The Poet's Brother, or 'A death in the family': the experience of mourning and commemoration in the Sassoon family

by Philip Dutton

2017-05-30 09:38:09

Introduction

Almost fifty years after his death[1] Siegfried Sassoon continues to exert a powerful influence on British viewpoints of the history of the Great War. As a chronic post-war 'revenant' he established, especially via his prose reconstructions of his fictionalised and real self, an unbreakable link with that cataclysmic event. But it was his earlier poetic output as a soldier-participant, variously condemning the failures of politics and religion and highly critical of military incompetence, which has proved particularly influential in spreading a, by now, well received orthodoxy. A view of the conflict as one which was as futile as it was inhumane and disastrous. Anger is naturally accepted as a crucial ingredient informing his 'art?', but relatively little reference has been made to the effect of an intimate personal tragedy which, in part, pre-disposed him to this attitude of rage and protest: the impact of the death, just over 100 years ago, of his younger brother, who saw and fully experienced the reality of 'war' well before Siegfried had ever reached the firing line.

The death

At the beginning of November 1915 an official telegram[2] was received by Mrs Theresa Sassoon at her home, 'Weirleigh', near Paddock Wood, in Kent. The contents informed her, in the tersest War Office prose, that the youngest of her three sons had been wounded whilst on active service in Gallipoli. Though clearly the cause for distress, the communication contained a glimmer of hope; the extent of the injuries was not stated. In the absence of precise details Theresa may have conjectured at least the possibility of her damaged son's survival. But any such hopes were dashed a mere two days later. Hard on the heels of the first telegram a second had been despatched, dated 3rd November 1915, which informed Mrs Sassoon that Hamo had died on board the hospital ship 'Kildonan Castle'. This deeply upsetting message also provided brutal details of the nature of Hamo's injuries: 'gunshot wound, left leg, compound fracture & tibia and fibia.'[3] Hamo had in fact died on the very day that Theresa had learnt he had been wounded.

Hamo

The youngest of the three Sassoon brothers, Hamo was born on 4 August 1887[4]. Educated privately then at Marlborough and Clare College, Cambridge, he developed a flair for mathematics and for all things mechanical, creative and scientific. Inclined at first to architecture in the end he opted for civil engineering as a career and, following his degree, worked first for the family firm of Thornycrofts before journeying to Argentina to build breakwaters and bridges in the area of the River Plate with the engineering and construction firm Messrs Walker
& Company. Following the outbreak of war in 1914, like hundreds of other British professionals working abroad, he abandoned his career and returned to England to enlist. He joined the Royal Engineers, and obtained his commission in June 1915. He left for Gallipoli with the 1/1st West Riding Field Company on 17 August and landed on the Peninsula in early October, when the campaign to force the Straits and 'knock Turkey out of the war' was in a state of disastrous inertia following the failure of the Suvla offensives in August. His active service career was very short. On the night of 28th October, during wiring operations in front of the British positions, Hamo was shot in the leg; an incident that was recorded starkly in the unit's War Diary: 'Casualties: 2/Lt. H Sassoon wounded; 6 sick.'[5] Though gravely damaged, Hamo managed to crawl back into a frontline trench. After having his wound dressed he was moved back, first to the Field Ambulance (where his wound was deemed to be very serious) then to a Casualty Clearing Station. He was transferred to the 'Kildonan Castle' on 1st November, and died on board that vessel following the amputation of his leg; he was buried at sea that same evening.

First reactions

The shock of Hamo's death to Theresa Sassoon was intense and only added to her anxieties about Siegfried who was just about to leave England for service on the Western Front with the Royal Welch Fusiliers. Siegfried himself attempted to resolve his feelings about the loss of his brother via poetry but his subsequent effort, dated 18 December 1915, entitled 'Brothers' displayed, by all accounts, nothing more than a competence in formally restrained and entirely conventional commemoration.[6]

It was only following Sassoon's experience of active service life in France, in the early part of 1916, and the distressing arbitrary loss, in the normal weekly 'wastage' of trench warfare, of his close friend David Thomas (the 'Dick Tiltwood' of 'Memoirs of a Fox Hunting Man')[7], that he determined to allow his accumulated grief a physical outlet in vindictive violence (i.e. 'killing Germans?') and channel his writing towards the poetry of angry protest. The death of 'Tommy' (who died on 19th March 1916) was also a means of re-experiencing and acknowledging the death of Hamo, as a chance encounter, a week later, with a Royal Engineers officer (called Sisson) who knew Hamo well and who shared fond reminiscences about him only compounded Siegfried's misery.[8]

Spiritualism

Meanwhile at home, especially following the return of Hamo's personal effects (see Appendix), Theresa, an isolated figure at the best of times, retreated into a state of morbid introspection and grief. She turned her dead son's room into a shrine and became increasingly drawn to the dubious consolations of Spiritualism, which at the time (and especially after the publication of Sir Arthur Lodge's 'Raymond: or life and death' in 1916) enjoyed something of a boom as countless numbers of bereft parents sought to make sense of the sudden and painful loss of their loved ones. A loss made more difficult to bear in many instances by the absence of a grave at which to mourn. Theresa's commitment to psychic communication with her dead son deeply depressed Siegfried and indirectly became the cause of a much later, post-war, rift between himself and his fellow ex-Royal Welch Fusilier and war poet friend, Robert Graves. This occurred in late 1929, on the publication of Graves' autobiography, 'Good Bye to All That'. This notorious work included a remarkable though unattributed description of his stay with Sassoon at 'Weirleigh' during the late summer of 1916 during which Graves claimed to have experienced a particularly uncomfortable and sleepless first night, being several times disturbed by unaccountably diabolic shrieks and loud bumps.[9] It would appear that he had been allocated a bedroom near Hamo's old room, which had been so carefully preserved by Theresa and fitted out with her son's old kit. Graves's lively description of his temporary accommodation (barely disguised as that of the home of an anonymous 'First Battalion friend?') also depicted a mother besotted by grief and clearly obsessed with making contact with the spirit of her dead soldier son. This breach of decorum and caricature of his mother (who by 1929 was fragile and unwell) so upset Siegfried that he confronted Graves's publisher, Jonathan Cape, with a
view to getting the offending passages removed; it also was the cause of a falling-out between Sassoon and Graves that lasted many years. By then of course Siegfried may have forgotten how personally distasteful he found his mother's wartime refuge in spiritualism; certainly his diary entry for 23 January 1917 pulled no punches, as he fixes upon on what he sees as a weakness among many women, including his mother, who try to forget the horrors of war by 'clinging to the dead'.

**Marlborough College and John Bain**

Hamo's loss was also felt and acknowledged outside the family 'notably by his old school, Marlborough College, of which he was one of 749 old boys and staff who were killed between 1914 and 1918. After the war a large sum of money was collected to build a Memorial Hall, while during its course a ritual was established to pay individual tributes to the school's war dead by publishing poems celebrating their characters, virtues and sacrifice. John Bain, former form master of the Army Class was the most prolific author of these. In the June 1917 edition of 'The Marlburian' Bain included a poem in memory of Hamo Sassoon.

Prior to its publication, Siegfried was sent a draft of Bain's tribute and a critical appraisal of the poem was included in his reply (dated 12 May 1917) which now forms part of the Sassoon papers in the IWM's Department of Documents. It is in this letter, far more than in the conventional lines of his poem 'Brothers', that Siegfried conveyed not only a deeply affectionate character study of his late brother but a far more accessible and humane sense of love and sorrow for the loss of a single life amidst the vast impersonal destructiveness of the Great War.

In his letter he acknowledges that the poem touched him deeply, and comments on how well it captures Hamo's essential nature. He suggests his brother would have liked the idea of being buried at sea, and offers a couple of suggestions for how the poem could be changed to reflect this.

John Bain absorbed these suggestions but the final lines of his poem were definitely his own:

> O rest you well, young mountaineer,  
> Tombed by the lonely, wine-dark sea!

Commemorations to Hamo crop up at odd times in Siegfried's continual prose re-workings of his own life; very notably a reference to his brother's death comes, entirely out of context, in the first volume of his 'real' autobiography, 'The Old Century' (published 1938), when musing on a blissful Norfolk summer holiday in the 1890s, Sassoon ramblingly transports his readers into the future and allows himself an opportunity to express his continuing anger for Hamo's untimely death (and all the injustices of the war) after chancing upon (in 1937) a memorial inscription on the lych-gate at Edingthorpe Church, commemorating a soldier 'who went down in the torpedoed Transport Royal Edward in the Aegean Sea, 13th August 1915.' The lych-gate becomes for him yet another portal to the past and thoughts of Hamo being mortally wounded on Gallipoli, stirred by the coincidental reference to drowning in the Aegean, re-awaken all the old anger about 'The donkeys who made the Great War?'

**Resting places**

Hamo Sassoon was lost in a campaign little regarded in this country and one seemingly doomed to failure. His quiet exit within the context of a classic military tragedy was in huge contrast to the dramatic upheavals marking the service life of Siegfried. Hamo's death, from which his mother never really recovered, at first
contributed to his brother's powerful urge for vengeful action, manifested in displays of foolhardy daring in the trenches, and fuelled the ironic protests of his intimidating verse. Their contrasting lives and war experiences are in a sense mirrored by the physical memorials commemorating their deaths. Siegfried, having trod a complex and often unhappy path to self-acceptance, spiritual reconciliation[19] and personal peace, died, an aged and respected figure, on 1 September 1967. He lies buried, amidst the great and the good, in the quintessentially English churchyard at Mells in Somerset. Dying young, virtually unknown, and unobtrusively buried at sea, Hamo's name, together with those of over 21,000 other combatants with no known grave, is recorded simply on the Helles Memorial to the Missing, a gaunt 30 metre-high obelisk, at the windblown southernmost tip of the far off Gallipoli peninsula.

+++++Postscript+++++

July 2010 marked the dedication of the Spiritualists' first memorial to members that have served in the UK armed forces, which was unveiled at the National Memorial Arboretum, Alrewas, Staffordshire. Proposed and funded by the Spiritualists' National Union (SNU), it followed a number of unsuccessful attempts to have Spiritualists represented at the Cenotaph and Remembrance Day parade and the SNU's determination to create a lasting memorial to all Spiritualists who have served and continue to serve.[20]

APPENDIX

National Archives file FO 917/1767 includes a list of Hamo's personal effects 'as presented by the Committee of Adjustment Malta, 10 November 1915'. The items (listed as articles 'of sentimental value' and presumably returned, with other items of kit, to his mother) were:

2 pipes; 1 safety razor in case; 2 pocket books; 1 leather case; 1 compass; 1 whistle; 2 leather straps; 2 stars; 3 RE buttons; 1 silver tobacco box; 1 purse containing 4d; 1 cheque book; 1 wrist watch.

SOURCES

Imperial War Museum, Department of Documents, catalogue number Documents.1610: letters from Siegfried Sassoon to John Bain, former master at Marlborough College, held by the IWM's,

National Archives document reference: WO 95/4309, War Diary of the 1/1 West Riding Field Company Royal Engineers (later became 455 Field Coy RE), 29th Division, Feb 1915 - Feb 1916

National Archives document reference WO 339/45966, Hamo Sassoon's service papers (includes copies of the 2 telegrams sent to his mother

National Archives document reference FO 917/1767, re. the estate of Hamo Sassoon; includes list of personal effects.

The Marlburian, Vol LII, No.775, 21 June 1917, pp. 89-90

Goodbye to All That, Robert Graves, Jonathan Cape, 1929, pp. 289-90

**FOOTNOTES**

[1] 1st September 1967

[2] Copy held by the National Archives, under WO 339/45966

[3] Copy held by the National Archives under WO 339/45966


[5] WO 95/4309: War Diary of the 1/1 West Riding Field Company Royal Engineers, 29th Division, Feb 1915 - Feb 1916; held by the National Archives

[6] Published in the Saturday Review 26 Feb 1916; later re-titled 'To my Brother?'


I was interested to read Suzanne Grogan’s post about the largely unacknowledged, and certainly incompletely explored question of spiritualism in the Great War. As in so many aspects of the war, Robert Graves's *Goodbye to All That* alerted me forty-odd years ago to bereaved parents' recourse to spiritualism. After he had been wounded on the Somme in 1916 he stayed with a family in Kent, a son of which had been killed on Gallipoli. Graves left early, disturbed by rapping noises and shrieks in the night, and encountering the mother fully dressed in the small hours, presumably communing with her son in his room which she had preserved exactly as he had left it. 'There were thousands of mothers like her', he recalled, 'getting in touch with their dead sons by various spiritualistic means'.[1]

In Australia a great deal of attention has been paid by historians to the effects of the war on the bereaved - works of compassion and insight, such as Joy Damousi's *The Labour of Loss*, Stephen Garton's *The Cost of War*, or Bart Ziino's *A Distant Grief*. [2] Despite the popular engagement with the history of the Great War in Australia (and with its mythology and emotion), little interest seems to have been taken in the response of spiritualism.

Australian historians, even the best of those exploring the impact of mass death, have directed little attention to spiritualism. Joy Damousi tells an affecting story of a mother communing with her dead son - but in 1944.
Stephen Garton describes a séance held in Melbourne in 1920. Bart Ziino wrote insightfully of the importance of 'phantoms' in coming to terms with the cost of war but largely in terms of Will Longstaff's painting The Menin Gate at Midnight (enormously popular in cheap reproductions) rather than individually, through, say, sances.

Writing the 'social history' chapters of a volume dealing with the Australian experience of the Great War at home, I was struck anew by the surprising dearth of reference to spiritual responses to bereavement, and included in my section on 'death and grief' a paragraph discussing spiritualism in Australia:

Throughout the war the two dozen lodges of the Theosophical Society, the formal wing of the spiritualist movement, grew, with an eight-storey headquarters in Sydney and substantial buildings in most states. Mainly middle-class, its members included bereaved parents anxious to contact dead soldier sons, or at least to be comforted that they lived on in other realms. Theosophists had reacted optimistically to its outbreak, believing that mass death in a 'noble cause created a bank of souls ready to reincarnate for higher evolutionary purposes'. Bereaved more interested in solace than higher evolutionary purposes turned to clairvoyance, which underwent a minor resurgence as women especially sought comfort. With so many men in peril, from the moment their transports left harbour, not surprisingly many civilians resorted to superstition. Fortune-tellers and clairvoyants became popular, often prosecuted by state police forces that regarded them as cheats rather than as bearers of consolation, a phenomenon awaiting investigation. Fortune-telling was illegal in some states in Victoria attracting relatively light fines; presumably no deterrent to amateurs filling a need for reassurance. Norman Lindsay recalled the 'universal sense of shocked insecurity' which sent nearly everybody into the back-parlour limbo of Spiritualism. (1) But it was not nearly everybody, but certainly Lindsay. Though her husband had decried C.J. Dennis's verse as 'maudlin rubbish [as] a consolation for their dead', Rose Lindsay described Norman's distress when he learned of the death of his brother Reg, killed during the Somme winter. Norman acquired a Ouija board and with it tried to communicate with Reg (and, being Norman, also with Shakespeare and the god Apollo).

(To explain 'local' references in a paragraph in a volume pressed for words: C.J. Dennis was the popular poet whose books, especially Songs of a Sentimental Bloke and The Moods of Ginger Mick, became massive publishing successes (and is discussed elsewhere in the volume). Norman Lindsay was a Sydney cartoonist and artist whose self-conscious libertarian bohemianism co-existed with his creation of some of the most vicious anti-German propaganda of Australia's war. Gunner Reg Lindsay was killed on the Somme on 31 December 1917.)

Why is it that historians have generally neglected the spiritualist response to bereavement in the Great War? How common was it? Did the bereaved find fortune-tellers, clairvoyants or mediums already practising, or did they emerge to meet the demand, as it were? Who sought out spiritualist routes to contact the dead working class or middle class; men or women? How did laws governing fortune-telling affect the way it was used, or the way it was reported? We hardly have answers to these questions.

But we might; thanks to the availability of digitised Australian newspapers of the Great War period through the National Library of Australia's astonishing Trove data base (http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper?q=%20). It enables us to trace references to 'clairvoyants', fortune-tellers', 'spiritualists', 'sances' and (with more difficulty) 'mediums' for hundreds of metropolitan and local newspapers throughout the period and to compare reports and references before, during and after the war. This new tool should by itself re-invigorate the investigation of this response to the Great War.

I'm hoping that someone in Australia might take up this question. It's worthy of everything from an honours thesis (looking at spiritualism in one state, perhaps) to an MA or even a PhD. I think (if the evidence sustains it)
there could be a book in this.


Licensed as Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-SA

Original version

'A solace to a tortured world…' - The Growing Interest in Spiritualism during and after WW1
In the 21st century, how many of us believe in ghosts' Is commune with the dead now confined to the pages of teenage fiction and mass market horror' Or could we, as a society, once more turn to spiritualism in our hundreds of thousands as our grand and great grandparents did during and after the Great War?

I have recently been researching the rise of spiritualism from 1914 until the 1930s, from a resurgence to a decline from which it has not recovered. The work of Jenny Hazelgrove in *Spiritualism and British Society Between the Wars* (2000) and Professor Jay Winter in *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (2014), have informed my work on the emotional impact of the war on society as a whole, as I make the argument for a 'Shell Shocked Britain'. Why did so many rational men and women, in secular and religious communities, place their faith in the spiritualist church' How did individual mediums convince them of the possibility of opening a channel of communication with loved ones lost in the trenches, air or seas of the conflict?

By the end of that war, few families had escaped the experience of loss. If one's own family had come home safely, a friend or family member would have suffered bereavement. A small community may have lost the majority of its young, male residents and the grieving process was a national experience, so widely felt that spiritualism found a large and ready audience. Professor Winter has said it 'provided a means through which the dead led the way'. They helped both to lift the burden of grief borne by their families and to spread the 'truth' of spirit communication'.

'Celebrity' endorsements, then as now, increased spiritualism's popularity. Believers such as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and Sir Oliver Lodge, although not necessarily in agreement with each other (Doyle took an emotional stance, Lodge a more rational view) saw spirit communication as akin to new work on electricity and radio waves. Both men had lost loved ones to the war. Lodge wrote a book based on his communication with his son, Raymond, who was killed at Ypres in 1915. In it he described 'Summerland' where Raymond now resided, enjoying a life without the cares those on earth experienced. 100 years on, we can look at it as a cultural response to mass bereavement, but even in the 21st century there is still a yearning to believe there is a life beyond death.

Many, including those in the Catholic and Anglican churches, were wholly against the new 'craze?', described vividly by an anonymous letter writer, who had seen military service, to *The Courier* in 1919:

> Mothers and friends of fallen soldiers resorting to table-rapping, creakings, automatic writing through the medium of the planchette, Ouija, heliograph etc. in the hope of once more communicating with their loved ones'.

The author of the letter accused mediums of being aggressive 'quacks' that preyed on the delusional and were mouthpieces of the devil himself. Warming to his subject, his rant led to a significant error ' he maintained that soldiers did not turn to spiritualism, when as Professor Jay Winter points out, the memoirs and letters of serving personnel were abound with images and legends of a spiritualist nature.

Critics called this belief in a glorious afterlife a 'menace' and suggested those who believed were 'gullible imbeciles' to fall for the 'roguery' of spiritualists. As the correspondent to *The Courier* went on:

> There are many unfortunate beings today in our lunatic asylums driven mad by demoniacal possession. They are also directly responsible for many suicides. In females it often results in hysterics, chronic insomnia &c.'
A doctor, writing to *The Western Daily Press* in 1912, replied to Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's assertion that no harm could come to anyone involved in spiritualist practices. On the contrary, he said, it was clear that there were 'fear-fascinated neurotics' for whom the sance was very dangerous, and that the same people would inevitably be drawn to self-introspection and psychoanalysis, of which he had a similarly low opinion.

The response to the rise of spiritualism at this time was often couched in misogynistic terms. Mediums were usually female, finding what they considered to be a positive role that brought them to prominence in a society still restricting and marginalising the work thought appropriate for a respectable woman to do. In fact, from spiritualism's Victorian heyday onwards, some 'sensitive' women were exploited by men who took them round wealthy parlours almost as a freak show.

The rise of spiritualism and its links to issues of gender, the role of religion and the need for certainty and succour is fascinating, and not often discussed. It would be an interesting topic for further research.

Licensed as Creative Commons CC-BY-NC-SA

Original version

**Wartime Art and Grief**

*by Claudia Siebrecht*

*2014-01-06 17:25:23*

In this podcast Dr Claudia Siebrecht, Lecturer in Modern European History at the University of Sussex, discusses German women and the aesthetics of loss portrayed through art during the First World War.

Watch and download the podcast at: [http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/wartime-art-and-grief](http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/wartime-art-and-grief)

This podcast is part of the series First World War: New Perspectives available on Oxford Podcasts: [http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/series/first-world-war-new-perspectives](http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/series/first-world-war-new-perspectives).
Morality in Wartime Britain

by Edward Madigan

2013-01-09 10:07:35

Presented by Dr Edward Madigan, Commonwealth War Graves Commission, this video and audio podcast explores morality and the role of the British clergy during the First World War.

Watch and download the podcast at: [http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/morality-wartime-britain-video](http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/morality-wartime-britain-video).

This podcast is part of the series [First World War: New Perspectives](http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/morality-wartime-britain-video) available on Oxford Podcasts.