



Valour Canada

Llandovery Castle

Case Study

Learning Objectives:

- ✚ Define Canada's role in the FWW and how its experience impacted Canada domestically and internationally during the war as well as in the years following the signing of the armistice.
- ✚ Describe basic WWI naval warfare and the sinking of HMHS Llandovery Castle.
- ✚ Name one Canadian Nursing Sister and illustrate how she had a positive impact on the FWW.
- ✚ Define propaganda and provide FWW examples for both the Canadian and the German sides.
- ✚ Outline the Geneva and Hague Conventions, explain their purpose, and assess whether they can prevent atrocities.
- ✚ Explain the potential impact of nationalism on perspectives of justice following the FWW.

**VALOUR
CANADA**

**CONNECTING
CANADIANS
TO THEIR MILITARY
HERITAGE**

FREE AND FAIR USE

Dear Teachers, Museum Educators, and other users of Valour Canada material,

Please freely use, share, adapt, and copy, the materials and lesson plans provided by Valour Canada for the purposes of educating and not for monetary gain of any sort. Valour Canada appreciates being credited for the materials it has created and shared and we ask that our logo remains present on our documents; feel free to add your organization's logo alongside ours if preferred. We request that you do not insert images or written content from Valour Canada's materials into other published works.

A small favour: Please Complete a 60-second Survey



By completing our survey, we are informed that you have used Valour Canada's materials. This allows our organization to improve our products, compile statistical data, and demonstrate efficacy to our supporters, all so that we can create new and better programming. Any feedback (suggestions, concerns, ideas, questions, etc.) you are willing to share is thankfully accepted.

To offer feedback, help us build a statistical profile about program use, or contact us, please visit: <https://www.surveymonkey.com/r/YN653S7>

Our most sincere thank you!
- Valour Canada

Table of Contents

Llandoverly Castle Overview	1
Canada and the First World War.....	2
The Sinking.....	4
Covering Tracks	5
Impact on Canada and the World	7
Leipzig Trials	8
Weighing the Evidence: Was Justice Served?	10
Conclusions.....	11
Vocabulary.....	12
References	13
Appendix A: Images	14
Appendix B: Sources.....	18
Appendix C: Research Table	21

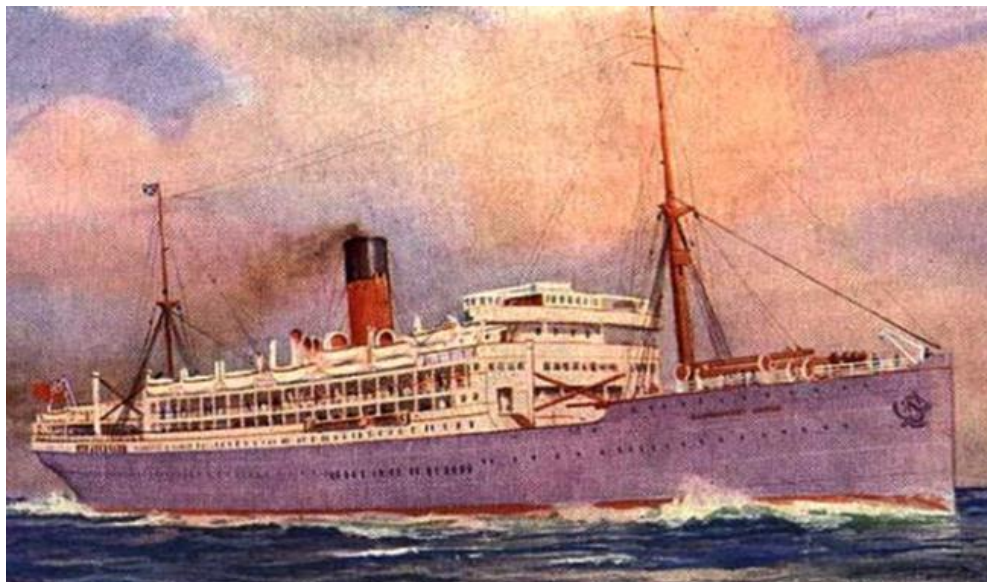
Llandoverly Castle Overview

*"What happened next was unimaginable.
U-86 surfaced and attacked the lifeboats."*

On 27 June 1918, the Canadian hospital ship His Majesty's Hospital Ship (HMHS) Llandoverly Castle was sunk by the German submarine, U-86 off the Irish coast. The sinking violated international law protecting hospital ships from attack.

Llandoverly Castle was returning to England from Halifax, Nova Scotia after delivering over 600 wounded and sick Canadian soldiers. A crew of 258 was aboard. This included 97 Canadian medical personnel, 14 of whom were Nursing Sisters directed by [Matron Margaret Marjory Fraser](#). The torpedo hit the engine room, knocked out the ship's radio, and prevented Llandoverly's Captain from making a distress call. The ship sank in less than ten minutes.

Hospital ships painted with white Red Cross markings were protected by international law. In addition, a hospital ship was required to never travel in a convoy, and at night it must have bright red and green running lights illuminated. These easily visible characteristics are indicative of its protected status. According to survivors, on the night of 27 June 1918, Llandoverly Castle was alone, and the running lights were on.



*Llandoverly Castle
before its hospital
ship days (n.d.).
Retrieved from
[MaritimeQuest](#).*

The torpedo killed and injured an untold number, but the survivors launched as many as five lifeboats. One lifeboat was sucked into the sinking ship's whirlpool but at least three got away. What happened next was unimaginable. **U-86** surfaced and attacked the lifeboats. Only one boat escaped carrying the Captain and 23 crew members who were then rescued two days later. The British navy later searched the area but recovered only corpses.

After the war, the U-boat commander and two officers were indicted for war crimes. The commander, Helmut Patzig, escaped prosecution, but Ludwig Dithmar and Johann Boldt were found guilty and sentenced to prison.

Canada and the First World War

"Within weeks, the first wave of nearly 30,000 Canadian volunteers was sailing to war."

The First World War was an international conflict that cost over 13 million lives. Historians still debate the many contributing causes today, but they agree that an immediate factor was the **assassination** of Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie. They were shot by Serbian extremist [Gavrilo Princip](#) on 28 June 1914, in the Bosnian capital city of Sarajevo. The assassination sparked a crisis between Europe's two opposing [alliances](#); the Central Powers (Germany, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Ottoman Empire) and the Triple Entente (Britain, France, Russia). Threats of war and ultimatums fanned the crisis. Ultimately, diplomacy failed and on 1 August 1914, Germany invaded Belgium en route to France.

Three days later, on 4 August 1914, Britain declared war on Germany and with that, our country was at war. At that time, Canada was a self-governing **dominion** within the expansive British Empire and when Britain was at war, so was Canada. Many Canadians greeted the war with subdued enthusiasm, but within weeks, the first wave of nearly 30,000 Canadian volunteers was sailing to war. By the end of the bloody affair, over 620,000 Canadians would serve out of a population of barely 8 million.

Canadians fought as part of the British army. They formed Canadian-only units commanded mainly by Canadians. The soldiers developed a keen sense of Canadian identity and proudly wore the maple leaf on their uniforms. They fought dozens of major battles, winning a reputation as elite troops, but the cost was heavy; 66,000 were killed and 172,000 wounded.

"The cost was heavy; 66,000 were killed and 172,000 wounded."

In 1917, [voluntary enlistment](#) dried up. The "[Conscription Crisis](#)" and the 1917 "Khaki Election" divided the nation but eventually over 125,000 were **conscripted** while the fighting continued. By 1918, a fleet of five hospital ships (including HMHS Llandoverly Castle) regularly returned sick and wounded soldiers to Canada.

During the final stages of the war, Canadian-born [General Sir Arthur Currie](#), considered one of the best generals of the war, led the Canadians to a string of impressive but costly victories. When the war ended on 11 November 1918, the Canadians had advanced farther than any other army. In recognition of Canada's key role and sacrifice, Prime Minister Borden demanded Canada be treated as an equal within the British Empire. Despite British resistance, Borden was present at the Paris Peace Conference and he signed the [Treaty of Versailles](#) under the signature of British Prime Minister Lloyd George. The war clearly had a transformative impact on Canada.

To further explore Canada and the First World War, complete the following:

1. The Canadians fought in many bloody battles. Research one of these battles.

Battle of St Julien, April 1915: Canadians endured the first use of poison Chlorine gas.

Battle of Vimy Ridge, 9 April 1917: Was Canada "born" on this bloody day?

Battle of Passchendaele, October 1917: Was the battle futile?

Battle of Amiens, 8 August 1918: Were the Canadians the best soldiers in the war?

2. The cost of the war.

What nations suffered the most?

Why was the First World War first called "The Great War" and the "war to end all wars"?

3. National Unity and the Conscription Crisis.

Many Canadians, particularly thousands of new non-British immigrants and the majority of French Canadians, did not support the war effort – the champion of their views was former

Prime Minister and Liberal opposition leader, Sir Wilfred Laurier. In December 1917, a general election decided the issue and conscription was adopted by the country under Prime Minister Borden and his Unionist government. Riots, strikes, and protests further divided the nation.

What is **conscription**? Do you think it was necessary?

Why did French Canadians oppose conscription?

Why did English Canadians support it?

What were the results of the election?

Assess the long-term impact of the “Conscription crisis” on the nation?

4. Technology and Trenches.

Many modern weapons, including machine guns and long-range artillery (cannons), forced the armies to dig a network of trenches hundreds of kilometres long from the English Channel to the Swiss border. Millions of soldiers would die in battles to break the trench stalemate.

Why did nations keep sending their soldiers to fight in such awful conditions?

Should the fight have been continued given the human, economic, and environmental cost?

The Sinking

“Sergeant, do you think there's any hope for us?”

During international conflicts, hospital ships are a necessary way to treat and transport injured soldiers. Because the soldiers aboard hospital ships are no longer able to fight, and the ships are staffed by **non-combatant** doctors and nurses, the international community agrees that the ships should be protected from attack ([Geneva Convention: Hague X](#)¹). The rules state that hospital ships can be boarded and inspected by enemy naval crews to make sure they are indeed hospital ships, but they are not to be the targets of military attack.

However, on 27 June 1918, HMHS Llandoverly Castle was torpedoed by a German U-boat and while sinking, the ship’s Captain, R.A. Sylvester, ordered the ship be abandoned.

¹ For an introduction to the establishment of the rules of war, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has a short exploratory video: [Laws of War](#).

Many of the crew and medical staff aboard who survived the initial torpedo blast were able to escape into lifeboats before the ship sank. However, the wreckage created a whirlpool which eventually drowned the occupants of all but three to five lifeboats. Witness to these frightening events, Sergeant Arthur Knight said the following of his final moments with [Matron Margaret Marjory Fraser](#):

“To save the [life] boat we tried to keep ourselves away by using the oars, and soon everyone was broken. Finally, the ropes became loose at the top and we drifted away, carried towards the stern, when suddenly the Poop Deck broke away and sunk. The suction drew us quickly into the vacuum. There was not a cry for help or any outward evidence of fear. In the entire time I overheard only one remark when Matron Fraser, turned to me and asked: ‘Sergeant, do you think there is any hope for us?’ I replied, ‘No.’ The last I saw of the nursing sisters was as they were thrown over the side of the boat. It was doubtful if any of them came to the surface again. I myself sank and came up three times, finally clinging to a piece of wreckage and being eventually picked up by the captain's boat.”

Covering Tracks

After the sinking of Llandoverly Castle, at least three lifeboats with passengers remained afloat. One of the lifeboats contained the captain of the sunken ship, R.A. Sylvester. As the captain’s lifeboat attempted to pick up swimming survivors or those floating on bits of debris, a member of U-86 ordered the captain’s lifeboat to come alongside the German submarine. When the lifeboat did not immediately comply with this request, a warning shot was fired.

A submariner on the U-boat ordered Captain Sylvester on board and accused him of carrying American airmen on Llandoverly Castle. If true, this would have been a breach of the rules of war. Sylvester denied this charge and told the Germans that he had only been carrying Canadian medical personnel. Another survivor from the lifeboat, a doctor named Major T. Lyon, was also brought on board, and questioned. He denied being an American airman and refuted the charge that Llandoverly Castle had been carrying munitions. Both Sylvester and Lyon returned to the lifeboat, but the U-boat did not leave. After circling for a time, two more officers of Llandoverly Castle were ordered aboard U-86.

The Germans saw an explosion when the ship was hit and insisted that there must have been **munitions** on board. The **interrogated** officers from Llandoverly Castle disagreed, stating that any explosion was the result of the ship's **boilers** exploding due to the torpedo. These officers also returned to the lifeboat, but still the U-boat did not leave.

A short time later, as the captain's lifeboat drifted away, its occupants heard shots fired from the 8.8 cm stern gun mounted on the U-boat. Two shells passed overhead. Another 12 or so shots were fired at the other surviving lifeboats.

Approximately 36 hours after the sinking, the 24 occupants of the captain's lifeboat were rescued by the English Destroyer, Lysander. Despite relatively calm seas and good conditions, rescue ships found no other survivors.

There are internationally agreed upon rules of war. These rules, laid out in documents like the [Geneva and Hague Conventions](#), set out expectations of conduct during violent conflict, and are intended to prevent the worst horrors of war. U-86 violated these rules, both in the sinking of Llandoverly Castle, and in the shooting of survivors in lifeboats. First-Lieutenant Patzig also did not record the sinking of Llandoverly Castle in the U-boat's logbook, and in addition to that the record of the U-boat's route that day was registered as having been nowhere near where the sinking of Llandoverly Castle occurred. The day after the sinking, Patzig instructed his crew to never to speak of the events of the prior day.

Questions:

5. Do you believe rules of war are necessary?
6. Why do you think the U-boat demanded to talk to the Captain and three officers of Llandoverly Castle?
7. Why do you think First-Lieutenant Patzig instructed his crew never to speak of the sinking of Llandoverly Castle and the events that followed?

Impact on Canada and the World

"The Allies in presence of this crowning atrocity have a duty to perform."

While Patzig and his U-boat crew agreed not to speak officially about the events of 28 June 1918, reactions elsewhere in Europe and North America were swift and angry. In particular, the killing of Canadian nursing sisters infuriated people, with Allied leaders publicly condemning the German actions. An article published in the New York Times read:

The Hague Convention gives **belligerents** the right to visit hospital ships. But these cold-blooded assassins refused to exercise that right; they strike and slay because it is in their hearts to glut their cruelty upon helpless **non-combatants** after trumping up a case of justification, which is only another **infamy**. The Allies in presence of this crowning atrocity have a duty to perform.

Primary Source: [*Extract from the New York Times*](#)

The response by the Dutch news media also suggested that German actions of this type were likely to strengthen the efforts to defeat them, "*His [Patzig's] reckless action will therefore rightly arouse the greatest indignation not of the enemy alone but also of neutrals...*" ([CGWP](#)). The newspaper editors suggest that when a nation crosses the line set out by the international community about what is acceptable during war, other countries, even those that are neutral, find it hard to remain impartial.

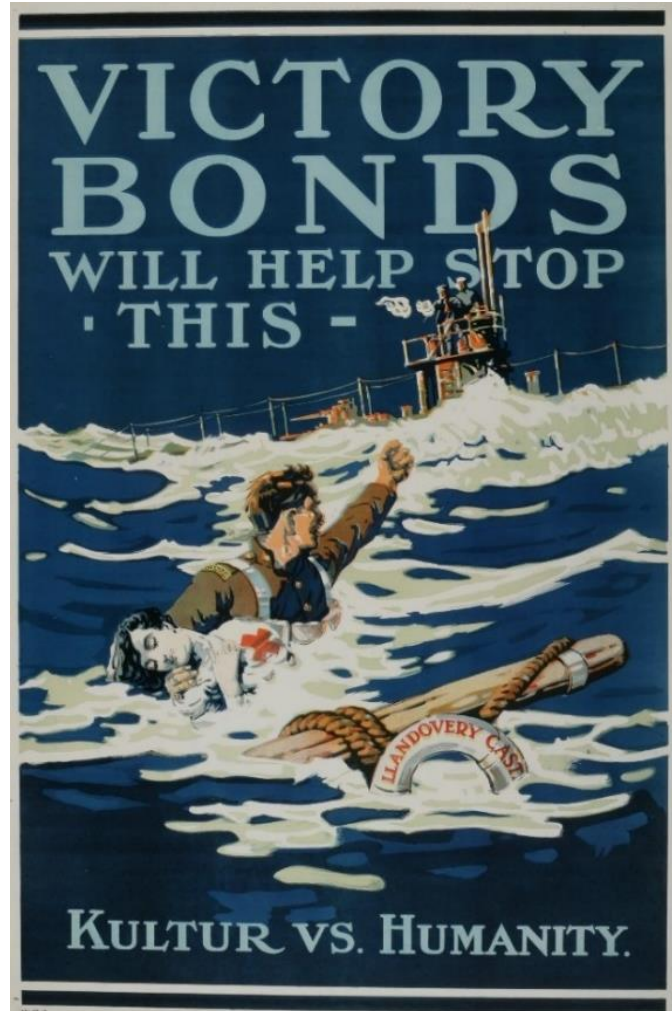
The strongest reaction was in Canada. A Canadian Brigadier, George Tuxford, reacted by using the event as a "battle cry" for his troops: "*I gave instructions to the Brigade that the battle cry on the 8th of August (1918) should be 'Llandoverly Castle,' and that that cry should be the last to ring in the ears of the 'Hun' as the bayonet was driven home*" (qtd. In McWilliams, 2001, 31). Indeed, this battle cry became popular as the Canadian government quickly turned it into a **War Bonds** propaganda poster (see below).

To memorialize the sacrifice of the staff and crew of Llandoverly Castle, especially the nursing sisters, many plaques have been erected across Canada and internationally.

Questions:

8. To what extent does **propaganda** help/hinder the war effort at home?
9. Is it a “fair” strategy of war? How do we draw the line between “news” and “propaganda” during crises?
10. Can you find more recent examples of propaganda interfering with the relaying of news during a conflict crisis or of propaganda supporting a nation’s war effort?

Kultur vs. Humanity"
propaganda poster, created
by the Canadian government.
Source: [Canadian War
Museum](#).



Leipzig Trials

*"Germans were outraged because the list contained
the names of many national heroes"*

The fighting of the First World War ended at 11 a.m. on 11 November 1918. At the 1919 Paris Peace Conference, representatives of the victorious Allied governments set out the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. One of the terms agreed to in the Treaty allowed the Allied governments to try alleged German war criminals in **military tribunals**. The Allies submitted a long list of nearly 900 cases to the German government. **Nationalistic** Germans were outraged because the list contained the names of many national heroes. Many

Germans also felt it was unfair because only Germans were to be tried for war crimes when war crimes were allegedly committed by **belligerents** on all sides. The opposition to the trials was so fierce that some observers believed that, had the Allied governments conducted the trials as originally planned, the German government would have toppled, resulting in societal and political chaos. To maintain a semblance of stability in Germany, the Allies made compromises – they shortened the list of defendants to 45, and trials were to be conducted by the German government in the German city of Leipzig. Many of the alleged war criminals disappeared or died before the trials began and as a result, only twelve faced the courts.

For these reasons, and many others, the general public outside of Germany believed the trials were a **farce**. However, the trials set an important historical **precedent**: atrocities committed in war, at least those committed by the losers, are punishable in a court of law. The trials, for their many shortcomings, were an attempt, in the words of Claud Mullins, a British lawyer and contemporary observer, not to exact vengeance but to “*re-establish the law and principles of humanity*” and condemn the system that allowed war crimes to happen.

Following the war, Patzig, commander of the U-boat that sank Llandovery Castle, fled to Danzig, which was outside German court jurisdiction. In gathering evidence against Patzig from his crew, the German court concluded that it could try his two subordinate officers, Ludwig Dithmar and John (Johann) Boldt, for their role in the atrocity instead.

*"John Boldt escaped from prison in November of 1921
and Ludwig Dithmar escaped in January of 1922."*

The prosecution charged Dithmar and Boldt for their complicity in murder and the execution of an illegal order. During the trial, both men refused to talk about the events of 27 June 1918 because of the promise they made to Patzig. As punishment, Dithmar was dismissed from the navy and Boldt, who had already retired from military service, was ordered not to wear his uniform. In addition, both men were sentenced to four years in prison.

In Allied countries, the public widely saw these sentences as too lenient. Many Germans were outraged because they saw the U-boat officers as heroes who had acted as they did

in defense of the German people, under orders from their superior officer. Other Germans simply felt the trials were unfair and humiliating in general.

John Boldt escaped from prison in November of 1921 and Ludwig Dithmar escaped in January of 1922. Their escapes were made possible by the efforts of a secret, right-wing, ultranationalist organization called Organisation Consul (OC). Both Dithmar and Boldt were acquitted of their crimes and Patzig was granted **amnesty** in 1931.

Question:

11. Most contemporary observers viewed the Leipzig Trials as a failure, yet it could be argued that they set a historical precedent that allowed for the Nuremberg Trials after the Second World War and international human rights tribunals today. Do you think that the Leipzig Trials were a success or a failure and why?

Weighing the Evidence: Was Justice Served?

The question of whether **justice** was served in this case is complicated. Justice is defined as the quality of being just. To be just means to be morally proper, fair, and righteous. Ultimately, the question to explore is whether you believe that fairness and righteousness prevailed overall when one considers:

- the heinousness of the crime of sinking a hospital ship and shooting at survivors
- the impact of the lives lost on the families of the dead
- the losses to society because of the lives cut short
- the details of the scrutinized events: who gave the orders? who pulled the trigger?
- that the events took place in the context of war when the question of what is moral or not becomes more complex and sometimes difficult to discern
- the outcome in the case of Dithmar and Boldt during the Leipzig trials, their escape from imprisonment and their eventual acquittal
- First Lieutenant, Helmut Patzig, never faced the courts for his role in the events
- alleged Allied breaches of the rules of war, none of which were ever investigated
- the instability of the Weimar Republic and the emergence of dangerous political elements, which was impacted by the backlash against the trials
- the human desire for revenge and retaliation versus the need for forgiveness and the ability to live together after the war

Please read through *Appendix B: Sources* in this document, then consider the statements above. Using the research table found in *Appendix C: Research Table*, distinguish which sources support the idea that justice was served, and which do not, and evaluate how convincing you find each source.

For additional questions and resources, please download our Additional Questions and Resources PDF which features 15 questions geared towards higher level thinking and additional resources for further research.

Conclusions

Consider the entire story of the sinking and the shooting of survivors, the trial of Dithmar and Boldt, the subsequent reversal of the verdict, the context of war, and the many primary sources you evaluated, was justice served in the case of Llandovery Castle?

If you believe that justice was served, why did you conclude that justice was served? What can be learned from the case of Llandovery Castle and applied to other cases where the rules of war are violated?

If you believe that justice wasn't served, why did you conclude that justice wasn't served? With the benefit of hindsight, what could have been done after the sinking and shooting to ensure justice was served?

Vocabulary

Alliances: group of states bound together for a specific purpose by a formal agreement or treaty.

Amnesty: a pardon given or forgiveness for a past offense.

Assassination: deliberate murder, often of a political figure.

Belligerents: a state or nation at war or members of the military forces of those states.

Boilers: furnace: fuel is used to heat water and create steam which can be used to produce electricity and enable propulsion.

Conscripted: forced to serve in the military.

Dominion: A self-governed territory that remains subject to a sovereign authority.

Infamy: to have a very bad reputation, be strongly condemned, or of public reproach.

Farce: a comedy; not a serious event.

Hun: derogatory nickname used primarily by American and British officers to describe the German Army during the First World War.

Interrogated: to have asked questions; interviewed.

Justice: the quality of being just. To be just means to be morally proper, fair, and righteous.

Military tribunals: military courts of law.

Munitions: material used in war; weapons and ammunition.

Nationalistic: devoted, sometimes excessively devoted, to one's nation.

Non-combatant: a person connected with a military force in some capacity other than that of a fighter, such as a surgeon or chaplain.

Precedent: earlier historical event that acts as an example, reference, or guide for similar events.

Propaganda: purposefully biased or misleading information designed to promote a specific point of view.

U-86: U-86 was a German submarine, or *Unterseeboot*, often abbreviated as U-boat. The U-boats were numbered sequentially during production.

War Bonds: a way for governments to borrow money from their citizens, usually through appealing to citizens' desires to help with winning the war. These loans would be paid back with interest after a set amount of time.

References

Print Sources:

"German War Trials: Judgment in Case of Lieutenants Dithmar And Boldt." *The American Journal of International Law* (1922) 16 no. 4: 708-724.

Bredt, D. *Der Deutsche Reichstag Im Weltkrieg: Gutachten*. Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsges. Für Politik Und Geschichte, 1927.

Demers, Daniel J. "The Sinking of Llandoverly Castle." *Canadian Naval Review* (2015) 11 no. 2: 25-28.

MacPhail, Andrew. *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-19: The Medical Services*. Ottawa: F. A. Acland, King's Printer, 1925.

Matthäus, Jürgen. "The Lessons of Leipzig: Punishing German War Criminals After the First World War." In *Atrocities on Trial Historical Perspectives on the Politics of Prosecuting War Crimes*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008.

McCormack, Timothy. "Their Atrocities and Our Misdemeanours: The Reticence of States to Try Their 'Own Nationals' For International Crimes." *In Justice for Crimes Against Humanity*. Oxford: Hart Publishing, 2003.

McWilliams, James, and R. James Steel. *Amiens: Dawn of Victory*. Toronto: Dundurn, 2001.

Mullins, Claud. *The Leipzig Trials: An Account of the War Criminals' Trials and a Study of German Mentality*. London: H.F. & G. Witherby, 1921.

Nolan, Liam, and John E Nolan. *Secret Victory: Ireland And the War at Sea*. Cork: Mercier Press, 2009.

Willis, James F. *Prologue to Nuremberg: The Politics and Diplomacy of Punishing War Criminals of the First World War*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Online Sources:

"Margaret Marjory Fraser." In *The Canadian Virtual War Memorial - Veterans Affairs Canada*.
<https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/canadian-virtual-war-memorial/detail/4021529>.

"Sinking of Llandoverly Castle." <http://www.gwpda.org/naval/lcastl11.htm>.

"The War Crime Trial -- Llandoverly Castle." <http://www.gwpda.org/naval/lcastl12.htm>.

Bruendel, Steffen. 2014. "Othering/Atrocity." In *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Edited by Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson.
http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/otheringatrocity_propaganda.

Bunch, Adam. "Two Toronto Nurses and One of The Most Terrible Nights of the First World War - Spacing Toronto". *Spacing Toronto*. <http://spacing.ca/toronto/2014/11/11/two-toronto-nurses-one-terrible-nights-first-world-war/>.

Leroux, Marc. 2010. "The Sinking of the Canadian Hospital Ship." In *Canadian Great War Project*.
<http://www.canadiangreatwarproject.com/writing/llandoverlyCastle.asp>.

Appendix A: Images

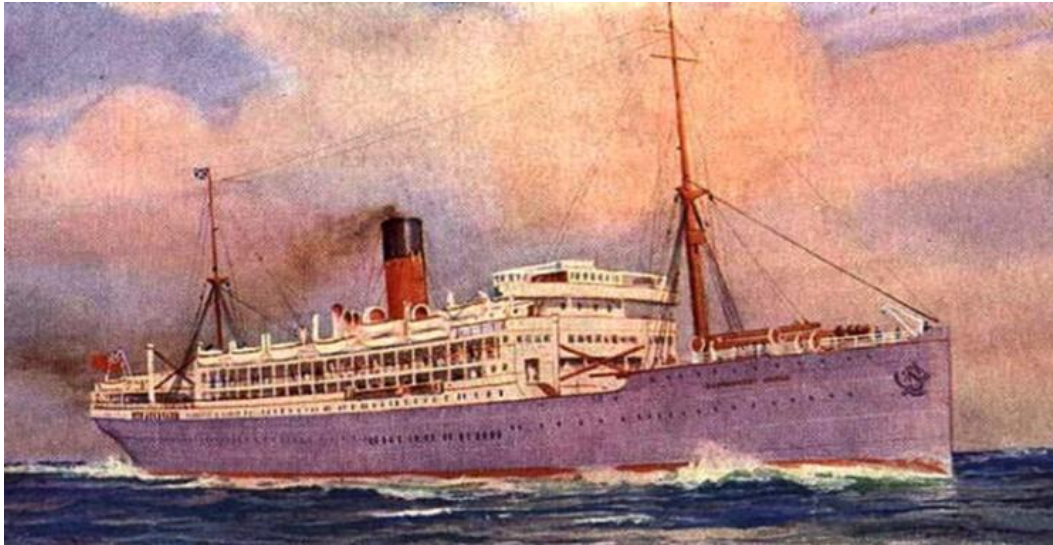


Figure 1:
Llandoverly Castle
[Postcard]. (n.d.).
Retrieved from [here](#)



Figure 2: Matron Margaret Marjory
Fraser. Retrieved from [here](#)

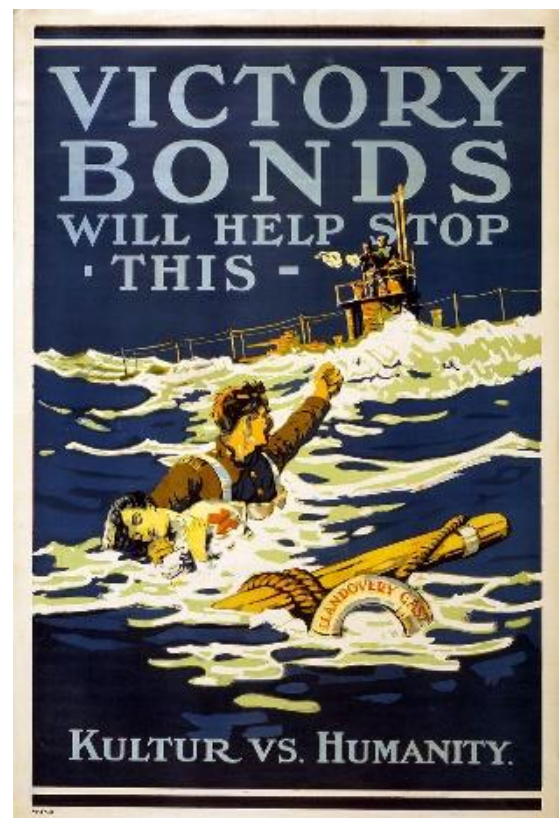


Figure 3: Montreal Litho. Co, Montreal.
(1918). Victory bonds will help stop this:
Kultur vs. Humanity [Broadside].
Retrieved from [here](#)



Figure 4: Kriegserklärung Erster Weltkrieg [Document]. German declaration of war. (n.d.). Retrieved from [here](#).



Figure 6: DncnH. (2014, November 10). 11 November [Photograph]. Retrieved from [here](#)



Figure 5: License DncnH. (2015, May 7). Nottingham General Cemetery [Photograph]. Retrieved from [here](#).

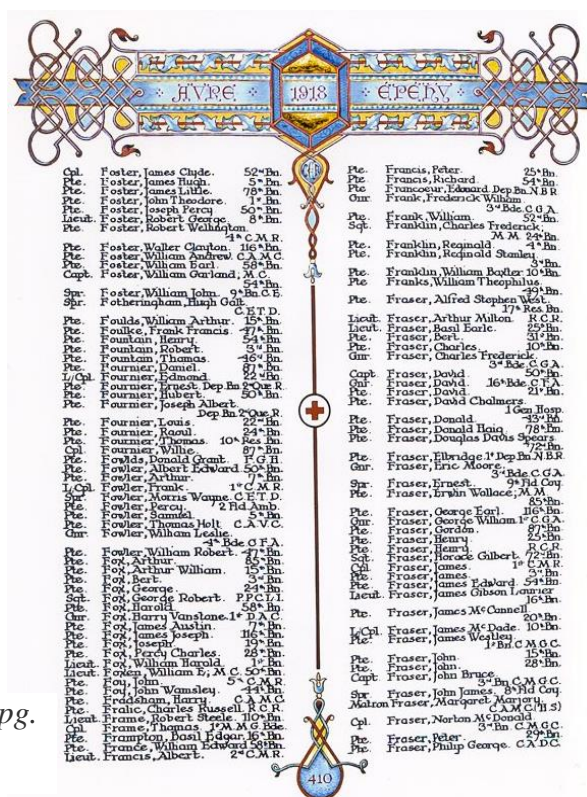


Figure 7: Book of Remembrance (pg. 410). (n.d.). Retrieved from [here](#).

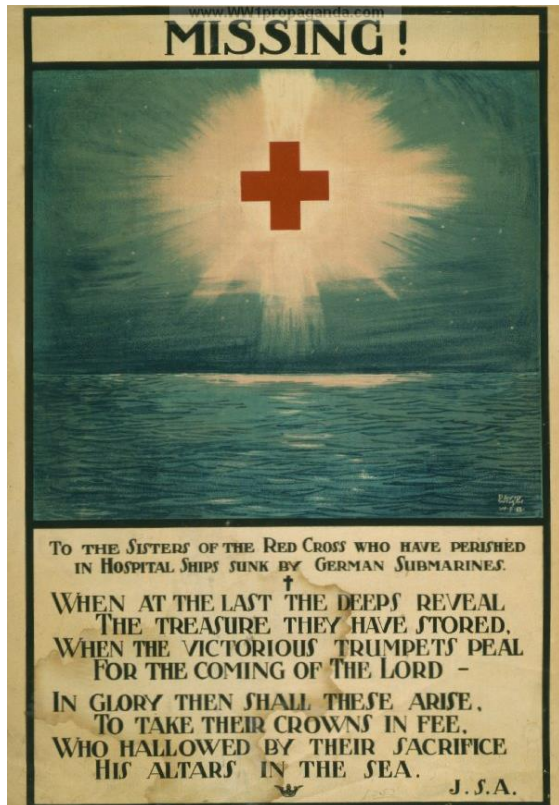


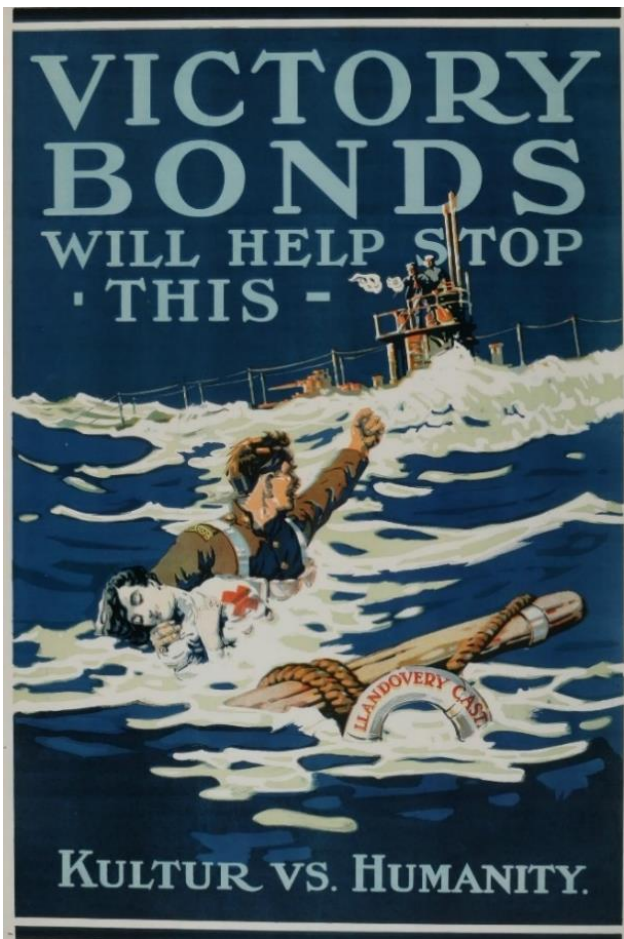
Figure 8: *Missing! To the sisters of the Red Cross who have perished in hospital ships sunk by German submarines [Poster]. (1918). Retrieved from [here](#).*



Figure 9: *Carry On! [Poster]. (n.d.). Retrieved from [here](#).*



Figure 10: *Wilkenson, G. W. (1918). The "Llandoverly Castle" Lifeboat Murders [Print]. Retrieved from [here](#).*



"Figure 11: Kultur vs. Humanity" propaganda poster, created by the Canadian government following the sinking of Llandoverly Castle to encourage the purchase of war bonds to help fund the war effort. Source: [Canadian War Museum](#).

*Figure 12: Leipzig
Burgplatz Panorama
[Photograph]. Retrieved
from [here](#) (MOdmate,
2008, April 30).*



Appendix B: Sources

- A. The following excerpts are the judicial proceedings from the trial of Lieutenants Ludwig Dithmar and John Boldt taken from "German War Trials: Judgment in Case of Lieutenants Dithmar and Boldt," *The American Journal of International Law* 16, no. 4 (1922), 716, 719-20.

"... they have refused, when called upon, every explanation on essential points, on the ground that they had promised Patzig to be silent with respect to the occurrences of the 27th June; 1918. The accused, Dithmar, has only added that he disputes the fact that he did anything deserving punishment. In the course of the proceedings, he also pointed out that he never operated the after gun, which was the one in action."

"The accused Boldt has said a little more. He likewise repudiated any guilt, and specifically denied having fired. He then went on to say that, whatever part he took in the events in question, he was always under the orders of his commander...For the firing on the lifeboats, only those persons can be held responsible who at the time were on the deck of the U-boat: namely Patzig, the two accused and the chief boatswain's mate Meissner."

"Patzig gave the decisive order...As Meissner was the gun-layer and remained on deck by special orders... he manned the after gun that was fired. In the opinion of the Naval expert, he was able to act without assistance. According to this view, owing to the nearness of the objects under fire, there was no need for the fire to be directed by an artillery officer, such as the accused Dithmar. The only technical explanation, which both the accused have given and which fits in with the facts, is that they themselves did not fire. Under the circumstances, this is quite credible. They confined themselves to making observations while the firing was going on. The Naval expert also assumes that they kept a look-out. Such a look-out must have brought the lifeboats, which were being fired on, within their view. By reporting their position and the varying distances of the lifeboats and such like, the accused assisted in the firing on the life-boats,"

- B. The following excerpts are from Claud Mullins, a contemporary observer and commenter on the events of the Leipzig Trials. Taken from Claud Mullins, *The Leipzig Trials: An Account of the War Criminals' Trials and a Study of German Mentality*, (London: H.F. & G. Witherby, 1921), 123, 231, 28.

"For the defence [the German military] there were also called two witnesses who said that it was a universal conviction in the minds of all German naval officers during the later years of the war that hospital ships were being abused, and that, therefore, they ought to be regarded as ships of war."

"In my view the object of the War Criminals' Trials at Leipzig was to establish a principle, to put on record before history that might is not right..."

*"We were all unbalanced during the war;
had we been otherwise we could never have won."*

- C. The following excerpt is derived from the Socialist German Newspaper, *Vorwaerts*, as quoted in Mullins, *The Leipzig Trials; an Account of the War Criminals' Trials and a Study of German Mentality*, 227-8.

"The Socialist organ Vorwaerts said that there were two classes of War Criminals, 'wholesale' and 'retail.' Heynen, it said, was a "retail" criminal and his case was unimportant; the real punishment should fall on the "wholesalers," amongst whom it included General von Fransecky. Vorwaerts condemned Heynen's conduct but was most bitter against 'the old system which brought about and the Leipzig Trials carried through the war.'"

- D. The following excerpts were written by Carl von Clausewitz, a Prussian military general who became known for his theoretical writings about war. These excerpts are from Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1976), 101, 140.

"All action takes place, so to speak, in a kind of twilight, which, like fog or moonlight, often tends to make things seem grotesque and larger than they really are."

"War is the realm of uncertainty; three-quarters of the factors on which action in war is based are wrapped in a fog of greater or lesser uncertainty."

- E. The following excerpt was written by physician and writer, Andrew Macphail. Following the First World War, Macphail wrote an official medical history of the Canadian Forces from 1914-1919. He included in this work a segment on the reasons why a German ship might mistreat a British Hospital Ship. Excerpt taken from Andrew Macphail, *Official History of the Canadian Forces in the Great War 1914-19: The Medical Services* (Ottawa: F. A. Acland, King's Printer, 1925), 242

"The German claim to justification for a departure from this provision is best recorded by Admiral Scheer, 'On October 17, 1914, a half flotilla engaged in laying mines in the Downs was attacked and destroyed by the English cruiser Undaunted. The English saved as many of the survivors as possible. After we received the first wireless message that action had been begun, no further news of the torpedo boats was forthcoming, and as we had therefore to assume that they had been lost, we sent out the hospital ship Ophelia to pick up any survivors. However, the English captured her and made her prize, charging us with having sent her for scouting purposes, although she was obviously fitted up as a hospital ship and bore all the requisite markings.' The trial before the Prize Court left no doubt that the Ophelia has been used as a signaling ship, but this is the reason given by Admiral Scheer why, 'we also considered ourselves released from our obligations and with far more justification took action against hospital ships which, under cover of the Red Cross flag, were patently used for the transport of troops.'"

Appendix C: Research Table

Source #	Description of source/Meaning	Evidence that justice was served ✓	Evidence that justice was not served ✓	How convincing was this source? (On a scale of 1-10, 1 being not very convincing and 10 being very convincing)	Other/Notes

Source #	Description of source/Meaning	Evidence that justice was served ✓	Evidence that justice was not served ✓	How convincing was this source? (On a scale of 1-10, 1 being not very convincing and 10 being very convincing)	Other/Notes