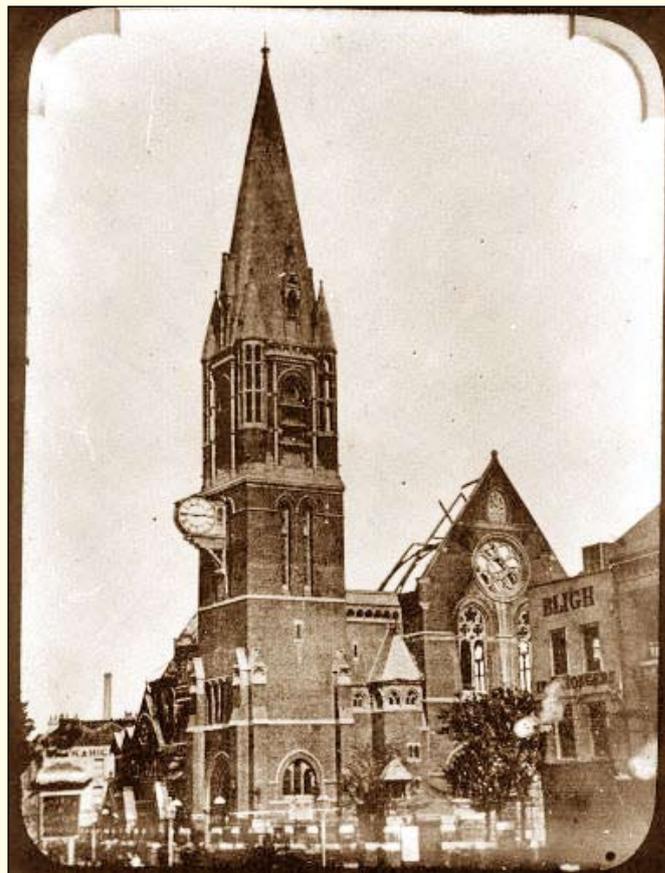
own testimony, Arnold Graves stated that he had seen her “frequently until March of that year when she went on tour with her company, the D’Oyly Carte,” and that he had “visited her in England whilst on that tour.”<sup>15</sup>

According to David Stone, owner of *Who Was Who in the D’Oyly Carte* Web site, there were several D’Oyly Carte Companies in 1880: the London Company at the Opera Comique, a second London Company performing in the suburbs, three further companies touring Great Britain and Ireland, and another four in North America. It seems likely that Constance was in the chorus of one of the companies, records of which are very scanty for this time.

### Marriage of Parents

Arnold Felix Graves and Constance Louise Wetherley were married on 26 September 1881 at St Mary Matfelon Church (usually known as St Mary’s), Whitechapel, then in the County of Middlesex.<sup>16</sup> Intriguingly, the main part of the church had been all but destroyed by a fire in the previous August, only the tower, vestry and church rooms remaining intact. It reopened for worship in December 1882.<sup>17</sup>

According to the history of the Whitechapel Foundry, “in the 1880s Whitechapel was synonymous with crime and poverty, the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions also ensuring disease and infections were endemic. The residents of Whitechapel did whatever was necessary to make ends meet, and many of the women of the area worked as prostitutes in order to find the funds to pay for a bed for the night rather than, as many people did, living in the sewers and fighting the rats for whatever sustenance was available. Whitechapel



*St Mary’s Church, Whitechapel. Note burnt-out roof.*

had over 1400 known prostitutes, 80 brothels, and countless pubs. Little wonder that alcoholism was rampant. Into this wretched stew in August 1888 came Jack the Ripper when he butchered his first victim.”<sup>18</sup>

On their marriage certificate, Arnold is entered as “Bachelor” and “Barrister.” Constance is entered as “Spinster.” No ages are given, just the terms “full” and “minor” – over and under 21 respectively. Constance’s surname is written “Wetherley” though the signature beneath is apparently “Wetherly” (other variations exist). Her father is named “Patrick Francis Wetherley” having “No

1881. Marriage solemnized at the Parish Church in the Parish of St Mary Whitechapel in the County of Middlesex

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
274	Appl <sup>d</sup> 26 1881	Arnold Felix Graves	Full	Bachelor	Barrister	Whitechapel	Charles Graves	Bishop of Limerick
		Constance Louise Wetherley	Minor	Spinster			Patrick Francis Wetherley	No Occupation
Married in the <u>Parish Church</u> according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Established Church, by <u>Thomas R. Lawrence</u> after <u>Banns</u> by me,								
This Marriage was solemnized between us,		<u>Arnold Felix Graves</u> <u>Constance Louise Wetherley</u>		in the Presence of us,		<u>CG Francis</u> <u>Sarah Russell</u>		

Entry in marriage register of the wedding between Arnold Felix Graves and Constance Louise Wetherley.

Occupation," contrasting markedly with the groom's father: "Bishop of Limerick." The certificate records that both bride and groom were resident at the time of marriage at Whitechapel. The marriage was solemnised by the Curate of Whitechapel,<sup>19</sup> Thomas R Lawrence, after the reading of banns.

Clearly, this was not the society wedding as might have been expected of a prominent Irish civil servant, pillar of the establishment, and son of a bishop, even if his bride was from "a position of life much inferior to his." Though it was possible to have a civil marriage in England at this time as legislated by the Marriage Act of 1836, this particular marriage was carried out under the Marriage Act of 1753. Under this Act, marriages could be solemnised in a church of the Church of England after either the reading of banns or obtaining a licence. The minimum age to get married was then 14 years. Those under the age of 21 had to have parental consent if they were to be married by licence – a marriage thus made under a false declaration would have been invalid. On the other hand, marriages of minors who were married after the reading of banns were valid, the banns having not been objected to. This gave rise to the practice whereby couples with one or both

parties underage would "live" in a parish, probably a distant one, where they were not normally resident to have the banns called on three Sundays before the intended wedding.

Since Arnold and Constance were married after both declaring to be residents of Whitechapel, and the reading of banns, then she may not have had parental consent making the wedding somewhat clandestine and possibly an elopement. From his signature, it can be seen that the original marriage certificate was completed in the hand of the first witness, CG Francis, the Parish Clerk.<sup>20</sup> The second witness was Sarah Russell. It may be coincidence, but there was a "mission woman" of that name living in Whitechapel at the time.<sup>21</sup> According to the parish register, there were 27 marriages at St Mary's Church in 1881, seven of which were witnessed by CG Francis and of these, two were also witnessed by Sarah Russell. It would appear that the two witnesses were unknown to the bride and groom and the evidence shows that at least one of them was involved with the administration or mission of the parish.

Why did the couple choose St Mary's, Whitechapel,

a church that was being reconstructed after a devastating fire the previous year? Were the banns read at another church or chapel to which services (including the legal announcement of banns) had been transferred? Was Arnold doing the honourable thing? Did he know the curate? Arnold was a Protestant; was Constance a Roman Catholic? Would the families have objected to the marriage? Notwithstanding the circumstances and unanswered questions, once they had been declared as husband and wife, then the marriage would have been legal. As a barrister, Arnold would have been certain of that.

## High Society

Constance was thus elevated from a singer in the chorus to a lady of Dublin high society. Quite how the Graves' family considered the union is unknown. The couple lived at various locations in and around Dublin for the next 13 years and enjoyed all the trappings of the privileged class. They attended fashionable balls and garden parties and in February 1890, Constance was presented to the new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Viceroy) and his wife, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Earl and Countess of Zetland, by the Dowager Lady Butler at their first "Drawing Room", a formal reception, in the throne room of Dublin Castle.<sup>22</sup> A few days later, both Arnold and Constance attended the first State Ball of the season at the same venue.<sup>23</sup>

## Children of Marriage

Baptismal records and press notices indicate that the first child, Geraldine, was born on 10 January 1883<sup>24</sup> and that she was followed by four sons:

Lionel Percival, born on 15 April 1884; Arnold Percival, born on 21 August 1885;<sup>25</sup> a son (no name given), born on 10 May 1889;<sup>26</sup> and Eric Courtenay, born on 11 May 1890.<sup>27</sup> Burke's *Landed Gentry of Ireland* 1912 lists five children of the marriage but without dates of birth in the order: Lionel, Arnold, Eric, Algernon, Geraldine.<sup>28</sup> Burke's lists boys before girls, otherwise the names are in chronological order. Thus Algernon could not have been the son born in 1889 but being younger than Eric, he must have been born in 1891 or later.

## A Victorian Melodrama

The marriage disintegrated on 27 July 1893. The family was living at 41 Raglan Road in Dublin and staying with them was a family friend and Justice of the Peace from Bray, Co Wicklow, Richard Farrell. Arnold Graves had known Richard Farrell for 17 or 18 years. Constance was pregnant. Arnold Graves had reason to believe that his wife had spent some time in Farrell's bedroom and putting two and two together, realised that an affair might have been going on between them for some time. Undoubtedly, Constance's then-pregnant condition gave him a great deal to think about. Arnold Graves moved out to his club and, after an exchange of letters and a meeting at the office of his solicitor, Constance moved to England with the youngest son Eric and an allowance on the understanding that she did not meet Farrell again.<sup>29</sup>

Clearly Constance had no intention of keeping the understanding because she, Richard Farrell and Eric subsequently lived together at various addresses in London and the south of England. Constance posed as Farrell's sister, the wife of an officer journeying on the Continent. Constance Graves was reaching her



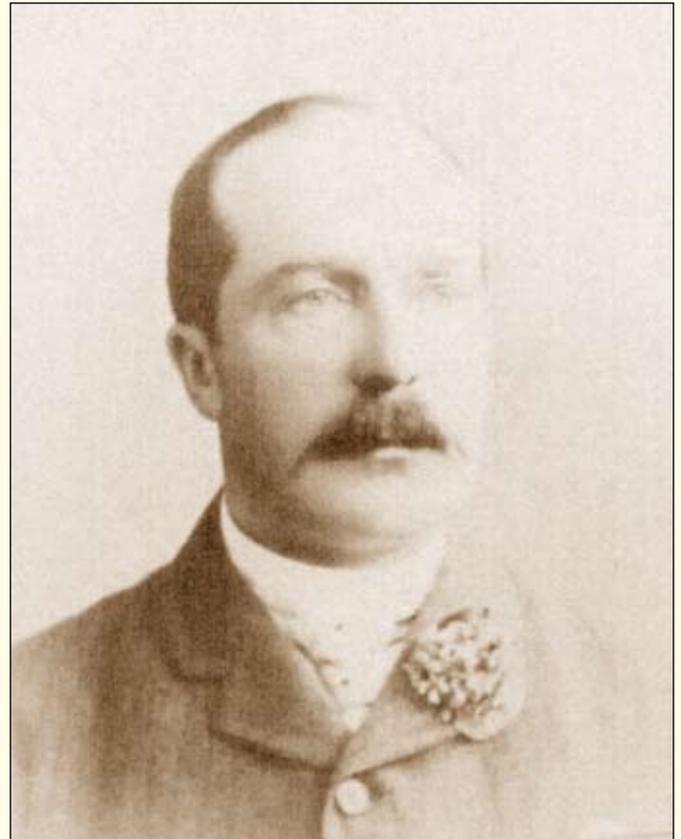
*Constance Graves.*

confinement and on 26 October 1893, a child was born at Southwick Street, Paddington. The future court transcript did not record the child's name or sex. A few days later on 1 November, Richard Farrell committed suicide, slitting his throat with a razor. Constance, learning of his death from a newspaper, had to be restrained from throwing herself out of a window. She telegraphed her husband for help.<sup>30</sup>

Arnold Graves' reaction was to seek to divorce his wife for adultery. He had previously been in debt and had accepted a loan of £1400, equivalent to £150000 in today's money, from Farrell to cover a failed property speculation and his "wife's excesses." It came to his mind that this would be "regarded by a censorious public as proof of his wife's dishonour"

and the thought, in his words, "maddened him."<sup>31</sup> Because the Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 had never been implemented in Ireland, the most the High Court in Dublin could do was to grant a divorce *à mensa et thoro* – a legal separation. For a full divorce and the opportunity to marry again, the High Court transcripts would have to be forwarded to London as evidence petitioning for a divorce by a private act of Parliament, a very expensive process and only available to those who had sufficient wealth.

The initial case was heard in Dublin on 13 February 1894 by Judge Robert Warren, sitting without a jury. Though Constance had returned to Ireland the



*Richard Farrell.*

previous month, she neither attended nor offered a defence. The opening statement was read, some of which has already been related. Also stated was the fact that there had been five children of the marriage, one of whom had died – presumably the unnamed son whose birth had been announced in May 1889. Arnold Graves gave evidence, some of which has also been related. Evidence was also taken from various witnesses in England who had seen the Respondent and Co-respondent, identified in their absence by photographs (previous page), acting in a manner not befitting between a brother and his sister. Judge Warren was quite satisfied on the evidence that adultery had been committed even though the act had not been witnessed, as it rarely was. At the time, Arnold Graves denied being the father of the child born to his wife in England, on 26 October of the previous year, though this was never proved to the satisfaction of the judge. With the opinion that the case had been established, Judge Warren granted a decree *à mensa et thoro*. Arnold Graves' counsel remarked that the case would be taken to the House of Lords.<sup>32</sup>

The next day, the newspapers reported the court proceedings with considerable enthusiasm. *The Irish Times* filled a column and a half whilst *The Freeman's Journal* took two and a half columns of dense type to inform and titillate its readers of the evidence taken. *The Times* of London and numerous other journals also reported the proceedings in some detail.

A narrative of the evidence taken at the High Court in Dublin was presented in the Graves Divorce Bill in the House of Lords. Although additional evidence was taken, their Lordships agreed with the decision of the High Court in Dublin and after three readings, the bill was passed on 29 May 1894.<sup>33</sup>

## Schooling and Engineering Graduate

The fall-out from this calamity was enormous and must have made a considerable impression upon the children of the marriage. From October 1893, Lionel had been attending St Columba's College, Rathfarnham<sup>34</sup> which was (and still is) affiliated to the Church of Ireland. Lionel's grandfather, Charles Graves, the Bishop of Limerick, had already chosen a suitable public school for him and in September 1894, both Lionel and his younger brother Arnold entered King William's College (KWC) at Castletown on the Isle of Man. The College was founded in 1833 as a boarding and day school. In 1894, the Principal was Frank B Walters who had enhanced the house system and had built the school into a liberal community with a strong pastoral element in the care of his students. Frank Walters was also Lionel's housemaster (Principal's House). From 1899, the Principal was the Rev Edwin Hone Kempson (1862-1931), later the Bishop of Warrington.<sup>35</sup>

Arnold left KWC in Midsummer 1898 but Lionel remained there.<sup>36</sup> He is recorded in the 1901 Census for the Isle of Man as a boarder at the

**KING WILLIAM'S COLLEGE,**  
ISLE OF MAN.

Trustees—His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, and four other Members of the Legislative Council.

Principal—The Rev. FRANK B. WALTERS, M.A., late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, assisted by Twelve other Masters.

Fees, 45 to 48 Guineas per Annum.

Excellent Buildings, Chapel, Gymnasium, Sanatorium, Chemical Laboratory, Workshops, Covered Five Courts, Steam Laundry, Large Sea-Water Swimming Bath, under cover, and warmed in winter.

Two Exhibitions annually to the Universities. Numerous Scholarships tenable at the School. Special preparation for Indian Civil Service, Army, Medical, and other Examinations, including the Higher and Lower Certificates of the Universities.

Apply to the Principal or Secretary.

The NEXT TERM COMMENCES on Friday, September 22d.

Advertisement for King William's College.



*King William's College, Castletown, Isle of Man.*

college, aged 16. Concurrently, Lionel's father Arnold Felix Graves and his sister Geraldine (18) were living with three servants at 11 Leinster Street, Dublin.<sup>37</sup> His brother Arnold was staying in the house of his uncle, Charles Larcom Graves (44), journalist and author, in Kensington; Eric was a boarder at Durnford School,<sup>38</sup> a notoriously Spartan preparatory school on the Isle of Purbeck. No census records for his mother or Algernon for that year have been discovered.

Lionel Graves left KWC in near Midsummer 1901. In the college's *Barrovian* magazine, issue no: 67 (August 1901), the *Valete* (leavers) section reads: "L.P. Graves (Principal's [House]) - Army Class, 2nd XV Colours (1900-01), School Gym Four (1901), House Gym Four (1901)." His address was given as: "Son of A. Graves, 11 Leinster Street, Dublin." If Lionel had had a university place, the magazine would normally have recorded this.<sup>39</sup> The less academic and more practical "Army Classes" were established in public schools and specialised in preparing candidates for the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst and the Royal Military College at Woolwich. It seems likely that Lionel would have taken the army examinations but completion was fierce. Often, those who failed

the army examinations either did further study in "crammers" or sought regular commissions by initially joining the Militia.<sup>40</sup>

What is known is that from October 1901 until July 1902, Lionel studied at Owens College Manchester, now a part of Manchester University, under Professor Osborne Reynolds. Local newspaper reports of the time record his prowess in the gymnasium. Other newspaper reports of the time indicate that he may have holidayed in Wales in 1902 for a Lionel P Graves was fined 2/6d at Harlech for riding a bicycle without a light at night.

After leaving Manchester, he studied Engineering and Technical Subjects under Mr CB Walker BSc of Mr William George Walker of 47 Victoria Street, Westminster. In March 1903, William Walker proposed that Lionel be made a graduate of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers (IME). Lionel was described as an Engineering Student and his business address was given as 36 Philbeach Gardens, South Kensington<sup>41</sup> – a boarding house.<sup>42</sup>

4723, received 12 March 1903.

GRAVES, LIONEL PERCIVAL, Engineering Student, care of Mr. W. G. Walker, 47 Victoria Street, Westminster, S.W.

Proposer:—William G. Walker, Member, London.

Seconder:—Horace E. Coulson, Associate Member, London.

Supporters:—Archibald P. Head, Samuel Puplett.

Age nineteen, born 15 April 1884.

Education:—At St. Columbus College, Rathfarnham, Ireland, October 1893–July 1894; also at King William's College, Isle of Man, September 1894–July 1901, going through the Engineering and Technical Departments of the latter College. October 1901–June 1902, one session at Owens College, Manchester, under Professor Osborne Reynolds, LL.D., F.R.S., M.I.C.E., and Dr. Wilson, B.Sc., and Dr. Thorpe, &c. Since leaving Owens College, and up to the present date, has been studying Engineering and Technical Subjects under Mr. C. B. Walker, B.Sc., London, of Mr. W. G. Walker, 47 Victoria Street, Westminster.

years	months	TOTAL.

*Lionel Graves' record with the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.*

## Motor Trade & Bankruptcy

Pennington, Hubert Stanley Whitmore and Graves, Lionel Percy (trading as The Dennis Motor Car Agency)	18, Berkeley-street, Piccadilly, and 205, Knightsbridge, both in the county of London
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*Bankruptcy notice in the London Gazette.*

The 1904 and 1905 lists of Graduates of the IME give Lionel's address as c/o George Walker of 47 Victoria Street Kensington. The 1906 list gives his address as 22 Granville Place, Portman Square, London and the 1907 list as 16 St. James's Place, London. It would appear that Lionel had entered the fledgling motor trade for in June 1907 a petition for bankruptcy was filed against Hubert Stanley Whitmore Pennington and Lionel Perceval Graves, trading as "the Dennis Motor Car Agency, of 18 Berkeley Street Piccadilly and 205 Knightsbridge," and described as "Makers and dealers in motor cars." An order was made against the partners in January 1908.<sup>43</sup>

There can be no doubt that the Lionel Perceval Graves who appeared in the High Court of Justice in Bankruptcy is the same Lionel Graves, now aged 23, as the combination of names is seemingly unique. This is the same for Lionel's partner, Hubert Stanley Whitmore Pennington. Hubert Pennington was born in Ireland c 1872. In 1889, he was commissioned as a second lieutenant into the Southern Division

**DENNIS BROS. (Ltd.), of Onslow Bridge-st.,**  
Guildford, having had their attention called to the  
announcement in the "London Gazette" and other papers  
of the Bankruptcy of the Dennis Motor Car Agency, of 18,  
Berkeley-street, Piccadilly, and 205, Knightsbridge, London,  
beg to inform their customers and the public at large that  
they are NOT in ANY WAY CONNECTED with the  
DENNIS MOTOR CAR AGENCY.  
Messrs. Dennis Brothers also wish to point out that they  
have at their disposal £65,000 uncalled capital, and, more-  
over, have paid Dividends as follows:—In 1902, 10 per cent.;  
1903, 10 per cent.; 1904, 10 per cent.; 1905, 12½ per cent.;  
1906, 12½ per cent.; and for the ensuing year propose paying  
a further dividend of 12½ per cent.  
**DENNIS BROS. (Ltd.), Guildford.**

Advertisement in "The Standard" by Dennis Bros.

of the Wicklow Artillery,<sup>44</sup> a militia unit. He next surfaces in England aged 29 in 1901, living with his wife, baby daughter and three servants in Woking; his occupation was given as the managing director of a wheel and tyre manufacturing company.<sup>45</sup> Woking was not far from Guildford where the Dennis Brothers were setting up their cycle and motor car company and it is possible that connections made in the industry resulted in Pennington and Graves' West End agency. Hubert Pennington joined the Army Service Corps in 1914 and left the Army at the end of the war as a Lieutenant-Colonel CMG DSO.<sup>46</sup> He died in 1949.

## Royal Engineers

On 27 July 1908, Lionel's brother Arnold received a commission as a second lieutenant in the Electric Lights Company, Dorsetshire (Fortress) of the newly-formed Territorial Force of the Royal Engineers.<sup>47</sup> This unit provided searchlights for coastal defence. The Territorial Force was formed out of local militias for home defence, to replace regular units should they be sent overseas. On 26 May 1909, as his bankruptcy proceedings continued, Lionel Graves was also commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Territorial Force of the Royal Engineers, specifically Works Companies, Kent (Fortress).<sup>48</sup> Whether or not he was seeking to enter the regular army by the "back door" is unknown. His unit was the Submarine Mining School at Gillingham. These units were formed on the creation of the Territorial Force out of elements of the Royal Engineers

**Works Companies, Kent (Fortress); Lionel  
Perceval Graves to be Second Lieutenant.  
Dated 26th May, 1909.**

*London Gazette, 1909.*

(Kent Volunteers) militia.<sup>49</sup> Submarine mining had nothing to do with digging mines under the sea but everything to do with protecting harbours and anchorages against enemy shipping by the laying of underwater mines. Lionel's application form still exists; he gave his profession as "Engineer" and address as "19 Leinster Gardens, Hyde Park, W.19." Leinster Gardens was, and still is a hotel. Lionel was certified to be of good moral character for the last two years by JM Maxwell, a solicitor and a justice of the peace from Co Dublin.<sup>50</sup> Whether or not JM Maxwell Esq or the army knew that Lionel had been made bankrupt is unknown.

On 1 April 1911, Lionel's brother Eric also received a commission in the same Territorial Force unit as Arnold.<sup>51</sup> On the following day, the Census for England and Wales recorded Lionel, his mother Constance, and his sister Geraldine as being visitors at the Burdon (now Prince Regent) Hotel in Weymouth, Dorset. All three are also pencilled-in as "Resident" meaning that whilst they had been born outside England and Wales, they were resident there. Lionel's profession is entered as "Engineer" though it is prefixed with "Electrical" followed by "(Producer)," both in pencil. Constance and Geraldine (the latter ten years previously had been living with her father in Dublin) are recorded as having "No Profession;" Constance is described as "Married" and as having been married for 29 years. She also is recorded as having had five children, all of whom were living (which was not true). The same year's record shows his brother Arnold was living in Greenwich as an assistant schoolmaster and his brother Eric, also an assistant schoolmaster, was living in Hemel Hempstead. According to the Census of Ireland, Arnold Felix Graves was living in lodgings in Harcourt Street, Dublin.

The Census of England and Wales also helps to link

Algernon, the last boy of the marriage according to *Burke's 1912*, and the child born, according to the divorce court record, to Constance in Paddington in October 1893. An entry for Cranbrook in Kent shows an "Algernon F C Graves" as a "Pupil" at Cranbrook School. His place of birth is recorded as "Bournemouth, Hants" (which contradicts Paddington) but his age is given as "17". This means he should have been born between April 1893 and April 1894.

### British Columbia

Lionel resigned his territorial commission on 29 July 1911.<sup>52</sup> He later certified that he had resigned to take up an appointment in British Columbia.<sup>53</sup>

*Works Companies, Kent (Fortress) Engineers, Royal Engineers; Second Lieutenant Lionel P. Graves resigns his commission. Dated 29th July, 1911.*

*London Gazette, 1911.*

On 1 Oct 1911, the liner SS Canada arrived at Québec from Liverpool. Described as "Engineer", Lionel's stated destination was "Vancouver" and



*SS Canada.*

though noted as “Roman Catholic”, this was an error.<sup>54</sup> What appointment Lionel had received is presently unknown. He arrived too late to be included in the 1911 census of Canada but in a later document he gave his address in Canada as “Greysht”, Shaughnessy Heights, Vancouver.<sup>55</sup> Shaughnessy Heights was to be developed by the Canadian Pacific Railway into an exclusive residential area of the city.

Meanwhile back in England on August 1912, in the matter of Lionel’s bankruptcy, a dividend of 1/9½d [9p] in the pound was paid.<sup>56</sup>

## Canadian Infantry

World War I was declared on 4 August 1914 and on the following day, orders were issued by the Canadian Government for the mobilisation of a Canadian Division. On 11 August the 72<sup>nd</sup> Seaforth Highlanders of Canada (formed 1910) mobilised at Vancouver and on the same day, the 50<sup>th</sup> Gordon Highlanders of Canada (formed 1914) mobilised at Victoria, Vancouver Island. Two days later, the 91<sup>st</sup> Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders of Canada (formed 1903) mobilised at Hamilton and the 79<sup>th</sup> Cameron Highlanders of Canada (formed 1911), mobilised at Winnipeg. These four “Scottish” battalions were actually militia units formed ostensibly from men of Scottish ancestry. The units received permission from the parent regiments in Scotland to use their respective names and tartans though there was no administrative or command connections with their namesakes. Rather than attaching an existing infantry unit to the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF), commanding officers of the four mentioned Canadian highland regiments, were instructed to send men, including many volunteers who were



*Valcartier in 1914.*

streaming in, to Valcartier near Québec, to form a “Scottish” battalion: the 16<sup>th</sup> Canadian Infantry Battalion.<sup>57</sup>

It is probable, but not confirmed, that Lionel volunteered in Vancouver with the 72<sup>nd</sup> Seaforth Highlanders of Canada and was selected to join the CEF. All four contingents from the highland units were entrained at the end of August and the last arrived at Valcartier on 3 September. The new 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion served in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Brigade of the 1<sup>st</sup> Canadian Division and later became known as “The Canadian Scottish.” Quite naturally, the new Battalion was in complete confusion – inheriting four different dress codes including four tartans was but one of its problems.<sup>58</sup>

Lionel Graves’ attestation papers still exist. He gave his next of kin as “Mrs Constance Graves of 9 Porchester Terrace, Hyde Park, London W” (an upper-middle class boarding hotel); he was not in the active militia (indicating that he was a recent volunteer); and he declared three years previous service as a second lieutenant in the RE. He was



*SS Andania.*

described as being 5 foot 10 and a half inches tall with a girth of 38 inches. He had dark hair, blue eyes and a ruddy complexion. During his medical examination on 21 September, the medical examiner saw no causes for rejection yet confusingly hand-wrote “unfit” [for service].<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, Lionel’s official day of enlistment as a private, No 29614, was 22 September 1914, the first day that any member of the Battalion was entered onto its strength.<sup>60</sup>

At its formation, the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion had 197 officers and other ranks born in Canada, 446 from England, 400 from Scotland, 43 from Ireland, 9 from Wales,



*Westdown Camp, Salisbury Plain in 1914. Note Canadian-Scottish soldiers wearing kilts.*



*Lark Hill Camp in 1915. Note the mud.*

1 from New Zealand, 17 from the USA, and 49 “sundry”. The Battalion sailed from Québec on 28 September on the SS Andania and formed up in a convoy at Gaspé Bay which set off across the Atlantic on 3 October. The Battalion disembarked on 17 October at Devonport and arrived the following day at Westdown Camp on Salisbury Plain. Following a move to Lark Hill camp on 27 November, the Battalion left for France on 11 February 1915.<sup>61</sup> Lionel Graves was not on its strength as he had already been transferred to the British Army having received a commission eight days earlier in the King’s Own Scottish Borderers (KOSB).



*King George V inspects the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion in 1915.*



*Recruiting poster for the New Armies.*

## **Kitchener's New Army**

Previously, on 5 August 1914, the House of Commons had authorised the addition of 500,000 men into the Regular Army. Thus, concurrently with the raising of the Canadian Division, the British Minister for War, Lord Kitchener was raising his "New Army." Kitchener did not hold with the popular notion that the war would be over by Christmas and realised it would be necessary to heavily supplement the

men in the Regular Army. Kitchener did not use the existing Territorial Force as the foundation upon which the New Army would be built as most of its members had not volunteered to fight abroad and could not be ordered to France. "Kitchener One" or K1 was the designation of the first new divisions, six in total numbered 9 to 14 and also known as "The First Hundred Thousand." Additional army groups, each of six divisions, K2, K3 etc would follow. The new battalions within these new divisions, called "service battalions," were created as additional battalions to existing regiments.

With this mass mobilisation of troops, it was inevitable that officers had to be sought to command them. Majors, who had been left in charge of regimental depots, were promoted to temporary lieutenant colonel and given command of their regiment's senior service battalion – the other two officers at the depots becoming adjutants or company commanders. Three officers from each battalion of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF) sent to France were transferred to the forming service battalions. Additional officers came from: the reserve list; officers of the Indian Army who were at home on leave; and those promoted from within the ranks. Volunteers who had previously held commissions (some from as far back as the Boer War); or who had served in the Officers' Training Corps (founded 1909 in universities and public schools) were given commissions (including Algernon Graves who had been a cadet in the Dublin University OTC). Since many of the new officers did not have the usual qualifications to receive a permanent commission (eg

427634	Pte.	Graham, W. R.	5- 8-18	Cdn. Infantry
29171	Sgt.	Grant, I.	12-10-16	Cdn. Infantry
28881	L/Cpl.	Grant, R. M.	17- 8-15	Imperial Army
29614	Pte.	Graves, L.	19- 2-15	Imperial Army
77135	Pte.	Green, A.	22- 2-18	Royal Air Force
29098	Sgt.	Green, D.	30- 6-17	Cdn. Infantry
29325	Pte.	Grierson, J.	15- 7-15	Imperial Army

*From a list of those commissioned from the 16<sup>th</sup> Canadian Infantry.*

passing through Sandhurst, Woolwich or university, or promoted from the ranks), their commissions were deemed “temporary” and they were unkindly referred to as “temporary gentlemen”.

Inevitably, the ranks of the CEF were trawled for potential officers. Most of those commissioned out of the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion CEF were destined either for the British Army or other units of the Canadian Infantry. However, almost all the early leavers were destined for the British Army which suggests that the Canadian battalions were initially up to strength with officers. A quick cross-reference between those commissioned from the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion in 1914 and early 1915 shows that most had previously served in units of the British or Indian armies or had some other material experience. So many personnel were lost from the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion due to being commissioned out or other causes (including one motor fatality and an epidemic of spinal meningitis) that extra men were drafted in, only to cause a near-mutiny by refusing to wear kilts.<sup>62</sup>

### **King’s Own Scottish Borderers**

One of the numerous infantry regiments in the British Army was the King’s Own Scottish Borderers. The KOSB was a lowland regiment with its depot in England at Berwick-on-Tweed. At the outbreak of war, it had five battalions: two regular (1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup>), two territorial (4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup>) and one reserve (3<sup>rd</sup>). Forming in August 1914, the first service battalion raised by the KOSB became the 6<sup>th</sup> (Service) Battalion KOSB (hereinafter 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB) and was part of the 28<sup>th</sup> Brigade in the 9<sup>th</sup> (Scottish) Division of KI. Recruits for the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB, were sent to the depot at Berwick-on-Tweed. In due course, they were sent in batches to a collection station at

Bordon, near Aldershot. The 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB began training in early September 1914 though in great discomfort and with the inevitable shortages.

The number of volunteer recruits was greater than the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB required and many were taken up by the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> (Service) Battalions, both of which formed at Berwick in September 1914 in the 46<sup>th</sup> Brigade of the 15<sup>th</sup> Scottish Division, becoming part of Kitchener’s second army or K2. The 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> KOSB followed the 6<sup>th</sup> to Bordon. Later volunteers were allocated to the 9<sup>th</sup> (Service) Battalion KOSB which formed in November 1914 at the Verne Citadel at Portland, part of 102<sup>nd</sup> Brigade of the original and short-lived 34<sup>th</sup> Division of Kitchener’s original fourth army or K4. The 102<sup>nd</sup> Brigade was commanded by Brigadier General RB Fell.

### **Commission in KOSB**

Private Lionel Graves, with his public school background and previous commission in the Royal Engineers Territorial Force, signed an application for a commission in the British Army on 29 December 1914. His given choice of duty was in the infantry in a “Service Battalion of the King’s Own Scottish Borderers” though a choice in the “Royal Anglesey Royal Engineers,” one of two special reserve RE regiments, formerly militia, had been crossed out. Lionel was certified as of good character by Major John Edwards Leckie, the second in command of the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion CEF, then at Lark Hill, and the application was approved at Weymouth on 26 January 1915 by the abovementioned Brigadier General Fell, OC 102<sup>nd</sup> Brigade. This was not the final say however as it was up to each applicant to present himself to the Officer Commanding of his chosen unit for acceptance.<sup>63</sup>

*The King's Own Scottish Borderers.*

Lionel P. Graves. 3rd February, 1915.

*London Gazette, 1915.*

The 102<sup>nd</sup> Brigade moved to Dorchester on 1 February 1915. Two days later, Lionel received a commission as a temporary second lieutenant in the KOSB<sup>64</sup> though he was not struck off the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion CEF's strength until 19 February.<sup>65</sup> Lionel's service record is unfortunately incomplete though it seems likely that Lionel was initially assigned to the 9<sup>th</sup> KOSB which at the time was still a service battalion in the original K4, evidence being that it had been its Brigade Commander who had recommended Lionel for a commission.

In April 1915, it was decided to break up K4 and its officers and men used to reinforce the service battalions of K1-K3. Consequently, the 9<sup>th</sup> KOSB became a special reserve battalion, fulfilling the same functions as the 3<sup>rd</sup> KOSB – training men



*Stobs Camp.*

and subalterns for the front-line battalions. The 9<sup>th</sup> relocated to Stobs in the Scottish Borders in June 1915.

The *London Gazette* for 13 November 1915 records that Second Lieutenant Lionel P Graves had been

transferred from a reserve to a service battalion of the KOSB.<sup>67</sup>

## **6<sup>th</sup> KOSB in France**

At the time of Lionel's commissioning in February 1915, the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB was still training at Bordon. Many of its experienced officers were withdrawn to reinforce the 2<sup>nd</sup> KOSB which had been in France since 1914 with the British Expeditionary Force. As an excess of subalterns had been commissioned, some were absorbed by the Battalion to replace those transferred and others were taken up by the 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> as previously outlined. Though Lionel was not on the strength of the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB when it was formed or when it went to France in May 1915, it might be helpful to give an idea of how the 6<sup>th</sup> Battalion initially fared on the Western Front. There follows a summary of the Battalion's early days and introduction to warfare with the 9<sup>th</sup> Division:

*In mid-March 1915, the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB left Bordon for nearby Bramshott. In early May 1915, the Battalion received orders to go to France. Having crossed the English Channel, 29 officers and over 950 other ranks entrained at Boulogne on 13 May for St Omer. On 16 May, it set off on foot for the Armentières sector. Though some casualties were experienced whilst the Battalion was being indoctrinated into trench warfare with other units, the first major battle in which the 9<sup>th</sup> Division fought was the Battle of Loos.*

*At the start of battle on 25 September 1915, the 9<sup>th</sup> Division held the front about 1.5 miles to the north east of Vermelles with the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB in the forward trench between the 10<sup>th</sup> Highland Light Infantry (HLI) and the 5<sup>th</sup> Cameron Highlanders. The battle was a constituent of an Anglo/*

*French offensive and marked the first time that Kitchener's support battalions had been used in a large scale.*

*The offensive for the allies and the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB in particular was disastrous. The initial artillery barrage was limited due to lack of munitions and as the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB approached the German lines, it discovered that the barrage had failed to break the enemy barbed wire beyond which was a ditch filled with wire. All the time the first and second waves were being subject to murderous machine-gun fire. The remnants of the Battalion had no option but to fall back to the British line. Two thirds of the NCOs and men were casualties. The killed and missing were 358; 272 being wounded or gassed. 11 officers were killed and eight were wounded; not a single officer remaining unscathed. The remnants of the 6<sup>th</sup> HOSB were employed as an attachment of the 11<sup>th</sup> HLI clearing the trenches of dead and wounded. When relieved on 29 September, the Battalion was moved to the rear of the Ypres salient.<sup>68</sup>*

## **Lionel's Short War**

Lionel joined the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB at 7pm on 4 October 1915<sup>69</sup> in a reinforcement draft of seven officers and 50 men having landed in France on 1 October; the Battalion was then encamped near Busseboon.<sup>70</sup> The following day, the Battalion moved to Dickebusch, three miles south west of Ypres. On 5 October; it numbered 17 officers and 302 other ranks. The Battalion remained at Dickebusch until 16 October when it replaced the 2<sup>nd</sup> London Regiment in the trenches at Zillebeke. Here Lionel would have had his first experience of trench warfare but it was not to last long as the Battalion was relieved by



*Dickebusch, Belgium.*

the 10<sup>th</sup> HLI on 24 October and proceeded to accommodation at Dickebusch. The Battalion returned to the trenches on 1 November<sup>71</sup> and Lionel is recorded as leaving the Battalion on 12 November.<sup>72</sup>

## **Illness**

Lionel Graves' war was over for on the following day, he arrived at No 7 Base Hospital at Boulogne suffering from haemoptysis (coughing of blood or blood-stained sputum). He was evacuated from Boulogne to Dover on 19 November on the TSS Cambria, an Irish Sea ferry requisitioned as a hospital ship. Diagnosed with tuberculosis, Lionel was initially admitted to Lady Evelyn Mason's Hospital for Officers in London before being sent for fresh air treatment at the Pinewood Sanatorium at Wokingham on 1 December 1915. On 20 January 1916, Lionel was examined by Sir Richard Douglas Powell, formerly physician to Queen Victoria, who gave a favourable prognosis and recommended a further three months' treatment before the question of returning to active service should be raised. The following week on 28 January, a medical

board at the Reading Military Hospital concurred with the specialist's advice and found Lionel unfit for service for three months though he might be fit for light duties after two months. The papers of this period give Lionel's unit as the 9<sup>th</sup> Battalion KOSB, the special reserve battalion.

## Resignation

Clearly and cruelly, the initial optimism was unfounded for in a letter sent to the GOCinC Southern Command on 23 February 1916, Lionel Graves was described as unfit for further service and would be required to resign his commission.<sup>73</sup> The effective date of Lionel's resignation was 17 March 1916.<sup>74</sup> It seems that Lionel did not receive the full three additional month's treatment at Wokingham for he wrote to the War Office from the Lady Portman Convalescent Home at Boscombe on 7 April requesting a pension. Come August 1916, Lionel was a patient at the Hospital for Officers, Torquay. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of the month, he attended another medical board at Exeter Military Hospital. The board found that though the disease was quiescent, Lionel was permanently unfit for any kind of service. The board also attributed the cause of the illness to his military service in the trenches with the Expeditionary Force.<sup>75</sup>

## Deterioration

On 22 August 1916, Lionel wrote an official letter to the Secretary of the War Office requesting the part commutation or an advance of his retired pay. He was aware that his condition was incurable and had been advised that the TB might be arrested in an area with a dry and warm climate – South

Africa being suggested. The expenses would have amounted to at least double the retired pay granted, thus in order to undergo three years treatment, he would require equivalent of six years retired pay.

Lionel's request was rejected though he was offered a free passage to Cape Town for departure on 30 October 1916 in lieu of one to British Columbia. Clearly he did not take up this offer for on 12 October 1916, whilst resident at the Ulundi Private Hotel in Bournemouth, Lionel attended a further medical board at Mont Dore Military Hospital (formerly a hotel and now the town hall). The board found that there was disease at both apices of his lungs and that it was then quiescent; earning capacity was impaired for two years. On 19 December 1916, still resident at the Ulundi Hotel, Lionel applied for a Silver War Badge<sup>76</sup> which had been authorised in September 1916. The badge was awarded to all on being discharged due to sickness or wounds contracted during the war, either at home or overseas. These sterling silver badges were to be worn with civilian clothes to distinguish wounded veterans from other civilians; some veterans dressed in civilian clothes having been presented with white feathers.

Two days earlier, Lionel had written another letter to the War Office but a copy of the letter does not seem to have survived. A reply dated 12 January 1917 stated (a) that he had been granted the rank of honorary second lieutenant; (b) that he did not have the right to wear uniform except whilst on

*K. O. Sco. Bord.*  
Temp. 2nd Lt. Lionel P. Graves relinquishes his commission on account of ill-health, and is granted the honorary rank of 2nd Lt. 17 Mar. 1916. (Substituted for notification in Gaz. of 16 Mar. 1916.)

*London Gazette, 1917.*

military duty; and (c) that the *London Gazette* of 16 March 1916 would be amended.<sup>77</sup> The award was retroactive dating back to his resignation on 17 March 1916 but the full benefit it brought him is presently unknown.

A few days later, on 24 January 1917, Lionel and his mother Constance were witnesses to the wedding of his sister Geraldine (34) to Francis James Burke (29), a Royal Naval surgeon, at the Oratory of the Sacred Heart (Roman Catholic) at Bournemouth. On the marriage certificate, Geraldine gave her address as the Ulundi Hotel, the same hotel as in which Lionel was resident. Did Lionel give the bride away? Francis James Burke had been born in Dublin on 25 July 1887 and had attended the National University of Ireland (MB, B Surg 1911).<sup>78</sup> It is presently unclear whether the couple first met in Ireland or in England. It is also unclear whether Geraldine had converted to Roman Catholicism.

A further medical board was convened at Reading Military Hospital on 2 March 1918. Having had further treatment at Pinewood Sanatorium, Lionel was noted as going steadily downhill. He was running a temperature; he could only speak with a whisper; and had ulceration of his left vocal cord.<sup>79</sup>

## Death

Lionel's death certificate states that he died of pulmonary tuberculosis on 21 December 1918 at "Camelot", St David's Place, Llandudno aged 34. His address was 9 Porchester Terrace, London W (his mother's address) and his brother Arnold, described as "Major", was present at the death.<sup>80</sup> Arnold had survived the War having been seconded in July 1915 from the Royal Engineers to the Royal Flying Corps/Royal Air Force.<sup>81</sup> He spent some of the time in

Mesopotamia (Iraq) where survivability for a pilot was possibly a little better than on the Western Front. The funeral is recorded in the Llandudno parish records as being held on 26 December 1918. The Rector, the Rev Llewelyn R Hughes, officiated.

## Algernon Graves

The possibility that the child born to Constance Graves on 26 October 1893, and Algernon, the last son of Arnold Graves as noted by Burke's 1912, are one and the same has already been mentioned – namely the boy noted in the 1911 census as Algernon F C Graves, a 17 year old pupil at Cranbrook School in Kent. Military records confirm that this is indeed the case. A file is held at the National Archives for Temporary Captain Algernon Frederick Charles Graves.<sup>82</sup> Firstly, his date of birth is recorded as 26 October 1893, the same date as the child born to Constance in Paddington. Secondly, in August 1914 he applied for a commission in the Royal Irish Fusiliers. Since he was under the age of 21, Arnold Felix Graves countersigned the application as his father. Intriguingly, Algernon gave his usual place of residence as that of his mother's residential hotel in London though his address for correspondence was in Dublin. He had also been a cadet in the Dublin University OTC which suggests that he may have studied at Trinity College.<sup>83</sup> Clearly, sometime between the divorce in 1894 and the time Burke's 1912 was compiled, Arnold Graves had accepted Algernon as his son.

Lionel was not the first of the Graves' brothers to die as a result of World War I for Algernon, since transferred to the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, had died from his wounds whilst a prisoner of war in Belgium in 1917.<sup>84</sup> After Algernon's death, his estate

was administered by his father who directed that his personal belongings should be forwarded to his mother in London.<sup>85</sup>

## Aftermath

On 25 September 1919, probate of Lionel's estate of £138/19s/7d (over £6000 in today's money) was granted to his brother Arnold Graves.<sup>86</sup> A certified true extract from the Letters of Administration (authority to administer the estate of a person who had not made a will) stated that the grantee was "Arnold Graves, natural and lawful son of Arnold Felix Graves, father of the deceased, who has renounced Letters of Administration." It seems curious that Arnold Felix Graves had been willing to administer Algernon's estate but was unwilling to administer Lionel's estate. Perhaps he had had enough of the tragedy of war compounding the tragedy of his personal life. In any event, the Letter of Authority to administer Lionel's estate had been produced by Mrs Constance Graves, now of the Hotel Somerset, Orchard Street, W1 to whom the letter was returned on 29 September 1919.<sup>87</sup>

According to his navy record, the Hotel Somerset had also been the address, when on half pay, as from 27 March 1919 of Geraldine's husband Francis James Burke, now a surgeon lieutenant commander. There is an entry in his service record dated April 1919 that reads, "Reports verbally of his special knowledge of tuberculosis treatment – would like hospital appointment."<sup>88</sup> Was this a coincidence or had he been active, officially or otherwise, in Lionel's case? [Geraldine Graves died of influenza on 2 May 1920.<sup>89</sup> Her husband Francis James Burke had been appointed to the about-to-be-commissioned battlecruiser HMS Hood but was

admitted to hospital a few days before her death and was invalided out of the service shortly after. He died on 9 May 1967.<sup>90</sup>]

Previously on 11 August 1919, Lionel's mother had applied to the Army Council for remission of death duties leviable in respect of such portion of Lionel's property as came under the operation of various Finance Acts.<sup>91</sup> In letters to both Mrs Constance Graves and the Inland Revenue dated 1 December 1919, the Army Medical Authorities considered that "the disease from which the late Officer died was contracted whilst he was the subject of Military Law but not within 3 years of the date of his death," and the Army Council was unable to recommend remission from death duties. Subsequently, the War Office made enquiries of the army pay agents, Cox and Co, if any balance of pay or allowance was due on Lionel's estate or if he had received a gratuity under article 497 of the pay warrant. The reply was that there was no outstanding pay or allowance and that the gratuity had been paid on 17 March 1916. A similar enquiry from the War Office to the pay office of the Overseas Military Forces of Canada revealed that no Canadian War Service Gratuity (CWSG) had been paid and explained that in the case of a soldier who died after discharge from the Canadian Forces, the CWSG could only be claimed by a dependent who had been receiving Separation Allowance.<sup>92</sup>

In 1937, a new War Office file was opened titled "Lieut L.P. Graves, Particulars of Death." The file was opened as a result of an enquiry dated 14 June 1937 from the Canadian Department of National Defence. Information was required for his possible inclusion in the *Canadian Book of Remembrance*. The file's minute sheet records the result of the enquiry: the casualty card showed "2Lt Lionel Percival Graves of 9 KOSBs" and *The Times* obituary read "Died

Name	Corps	Reg. No.	Rank	Date of Discharge	Cause of Discharge
Graves, L. P.	K.O.S.B.		Sapper		
Date of application	(a) Badge 19.12.16 (b) Medal				
No. of File	" 80885/3 "				
Address of applicant :-	Ulundi West Hill Road Bournemouth.				
Action taken	A. List 119.				
<small>W631-1213 4150 514 HWV/P43 G16122            3179-3127 2 200/200 11/18</small>					

Silver War Badge card for Lionel Graves. If his medals had been applied for, then this card would have been destroyed.

from illness contracted on service.”<sup>93</sup> Seemingly, *The Times* was regarded as a more reliable source of information than service records. On 17 July 1937, a reply was sent to Canada confirming the basic facts and that the tuberculosis from which he had died was “contracted in and already caused by military service.”<sup>94</sup> Lionel Graves was subsequently remembered on page 587 of the *Canadian Book of Remembrance* as “2Lt Graves, Lionel Perceval, 9<sup>th</sup> KOSB.”<sup>95</sup>

What remains curious is that there is no medal index card to be found in Lionel’s name for his service in the KOSB. Anyone who had seen service on the Western Front, for even a very short period, would have been entitled to a number of medals. In Lionel’s case, these would normally have been the 1914/15 Star (authorised 1918), the British War Medal (authorised 1919), and the Victory Medal (authorised 1919). There exists the card regarding the Silver War Badge (mentioned earlier) but these cards were normally destroyed on the award of medals, the award of the SWB being noted on the newly-created medal index card. Perhaps Lionel

did not qualify because he may have been showing initial symptoms, remaining in the rear during the 39 days that he was with the 6<sup>th</sup> KOSB. However, the evidence does not support this and it seems as likely that the medals were not awarded because officers, or their kin, had to apply for them, and in this case, nobody did. A medal card does exist for Lionel for his service in the 16<sup>th</sup> Battalion CEF<sup>96</sup> but no awards are annotated.

Another anomaly is that when the writer made enquiries with King William’s College, Lionel Graves was not listed on the College’s Roll of Honour of those killed in the two World Wars and his name was not on the College War Memorial. Clearly the College had never been informed of his death. Indeed, KWC obviously believed Lionel to have survived the war for in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of the Register (to 1927) there is no mention of his death and his address is given as 11 Leinster Street, Dublin, an apartment his father vacated at about the end of 1901.<sup>97</sup> In the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the Register (to 1956) he is still listed with the same details as in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Register (ie: no recorded death) but, most curiously, a new address is given – 39 Kilveen (Killeen) Road, Ranelagh, Co Dublin.

## Reflection

Lionel Graves was not the only expatriate Canadian soldier to die of tuberculosis in Llandudno. On 17 September 1917, Sapper Thomas Arthur March of the Canadian Railway Troops droops died at the Balmoral Military Hospital, Llandudno. Thomas March was born in Northamptonshire in 1870, but at the time of his death his mother lived at Craig-y-don, Llandudno.

So whilst there is a good reason for Thomas March

(4 10 40) W222-RP2000 20,000 5/20 HWY(P100) H4134  
2075-RP2000 25,000 10/20

**GRAVES REGISTRATION REPORT FORM.**

LLANDUDNO Command.

Name of Cemetery (St. Tudno) ~~Parish~~ Churchyard. Report Number **Crewe 85**

Parish Llandudno. Cam. Colwyn Rhos Certified Correct and Complete. Schedule Number **1**

County Carnarvonshire Signature Im. Longdon Category of Graves **d**

Unit	Regtl. No.	Name	Rank and Initials	Date of Burial	Number or Letter of			Type of Memorial	Type of Grave	Remarks
					Plot	Row	Grave			
<u>9th. Br. R.O.S. Bde.</u>	<u>—</u>	<u>GRAVES.</u> <u>Graves</u>	<u>Lt. Lionel Percival</u>	<u>1/21</u> <u>12/18</u>	<u>New part</u>	<u>57</u>	<u>N.M.</u>	<u>Fr.</u>	<u>20/50932</u> <u>address St. David's</u>	<u>Place, Llandudno.</u>

From the Commonwealth War Grave Commission's records.

to have died in Llandudno, no definite reason as to why Lionel Graves ended his days and was interred at Llandudno has yet been discovered. According to a 1920 gazetteer, the place of his death, "Camelot" was an apartment block owned by Mrs J Owen. Now the Brigstock Guest House, it is a large house rather than an apartment block. There is no evidence to support the fact it may have been a nursing home in 1918.<sup>98</sup> Perhaps the "seaside" air was thought to be therapeutic but North Wales does not have the dry temperament conditions of South Africa where he had been recommended to reside. It is known that his brother, Arnold was present at the time of his death – it is possible that other members of his family were in Llandudno at the time but this is unrecorded. After his interment, Lionel Graves was largely forgotten.

Nevertheless, looking into the life and background of Lionel Graves has unearthed fascinating insights into a turbulent period of British and Irish history. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Graves' family was part of the Irish gentry. Yet within a generation, fuelled by the appalling losses of the First World War and the changing political situation in Ireland, which almost certainly deprived Arnold Felix Graves of a knighthood, the privileged situation had changed forever. Conversely, it has been possible to record the remarkable rise of his mother Constance Graves

from a singer in the chorus to a lady of Dublin high society – as well as her sensational downfall.

A curiosity is that there is some evidence to indicate that Arnold Felix Graves and Constance never achieved a final divorce. For example, neither of them remarried. Arnold Graves is described as "Married" in both the 1901 and 1911 censuses of Ireland. In his obituaries in *The Times* and *The Irish Times*, both mention that he had married Miss Constance Weatherley and that they had had four sons and one daughter – but there is no mention of the scandal that these papers had so enthusiastically reported 36 years previously or that she had survived him.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, Constance Graves is described as "Married" in the 1911 Census England and as the "Widow of Arnold Felix Graves, Civil Servant," on her death certificate. Enquiries to the Central Index of Decrees Absolute failed to find any record of Arnold Felix Graves and Constance Graves. Nevertheless, as previously mentioned, the Graves Divorce Bill was given its third reading in the House of Lords on 29 May 1894 and the Bill was passed. It received Royal Assent and was made an Act of Parliament on 3 July 1894.<sup>100</sup>

Arnold Felix Graves retired in November 1917, after the death of Algernon but before the death of Lionel. The medal card for Algernon dated 1922 records

his father's address as "Penn's Place, Hampton on Thames, Middlesex". Algernon's Defence and Allied Victory medals were awarded that year (unlike those of Lionel it appears). An electoral register for 1925 records Arnold Felix Graves living at 9 Northwick Terrace NW8. Arnold Felix died on 24 May 1930 at Wheathampstead near St Albans aged 82. His son Arnold was present at the death.<sup>101</sup> Constance Graves died on 7 October 1940 at Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire aged 76. Her son Eric was present at the death. Her occupation was given as "Widow of Arnold Felix Graves, Civil Servant."<sup>102</sup> Although Wheathampstead and Berkhamsted are only about 20 miles apart, there is no evidence as yet that Arnold Felix and Constance Graves ever met subsequently.

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