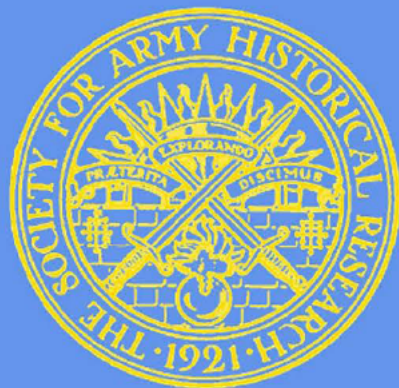


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CONTENTS

	PAGE
COMMUNICATION	
THE HUSSAR FIELD JACKET AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MILITARY DRESS	<i>David J. Knight</i> 205
ARTICLE	
ELIZABETH DIGBY PILOT: MEMOIR OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OFFICER'S WIFE DURING HIS SERVICE IN NORTH AMERICA PART 2	<i>Michelle Arentsen and Jemine Hurl-Eamon</i> 213
ARTICLE	
'DAY AFTER DAY ADDS TO OUR MISERIES': THE PRIVATE DIARY OF A STAFF OFFICER ON THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION, 1809 PART 2	<i>Jacqueline Reiter</i> 231
COMMUNICATION	
FORTIFICATIONS IN THE SAND: MODELLING AND MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	<i>Arthur MacGregor</i> 251
COMMUNICATION	
SIR JOHN JOHNSTON CAMPBELL – FROM PRIVATE SOLDIER TO GENERAL MANAGER	<i>Clive Cohen</i> 267
DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND RESEARCH THESES ON BRITISH MILITARY HISTORY	<i>Compiled by Ian F. W. Beckett</i> 289
JOURNAL INTELLIGENCE: NOTES	
1985 RAPID FIRE TECHNIQUE	<i>Stuart Reid</i> 292
1986 PERCUSSION – FIREARMS USED BY THE SIKH ARMY	<i>Richard Goldsborough</i> 292
1987 HISTORY OF 115 FIELD REGIMENT (NORTH MIDLANDS), ROYAL ARTILLERY	<i>Terry Gale</i> 293
1988 MALVERN FESTIVAL OF MILITARY HISTORY	<i>Andrew Cormack</i> 293
1989 MILITARY EVIDENCE DATING THE EMERGENCE OF A COMMON COCKNEY RHYMING SLANG PHRASE	<i>Phillip Stigger</i> 293
OBITUARY – IAN ROY	295
BOOK REVIEWS	296

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**AN OFFICER OF THE 10TH HUSSARS IN UNDRESS FROM SPOONER'S
OFFICERS OF THE BRITISH ARMY, A SERIES PUBLISHED IN 1833-36,
THOUGH THE UNDRESS JACKET DEPICTED HERE IS NO LATER THAN 1831.**

Courtesy of the Ann SK Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

THE HUSSAR FIELD JACKET AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MILITARY DRESS

DAVID J. KNIGHT

The undress or field jacket and pelisse worn by British hussars in the 1820s are arguably amongst the most enigmatic items of British uniform on record. They were clearly described in the *Dress Regulations* of 1822 and 1826 but they were completely ignored in M. Barthorp's comprehensive study of cavalry uniforms, even though it encompassed undress uniforms and of the two old regimental histories that do mention them, one merely copied the description from *Dress Regulations* while the other paraphrased it.¹ The official description was also paraphrased by A. Kemp in his more recent work on uniforms of the 15th Hussars but he then produced a sketch that did not correspond to the description.² Given the hussars' penchant for adding distinctive features to their dress, however, it was inevitable that the actual garments never fully corresponded to the regulation pattern.

The regulation pattern was laid down in the 1822 and 1826 *Dress Regulations* in the following terms:

Jacket – entirely of blue cloth, sloping collar full three inches deep, ornamented with broad and narrow gold cord, five fancy gold cord loops with roses, and one row olivets down the front, an edging round the jacket, and figures on the sleeves, hips and welts, of broad and narrow cord; white lining, gold neck-lines with twisted bullion tassels.

Pelisse – blue cloth, grey Astracan fur collar four inches deep, five fancy gold cord loops with roses, and one row olivets down the front; grey Astracan cuffs three inches deep, and an edging of ditto entirely round the other parts of the pelisse, with inlets to the sleeve and welts, richly ornamented on the sleeve, side seams, welts, and hips, gold neck-lines with sliders and olivet end.

The 'roses' of the text were actually domed caps at the end of each of the 'fancy gold cord loops' on the breast and were similar to the 'caps and drops' referred to in later *Dress Regulations* for both hussar and light-dragoon tunics introduced in 1855. As for the jacket itself, it was simply plain blue with a sloping rather than Prussian collar, an edging of cord all round, including the collar and back seams, with a tracing of narrower cord and an unspecified figure above each cuff. This meant that the garment was similar to the later stable/mess jacket but with loops of braid on the front. The pelisse was edged with grey Astrakhan with an edging of braid and in other respects it was braided like the jacket.

¹ M. Barthorp, *British Cavalry Uniforms Since 1660* (Blandford Press, 1984); C.R.B. Barrett, *The 7th (Queen's Own) Hussars, Vol. 4: 1688-1914* (Leonaur reprint of the 1914 edition, 2008), pp. 31-32; H.C. Wylly, *XVth (The King's) Hussars, 1759-1913* (London, 1914), p. 351.

² A. Kemp, 15th *The King's Hussars, Dress and Appointments, 1759-1914* (Almark, 1972), pp. 30-31.

An examination of each of the four hussar regiments will help to reveal how far the Undress Jacket and Pelisse corresponded to the official pattern:

7th Hussars: A jacket in a private collection (Illustration No. 1) has only four loops of braid on the front and instead of caps and a single row of olivets there are five rows of gilt domed buttons, ball buttons in the centre. The collar is Prussian rather than sloping, the figure on the cuff is an Austrian knot and there are side pockets edged with braid that forms trefoils at each end and in the centre. Another jacket came up for sale in 2016 and differed from the first example in several respects.³ It had the Prussian collar, four loops of braid, braided side pockets and Austrian knots above the cuffs, but the collar and body of the jacket were only edged with a single row of braid with no tracing; the braid on the back seams differed slightly; and instead of gilt buttons there were three rows of olivets on the front. Nothing is known of the pelisse, but it would probably have had four loops of braid and braiding on the back seams to correspond to those of the jacket.



Officer's undress jacket of the 7th Hussars, c.1825.

Private Collection

³ The jacket was sold by Hogspear (Ref XHWL) on E-Bay in March 2016 with a dress pouch and pouch belt of the 7th Hussars for £560.

8th Hussars: An entry from a laceman's book dated 1829 stated, 'Undress jacket has 5 silver olivets and ten silver net[ted] caps,' which indicated a jacket that corresponded to the regulation pattern with the exception of the gold lace specified in dress regulation. When the 8th Light Dragoons were converted to hussars in 1822, they adopted silver lace.⁴

10th Hussars: Prints of 1819 and 1831 (see Frontispiece and Illustration No. 2) depicted officers wearing a plain blue jacket with loops of gold braid similar to those of the 7th Hussars, though there were five rather than four loops and the braid formed double eights with a button in the centre rather than pairs of eyes.⁵ Instead of an Austrian knot on the cuff, the braid formed an eye traced with figured braid on both sides. The neck lines terminating in bullion tassels, as per regulations, were clearly shown and were tied and worn short at the neck. The pelisse was edged with black Astrakhan and had five loops of braid and neck cords with flounder finials.

15th Hussars: No contemporary evidence appears to have survived except for a tailors' bill of 1820, which lists both the undress pelisse and undress jacket.⁶ In view of the regiment's lace colour before 1831, silver rather than gold braid would have been used.

The undress jacket and pelisse appear to have had their origin shortly after the end of the Napoleonic wars. They had been introduced by 1819, when the print mentioned above showed them in use by the 10th Hussars, and their introduction should be seen in the context of the more general adoption of undress jackets in the cavalry. Stable or fatigue jackets had been worn by Other Ranks for many years but the General Order of 24th December, 1811, concerning officers' dress, did not mention them for officers of dragoons or light dragoons and this had not changed by 1815.⁷ Instead, officers of Light Dragoons were allowed to wear a 'short surtout,' which was of a similar cut to the dress coatee without lace or epaulettes.⁸ It could be worn as a pelisse on active service but it also acted as an undress or field jacket for Marching Order and ordinary duties. It had been replaced by a stable or undress jacket by 1822, when the first set of published *Dress Regulations* sanctioned the use of this garment by officers of all cavalry except hussars. For the most part, however, *Dress Regulations* merely recorded changes that had already occurred and those relating to stable jackets must have been made in about 1817 when evidence of the garments first started to emerge. By January 1817, for instance, the officers of the 12th Lancers had a stable jacket with yellow facings and four loops of gold braid on the front, which was changed to one of standard lancer pattern in December and at about the same time officers

⁴ S.M. Milne Lot 81 Book, New York Public Library, p. 42.

⁵ *Index to British Military Costume Prints, 1500 1914* (Ogilby Trust, 1972), no 464/5 of Hull's Landscape Series, Drawn by E Hull and Published by Ackermann; no 888/41 of Officers of the British Army published by Spooner.

⁶ H.C. Wylly, *op cit*, p. 352; S.M. Milne Lot 81 Book, New York Public Library, p. 48.

⁷ *General Regulations and Orders for the Army* (Horse Guards, 1815), pp. 376 380.

⁸ J. Mollo, *Waterloo Uniforms, 1. British Cavalry* (Historical Research Unit, 1973), pp. 41-44.



Officers of the 10th (left) and 18th Hussars (right) from a print published by Ackermann after a drawing by Edmund Hull, signed and dated 1819. The officer of the 10th wears the undress jacket and pelisse.

Courtesy of the Ann SK Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library

of the 8th Light Dragoons adopted one of similar pattern.⁹ There is also an Ackermann print of Lieutenant Dehery of the 9th Lancers wearing a stable jacket in 1818.¹⁰

It is hardly surprising that the introduction of undress jackets coincided with the fashion for extravagant military dress that followed the Napoleonic wars. In 1820, for instance, the cost of a dress jacket and pelisse in the 15th Hussars amounted to £61-5-0d, over £4,000 in current money, whereas the undress items cost £35-0-0d.¹¹ The use of the undress jacket and pelisse saved officers money by avoiding wear and tear to the dress items. In the 15th Hussars the dress jacket and pelisse were only worn infrequently by officers in review order, at levées and at dinner or evening parties while the undress items were worn for other occasions,

⁹ S.M. Milne Lot 81 Book, New York Public Library, pp 41 & 45.

¹⁰ *Index to British Military Costume Prints, 1500-1914* (Ogilby Trust, 1972), No. 464/6, of Hull's Landscape Series. Drawn by E. Hull and published by Ackermann.

¹¹ S.M. Milne Lot 81 Book, New York Public Library, p. 48.

including Marching Order, dismounted full dress parades, stables, field exercise order and even mess.¹²

The demise of the undress jacket and pelisse occurred as an indirect result of the General Order, dated Horse Guards, July 31st, 1830, which stated, 'The four regiments of Hussars to be dressed perfectly alike. Their officers to have the one dress only, and that of a less costly pattern, which will forthwith be prepared.' Lord Anglesey, as Colonel of the 7th Hussars, was asked by King William IV to submit a pattern, which he did by the winter of 1830-31.¹³ This was approved by the King and published on 18th May 1831, in the new edition of *Dress Regulations*. The description of the new dress jacket exhibited a striking resemblance to the undress jacket of Anglesey's own regiment, the 7th Hussars, and it can be surmised that this was also the case with the pelisse:

Jacket-blue; fastening in front with hooks and eyes; three rows of ball buttons placed at equal distances, the distance between the rows seven inches at top and four at bottom; five royal cord loops, with roses and drops; Prussian collar, three inches deep, edged with royal cord and a line of Russian braiding; an edging of royal cord and Russian braid entirely round the jacket; figures on the sleeves, hip, and welts, of the same materials.

Pelisse-scarlet; buttons, loops, and ornaments, the same as on the jacket; Prussian collar, covered with black fur; black fur cuff, and an edging of fur entirely round the pelisse; gold neck line.

Field-officers distinguished by a larger figure on the sleeve.

The idea was to replace the dress jacket and pelisse with the undress items and to adopt a more conventional stable jacket for undress, which bore some resemblance to the old undress jacket with the loops of braid removed. Despite the considerable savings for hussar officers that this would create, the colonels of the 7th and 10th Hussars, Lord Anglesey and Lord Londonderry, petitioned the King through the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Hill, to retain the old dress jacket and pelisse.¹⁴ The petition was approved, though the pelisse had to be changed from blue to scarlet and the cheaper stable jackets as per regulations had to be adopted. Not to be outdone, the colonels of the 8th and 10th Hussars, Sir Banastre Tarleton and Sir Colquhoun Grant, submitted their own petition and complained that they would be 'subjected to the mortification of being dressed in an inferior style' if they were denied the concessions granted to the other two regiments. Their petition was approved on 29th September 1831, and when the next edition of *Dress Regulations* was published in 1834, all reference to the

¹² P. Sumner, 'Regimental Orders for Dress, 15th Hussars, c.1827' (*JSAHR*, Vol. 17, 1935), pp. 6-8.

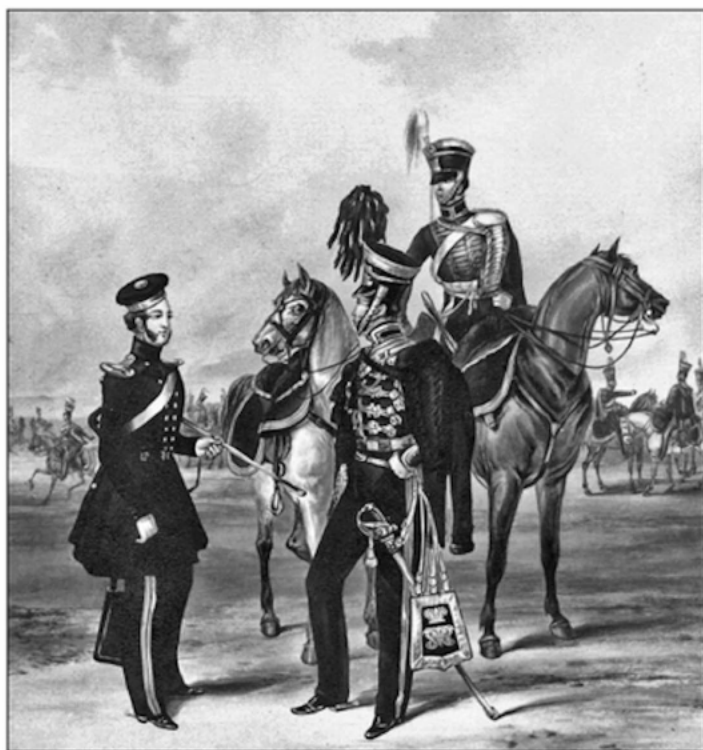
¹³ C.R.B. Barrett, *op cit*, p. 34.

¹⁴ H.C. Wylly, *op cit*, pp. 45-46.

modified kit had been removed.

This, however, did not mark the end of the undress jacket and pelisse. When the 11th Light Dragoons were converted to hussars in 1840, their new stable jacket retained features of the old undress jacket. It had four loops of braid on the front with caps and drops and one row of olivets, but it was in the Yeomanry Cavalry that the undress jacket and pelisse had most influence.¹⁵

Officers of the Buckinghamshire Hussars Yeomanry wore the undress jacket and pelisse in the 1820s, but after conversion to Light Dragoons the old undress was revived in 1844 for officers of the two Hussar troops, which were formed in that year for Queen Victoria's visit to Stowe. (See Illustration No. 3) In about 1856



The Buckinghamshire Hussars, 1844, showing an officer wearing the field jacket and pelisse. From Fores's *Yeomanry Costumes*, an aquatint by Harris after a watercolour by H. Martens. The pelisse is closely braided with black braid while the jacket follows the more usual pattern.

¹⁵ Robert Ebsworth sketched officers wearing the jacket at Brighton in 1841 and it continued to be worn as late as 1914 in some cases as a mess jacket.



An officer of the Stockport Hussars Yeomanry, 1833, from a photogravure in F. Leary's regimental history after the oil painting by S. Spode.

this became the dress uniform of the entire regiment, apart from the artillery troops, and although the pelisse was eventually abolished, the dark-green jacket with five loops of braid remained until 1893 when a new dress uniform was adopted.¹⁶

By 1833 the Stockport Hussars, an independent troop attached to the Earl of Chester's Yeomanry, which was dressed as light dragoons, had adopted a jacket and pelisse along the lines proposed by Lord Anglesey, but with seven loops of braid, and a *carte de visite* in a private collection shows that this kit survived until the uniform changes of 1859.¹⁷ (See Illustration No. 4)

By about 1832 the Sherwood Rangers Yeomanry had also adopted a dress jacket

¹⁶ J.B. Delap, "The Royal Buckinghamshire Hussars Imperial Yeomanry" in J. Grant, (ed.) *Buckinghamshire: A Short History with Genealogies and Current Biographies* (London, 1911), pp. 31-53. The undress jacket of Cornet J. Harrison, who served from 1818 until at least 1825, exists in the regimental collection.

¹⁷ The 1833 portrait by S. Spode of Capt. John Howard wearing this kit is in the regimental collection and was reproduced as a photogravure in F. Leary, *The Earl of Chester's Regiment of Yeomanry Cavalry* (Edinburgh, 1898), p. 111; R.J. Smith & D.J. Knight, *The Uniforms of the Early-Victorian Yeomanry Cavalry, 1837-1870* (DP&G, Doncaster, 2009), pp. 56-62.

based on the old undress jacket but with eight loops of braid and the basic design remained unchanged until 1914 and later in some cases for officers attending levées and for ceremonial parades.¹⁸ In 1845 its sister regiment, the South Nottinghamshire Hussars, adopted a dress jacket that closely followed the original pattern of field jacket and continued to wear it until 1909 and later for special occasions.¹⁹

When the Gloucestershire Yeomanry adopted hussar dress in 1847, its undress jacket closely followed the pattern worn by the 11th Hussars, but in a lighter shade of blue and with five loops of braid, which at first had no caps on the drops.²⁰ It was still worn as an optional mess jacket beyond 1904. The Lancashire Hussars, on formation in 1848, also adopted an undress jacket based on the old field jacket but with a matching pelisse. At first there were five loops of braid with drops and caps but by 1850 the pelisse appears to have been withdrawn and by about 1860 the loops of braid had been reduced to three.²¹ The modified jacket survived among some officers as a mess jacket until after 1906.

Two more corps adopted dress jackets based on the old undress item. The first of them was the Hampshire Yeomanry, which adopted a plain blue jacket with five loops of braid in 1861.²² The jacket was reserved for dismounted review order and walking-out dress from 1885 and was not completely abolished until 1902. The second corps was Light Horse rather than Yeomanry. In 1861 the 1st Middlesex Light Horse Volunteers adopted both a jacket and pelisse that shared a number of features with the original undress items and they were worn until the corps was disbanded in 1871. They were green with five loops of braid, drops and caps and a row of olivets.²³

It is unusual for an item of uniform to have such a long-lasting influence but the field jacket and pelisse of hussars, introduced in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars, was still able to exert an influence on military dress a century later. Worn by hussars of the Regular Army until 1831 and by the 11th Hussars from 1840, the old undress kit was preserved in the uniforms of the Yeomanry Cavalry, probably because it offered a less costly alternative to the closely braided hussar Full Dress, which was the original reason for its conception.

¹⁸ A primitive watercolour of an officer wearing the kit was sold by an internet auction in 2012. It had the remains of a printed notice attached to the back commending the Sherwood Rangers for their zeal when dealing with civil disturbances, which probably referred to their service during the reform riots of 1831-32.

¹⁹ G. Fellows & B. Freeman, *Historical Records of the South Nottinghamshire Hussars, 1794-1924* (Aldershot, 1928) pp. 72-73.

²⁰ Illustrated in the book of an unidentified tailor, c.1848, once in the Royal United Services Institution collection but now at the National Army Museum, though it does not appear in the on-line catalogue; D.J. Knight & R.J. Smith, *The Mess Dress of the Yeomanry Cavalry, 1880-1914* (MHS Special Number, 2006), pp. 20-21.

²¹ T.A. Earle, *List of Officers who have served in the Lancashire Hussars etc* (Liverpool, 1889), plate 2; S Bull, "Early Uniforms of the Lancashire Hussars," *Military Illustrated*, No. 64, Sept 1993, pp. 27-29; A. Sleight, *The Royal Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry Army List* (London, 1850), p. 18.

²² *Hampshire Chronicle*, 17th Nov and 15th Dec 1923.

²³ W.Y. Carman, *Light Horse and Mounted Rifle Volunteers, 1860-1901* (A&J Partnership, Barton-on-Sea, 1995), pp. 103-108 with plates.

**ELIZABETH DIGBY PILOT:
MEMOIR OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OFFICER'S WIFE
DURING HIS SERVICE IN NORTH AMERICA**

PART II

MICHELLE ARENTSEN & JENNINE HURI-EAMON

Elizabeth Digby Pilot was the wife of Henry Pilot, who was promoted to Captain in the 31st Regiment of Foot on 23 September 1772. He attained this rank without purchase on the eve of the Carib War (1772-1773).¹ Elizabeth had accompanied her husband when he served in North America from 1765 to 1773, and was parted from him only when he was sent away from the garrison. This excerpt recounts their longest partings, which occurred during the campaign in St. Vincent in 1772-1773, and when her husband returned to North America in 1776-1781. The accounts of these separations reveal the difficulties of communication that military couples faced in this period, hampering their ability to reunite. At the same time, however, they also show how other officers and their wives helped one another to surmount these difficulties.

This article takes up Elizabeth Digby Pilot's memoir from the point in Part I where she stated that her "pen cannot turn from [the] subject" of her estranged father's death and the poor financial situation in which he had left her, so she resolved to lay it down momentarily. Her father had died in the spring of 1769, and when the news reached her, she was in St. Augustine with her husband and their two young daughters. The couple had lived in Pensacola for four years and relocated with the 31st Regiment to St. Augustine in 1769, where Elizabeth and Henry had to build their home and re-adjust to life in a new North American town.

I here resume my story. My health was gradually restored. I weaned my Infant, and became more reconciled to my trials. I was bound to exert myself to the utmost for the sake of my dear Husband. My hopes as to my Father, were at an end, and now my all seemed centered in my hitherto exiled Home.² My spirits consequently became cheerful. About the time of the Equinox the weather was rough, which induced some of our Officers to quit the Camp, and remove into Lodgings, but our house being more secure, we resolved to stay as long as possible. One morning,

¹ See J.P. Baxter (ed.), *The British Invasion from the North: The Campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777, with the Journal of Lieut. William Digby, of the 53rd Regiment of Foot* (Albany NY: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1887), 149n, for a summary of Henry Pilot's Army career.

² Though the phrasing is unwieldy, Elizabeth probably meant that her sense of Florida as exile was diminishing. Now that she had no hope of reunion with her father, her attention was drawn away from Ireland by motherhood. Her maternal duties helped her to accept Florida as home, though she never wholly reconciled herself to colonial life.

at the end of Septemb^r, a violent tempest arose,³ attended with heavy rain. The whole Camp was in Uproar. The Soldiers huts were mostly blown down; The Women and Children were running out screaming with consternation. The men were all in confusion, and a scene of sad devastation presented itself. You may be assured I felt alarmed. Judge then how this Alarm was increased, when I heard a part of the house crack. I seized my eldest Child (who was standing by me) and taking her in my arms ran out to lodge her in some place of safety. I then flew back for my other precious Infant, who was asleep, quite unconscious of the Storm. Several of the Officers hastened to assist me, and my husband who had been out, flew to his home. Having placed the children in safety with our Servants, I went back with my Husband to secure our little property. We were completely wet, nor could we change our clothes. We were thus busily engaged, we sent for a Carriage to convey us to Town, and with my 2 Children, arrived in safety at Cap^{tn} V[arloe],⁴ who had invited us to his house. My Husband saved as much of our furniture as he could, and our loss was very trifling. The house did not actually fall, tho' so much injured. The Camp broke up. The poor soldiers were sheltered in an old building for that night, and the next day, all hands went to work to get the Barracks in readiness for their reception. We took a house for the winter, and prepared to leave our hospitable host. Our house was pleasantly situated a quarter of a mile from the Town. Having some land, we removed there in the middle of October, and expecting to remain for a time there, we went to expence in making it comfortable. But a military life is one of uncertainty. In Jan^y [1770] our Regiment was ordered back to Pensacola, and on the 4th of Feb^y the Regiment embarked in 4 Sloops of War to return to our old quarters. I was not sorry to leave S^t Augustine, and felt a partiality for Pensacola. Our voyage had been tedious, and we had encountered some difficulties, but these are not sufficiently interesting to detain you with their relation. On the 4th of March we arrived at Pensacola, where the Barge of the Druid man of War came for us, and we landed on the Wharf, which we found crowded with our old acquaintances, who welcomed our return, nor were we less glad again to join them.⁵

³ Hurricanes tended to occur in September and October, but only the most major storms have usually found their way into the historical record. There do not seem to be any direct references to a storm in Florida at the time Elizabeth seems to reference – the closest mention we could find was to a major storm in South Carolina in September of 1769 that affected the rice crop. Matthew Mulchaly, *Hurricanes and Society in the British Greater Caribbean, 1624-1783* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006), Vol. 71, p. 198.

⁴ TNA, Army List 1770, WO 65/20 indicates that this must have been Capt. Thomas Varloe, as the regiment had only one captain whose surname started with V.

⁵ D. Lyon, *The Sailing Navy List. All the Ships of the Royal Navy – Built, Captured or Purchased, 1688-1860* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1993), p. 94 indicates that the Druid was a sloop rigged as a snow armed with 10 Four Pounders and swivel guns. She was not strictly speaking a Man-of-War. Hereafter Lyon, *Sailing Navy List*.

Gen^l Huldemald⁶ immediately reinstalled my Husband in his old employments, and we settled ourselves, hoping to remain some time. We had not however been returned 4 months, when an Express arrived, ordering our Reg^t to go back to S^t Augustine, and that the 16th were to take our place at Pensacola.⁷ This was a trial to me, as I was near my confinement. In consequence Gen^l Huldemald kindly gave my Husband leave to remain with me till my recovery, which took place in July, when it pleased God again to give me a daughter, whom we named Judith Henrietta.⁸ You my dear H[enrietta] are that daughter. You were born a delicate child and much anxiety have you caused me through life in watching over you, a tender plant, but whom my good God has spared to be the solace of my Age, as your sisters equally dear to me have married. But I will not anticipate.

Nothing particular occurred during our stay at Pensacola, except that I was induced to restore my black servant Emma [to] the same master, from whom I had purchased her, unwilling to take her from the lot of Negroes, to which she had belonged. I received the same price for her that I had paid – poor thing! She did not long survive this change. I have often thought of this faithful creature with affection mixed with regret, and I may add with reproach to myself, for the little I had taught her. I had indeed instructed her in her prayers, but I did not then see, as I do now, that our Domestic are as it were intrusted to us by God, and that every master and mistress will be called to account for the care they have taken of those, placed under the sphere of their instruction. Happy the Parent, and happy the Master, who will be able in the great day of reckoning to say “Behold here am I, and the children and house hold whom those hast given me.” My poor Emma had but little light, and I trust God did look upon her at the time of our leaving Pensacola.

My beloved friend M^{rs} B[lac]K[we]L[l] was expected from England, alas! I was not permitted to welcome her, and this added to my regret on going. She arrived the day after my departure. I saw her no more while in America. In Decem^{br} we sailed on board the Trial Man of War.⁹ My Husband myself, and 3 Children, the youngest of whom I was nursing; being only 6 months old. Our Society was good, being composed of an agreeable set of Navy Officers. We passed the Havannah, and wished to

⁶ It must be assumed that this and the same name used shortly hereafter were misspellings of ‘Haldimand.’

⁷ The history of the 16th Regiment indicated that it had arrived in Florida in 1767, and ‘head-quarters were established at Pensacola’, from which ‘the regiment furnished various detachments to occupy military stations in East and West Florida’ until 1775. R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Sixteenth, or The Bedfordshire Regiment of Foot* (London: Parker, Furnivall, & Parker, 1848), p. 20.

⁸ Elizabeth Pilot’s fourth child and daughter was Judith Henrietta, the daughter responsible for compiling the memoir. She was born in July 1770 at Pensacola.

⁹ There was no Royal Navy ship named Tryall or Trial between 1746 and 1776, so the vessel must have been an armed transport. See Lyon, *Sailing Navy List*.

land, to see that fine City, but the Spaniards would not allow our Ships to go in, tho' they were not at war with us. The Mora appeared so strong, it seemed impregnable, yet our Army, in the War,¹⁰ made a breach in it and entered, taking possession of the Havannah. Opposite the Mora, is the Ponto, which guards the harbour. On Christmas Day, we arrived at Charles Town,¹¹ and were much shocked to see the Town in flames. A dreadful fire, had broken out, and did much mischief, but happily was extinguished, before it reached the interior of the Town. How awful the sight of this destructive Element, when thus uncontroled. Thus indeed we might remark when any of the Elements are permitted to burst their proper bounds. I had experienced this in each. I had also been preserved when the Earth shook in the Earthquake of 17 . The destructive Flame has not touched me, when its raging has appalled me. The Tempest has shaken the Bark where I and all dear to me were voyaging, and the Sea has indeed lifted up its waves, and not engulfed me! My heart did not at the time, feel all that gratitude to God, which it should have done. And now when I look at my past preservations, and even now embrace a husband and children sharers in it, how does my heart break forth in praise, and how am I led to see "that it is of the Lord's mercies I was not consumed."

Our landing was rendered difficult from the quantities of boards &c &c which had been thrown into the sea from the fire. My Husband had the care of some soldiers, who together with ourselves were lodged in roomy Barracks, where we were to wait the arrival of a Transport to convey us to St Augustine. Charles Town was a gay place and the military always received attention from the Inhabitants, so that we were visited by all the principal families, and Invitations were multiplied. The expense and magnificence of the entertainments here were great, and the number of slaves in attendance, was painful to behold. We did not like the Climate. The Weather was cold and foggy, and the grounds marshy so that altogether we were longing for the arrival of the Transport. I certainly engaged in the amusements offered to me, but the quiet social life, we had led at Pensacola, was more congenial to my taste, and the dear employments in my nursery, and domestic enjoyment, was ever to me beyond ephemeral pleasures, in which Thousands partake with unsatisfying avidity. Without speaking of these things in a religious point of view, even the rational mind admits their insufficiency, nor could the cultivated Taste pursue them, were it not from the dread of singularity. How commonly do we see superior understandings stooping to those pleasures which they despise, and yielding to those they look down on.

But to return to my narrative. On the arrival of the Transport, we bid adieu to Charles Town and embarked for St. Augustine. I need not

¹⁰ The Mora fortress, the key to The Havannah, (Cuba) surrendered to Lt-Gen George Keppel, 3rd Earl of Albemarle on 11.8.1762.

¹¹ Charles Town was renamed Charleston (South Carolina) in 1783.

detain you on our voyage. It was tedious, and we were all sick. The sea often washed in on us, and frequently we have had much difficulty, even in warming the food for the Children. Your ever affect' Father has stood patiently with a saucepan over a candle to procure food for you.

On our arrival, we found letters from dear Ireland, acquainting us with the death of D^r P[ilot]. Thus link after link that had united us to home were successively breaking, and my children were never to know the caresses of a Grandfather. [...]

I have nothing interesting to relate for the next 18 months, when one day as I was riding home with my Husband, and some others, we perceived a general bustle, and joy in all the countenances of both Officers and men; several came to meet us, and told us there were Transport ships seen coming in, and that no doubt they were the relief for us, as our time of being recalled to England had arrived, and we might be sure such was the case, all the feelings of home rushed on my delighted mind, and yet no sooner had this first burst of feeling past by, than I shrunk from the thought, that the home I had left, was closed and its beloved Inmates removed, but I was not long left to ruminate. My Husband being Adjutant went to the commanding Officer, for information and for Orders. I was all impatience till his return, when his ever intelligent countenance told me that disappointment was ours. He was told that instead of the Transports coming to take us to England, that they came from New York – that they were intended to convey Troops on some secret expedition,¹² and were victualled for 4 months – that he could not say more, as the vessel on board which the Orders were, had not yet come over the Bar. We were kept in suspense for some days, and when this was ended, we were left to still more painful uncertainty.

All that we could know was that our Reg^t was ordered on a secret expedition, that their destination was not to be known, till they got over the Bar, as the Orders were not to be opened till then, and that when the expedition was over, the Troops were to go to New York to wait further orders. What was to be done? I had never been separated from my Husband. My desire was to go with him. To him our separation would be most trying, but his good sense saw it must be so, because, no Female was to be allowed to go as it was on actual service. The commanding Officer kindly gave my Husband some hints, to enable him to settle about the moving of his family. In every way it was a severe trial: from the failure of an Agent we had sustained a temporary loss, and our finances were very low, but the Almighty supported me. It was the 12th of August

¹² This expedition was the First Carib War (1772-1773). St. Vincent was first colonized by the French, but was granted to the British in 1763. The war ended in February 1773 with a ceasefire treaty requested by the Kalinago (Caribs). See H. Freund, "Who should be treated 'with every degree of humanity'? Debating rights for planters, soldiers, and Caribs/Kalinago on St. Vincent, 1763-1773," *Atlantic Studies* Vol. 13, No. 1 (2016), pp. 125-143.

1772,¹³ when this first fearful separation took place. Never can I forget the feelings with which your dear Father clasped you each in his Arms, and commended you to God. Consideration for his feelings made me seek to subdue mine. You know how acutely he feels, and may judge of the extent of this trial. He left me all the money he could possibly spare, and with heavy hearts we parted. I wept over my children, who were not a little surprised why dear Papa should leave them.

My Husband wished as soon as I should receive the supply of money, that I should take my little family by the first safe and proper conveyance to New York, there to await his return, and as there was another Lady (whose husband was gone on the Expedition a Mrs H[amilton/Hodgson],¹⁴ we agreed to go together, fellow sufferers in this trial, as being both deprived of our husbands. We became very intimate, and I found her a very sweet woman. We had a third Lady, whose husband likewise had left her, but he intended to return to St Augustine, where he had purchased a house. This latter Mrs B became very dear to me, and our Friendship has continued ever since, for she still lives, and after many afflictions, is in her declining years surrounded with prosperity and every blessing.¹⁵

We three, we called the Sister Widows, and were daily together, anxiously waiting for tidings from our husbands. My situation was the most trying, as from circumstances I before mentioned, I had to experience much inconvenience from want of money, and I had too independent a spirit to let this be known. I sold my horse which had been a great favorite. The Gentleman who purchased it, insisted on my riding it whenever I felt inclined. Days passed heavily, and no news of the Expedition except from an English newspaper was received by us. We were informed of an Insurrection of the Carribs at S' Vincent, and that several Regiments had been sent from England to quell them, and likewise from America. The 31st (our Regiment) was named amongst others.¹⁶ Our papers likewise spoke of a dreadful Hurricane which had

¹³ This date is easily confirmed; an 'Embarkation Return of His Majesty's 31st Regiment of Foot, *Saint Augustine*, 12th August, 1772' was presented to Parliament, according to the entry for 25.1. 1773 in the *Journal of the House of Commons*, xxxiv (1804), p. 62. Emphasis in original.

¹⁴ Because Pilot later stated (p. 84) that Mrs. H's husband was a captain, he can be identified as either Archibald Hamilton or Thomas Hodgson who were the only two captains with a surname beginning with H in the 31st Foot – TNA, Army List 1772, WO 65/22.

¹⁵ It is not clear whether Mrs B's husband was in the regiment or a civilian; if the former, he could have been either Lt James Boucher, or an Ensign by the name of Benjamin Brown or ... Browne (the Army List left his forename blank) – TNA, Army List 1772, WO 65/22.

¹⁶ The regimental history confirmed that the 31st Regiment was sent to St. Vincent in the autumn of 1772 and that it 'fell into an ambuscade, and sustained some loss', including the commanding officer, Lt-Col Ralph Walsh, in 1773. It was stationed in 'North Briton' (Scotland) by 1774. R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Thirty-first, or, The Huntingdonshire Regiment of Foot...* (London: Parker, Furnivall and Parker, 1850), p. 34.

occurred, but that the Transports were safe. This Information we received in October, more than 2 months after they had sailed. I feared all my money would be expended before any plan could be put in execution relative to my removal. As it was expected that when the Expedition, our Reg^t had gone upon, was over, it would be ordered to New York, my Husband advised my going thither to await his arrival. I had also anxieties for my Husband, add to which, another annoyance arising from my Domestics, increased my trials. There was an old soldier, whose wife was my Cook, who was much in my house, previous to the departure of the Reg^t, and as he was useful, and my youngest Child was much attached to him, and being himself unfit for actual service, (having received a wound in his knee) I thought it would be a great Comfort to me to have him left with me. I therefore applied to the Commanding Officer, who kindly complied with my wishes, at the same time, telling me he had no great opinion of him. However that I might have some control over him, he said, he should still be considered as under military orders, and his remaining with me should be looked upon as a Favor. All was thus settled, and for a time he went on very well. As he was so fond of my little H[enrietta], it was quite a comfort to me to have his assistance in nursing her, and taking her out. Soon my Old Soldier, fancying himself necessary to me, began to be insolent, and took a thousand liberties in the house. I threatened to complain to Col. C.,¹⁷ and this improved him a little, but in the sequel you will find, I had reason to repent of the confidence I had placed in this man. He and his Wife, united in cheating me in every way they could. I really became afraid of the man, yet continued to keep him. He was careful of the Children, and I bore with much from him on this account. However I was once obliged to have him confined to the Guard House. He then petitioned and promised, and I again tried him. You shall hear more of him by and by.

I return to my story. The End of Nov^{br} Mrs H[amilton/Hodgson] received at letter from her husband, from Bermuda dated Sep^{br} 14th. His Transport, had put in in distress, and had parted with the others three weeks before, consequently knew nothing of them. We heard that the 14th Reg^t was coming to St Augustine, and the 31st not to return.¹⁸ I had no letter from my Husband, and the uncertainty in which this left me, added to the season of the year being Winter, made me resolve to wait quietly, till I should be apprized of my Husband's fate. My mind suffered greatly. Oh how have I sat up night after night weeping over my sleeping Infants. I kept up my spirits during the day, discharging my maternal duties. My

¹⁷ The authors regret their inability to identify this officer.

¹⁸ The 14th Foot fought in St. Vincent in 1772 and 1773 and then went to Virginia, but it is not unlikely that a detachment was sent to St. Augustine – See R. Cannon, *Historical Record of the Fourteenth, or The Buckinghamshire Regiment of Foot* (London: Parker, Furnivall, & Parker, 1845), p. 34.

pride would not allow me to make known my circumstances, and it pleased God to enable me to keep up appearances. I had no letter from my Husband for 6 months, and even then, tho' he said he was safe, and at S' Vincents, yet the accounts I heard of the war there filled me with uneasiness. The cruelties of the savages to their prisoners, was dreadful. The idea of this much loved husband, falling into their hands, filled my mind with horror, and when I looked on my Children possibly then Fatherless, my fortitude sunk. I did look up to God, and He doubtless heard my prayer, and preserved my Husband. Nine months passed away in this manner, when on the 12th of April a packet arrived from Charles Town, and brought news that the Carribs had surrendered, that the Fleet had left S' Vincents, and the Transports were waiting to take the troops to New York. Mrs H[amilton/Hodgson] and myself were in great suspense. My Trials seemed to be multiplied, as just at this time, my children were attacked by severe colds, which ended in inflammatory Fevers, and they were so ill (particularly my youngest) that I was greatly alarmed.

But while I so often have to excite your feelings by successive afflictions, I again have to call on you to rejoice with me, that these calamities were removed, and the anguished tear so often flowing from anticipated evil, dried by Him, who would not afflict me with more than he enabled me to bear. My children were spared, and tho' delicate were well enough to move, if the joyful summons from their Father should arrive.

On the 17th of April, two signal guns fired from the light house, indicating the arrival of some ships. A report was soon spread that the Transports were off the shore. I ran with haste to the Governor's house, from whence with the help of Glasses, we could see to a distance. We perceived a large ship at Anchor, and a smaller one. The Pilot boat was going out to them. My heart beat, and still more so, when it was discovered, that there were soldiers on board. I also discovered this to be the case. What were my sensations! Was my Husband on board! He might not have received my letters, and therefore would be ignorant whether or not, I was still at S' Augustine! Or he might have been sent home to England! I remained most of the day at this look out, straining my eyes, as if I could read my fate, by seeing the troops go into the boats. The wind was high, and the tide against them, so that they put back to the vessels. I just went home to see my children, and returned to my post of observation. A Report reached me that Capt^a H[amilton/Hodgson] had arrived, was landed, and had gone to his house. I flew to ascertain the truth of this, and arrived at my friend's door, nearly fainting where I was met by Capt^a H[amilton/Hodgson]. My voice failed as I attempted to say "Where is my Husband?". His reply was, "he is safe and well." But not here, he is gone to New York to meet you! My tears flowed plentifully. I

would not stay to interrupt my friend's happiness, but went home as it were to congratulate you and your sisters, that you were not Fatherless. After my spirits were calmed, I went to Mrs B, my other Sister Widow, and found that she also was made happy by the return of her husband. Somewhat of Envy doubtless crossed my mind, but it was scarcely felt, ere my thoughts were engrossed with different occupation. Mr B brought me a letter from my Husband, telling me that if I had not already gone to New York, I was to do so immediately and empowering me to draw on him for whatever sum of money I should wish to have. I had now enough to do in preparing for my departure. Captⁿ and M^r H[amilton/Hodgson] were to go to New York, and promised to take every care of me.

We set about arranging all matters in the best manner we were able, and expected to sail in a week. But the Master of the Vessel became impatient, fearing a change of Weather, and suddenly sent to tell us, we must be on board in 24 hours. I determined to be ready. Many friends assisted me, dear Mrs B, and her husband especially. You may imagine my fatigue, however I had every thing settled, but when the moment of my departure came, my old soldier was no where to be found. I should have told you that the day before, on his finding that I was about to join the Reg^t, he became alarmed, from the fear of what I might report of him. I was busily employed in packing, when he came into the room, shut the door, and putting his hands across,¹⁹ with an insolent look, said "I suppose I can guess what character you will give of me when you get to the Reg^t." I was much alarmed at his look and manner, but endeavoured to hide it, and calmly asked him "what character he thought he deserved." He replied, he knew he had acted wrong, he was sorry for it, and if I would promise not to complain he would do every thing in his power to assist me. This relieved my mind, and I gladly promised this. He exerted himself the remainder of the day, and I had no idea that he would relapse at the last. Of course I was obliged to go on board without him. His non-appearance had taken place, while I had gone to take leave of Mrs B. When I expected he was arranging about my Trunks &c, he was no where to be found. He had all my keys, and I knew not what to do. When the last boat came with passengers from the shore, judge of my surprise to see this wicked man brought on board, loaded with Irons, with the crimes of desertion Insolence and abuse to the Commanding Officer, written with him. Col^l C likewise wrote a letter to Capⁿ H[amilton/Hodgson], requesting he would not be prevailed on by me, to let him go unpunished; that he was an old offender and deserved no mercy. Of course I had no assistance from this man, and his Wife was in the Sulks, so that the care of my Children devolved wholly on myself; but this to me was never a painful task, and now the anticipation of presenting you to your Father,

¹⁹ In other words, 'crossing his arms' as a show of defiance.

made every thing easy. In 8 days, we approached New York, and hoped to land the following day, when so thick a Fog came on, that the Captain of the Vessel feared to advance. This turned to heavy rain, with Lightning and loud Thunder, and we were tossed about for many hours, after which it became calm, and we advanced, the country looking beautiful with high hills, green fields, and fruit trees in full blossom.

To me the approach of this Pilot boat was the most interesting sight. Our first question was, whether the 31st Reg^t had arrived. To my great dismay, we were told that one Transport alone had come in, with Cap^m H[amilton/Hodgson]^s company, but that no other Officer had arrived. Mrs H[amilton/Hodgson] tried to console me and said I should go with her to her Father's house, and remain till my Husband arrived. I consented. A Boat soon came alongside, and in it Mrs H[amilton/Hodgson]^s Brother. Their joy on meeting was great. My heart was too heavy even to share the happiness of my friend, but was indeed relieved, when this Gentleman on being introduced to me said he had the pleasure to congratulate me on my Husband being well, adding that he had been at New York for some days impatiently waiting for my arrival. I could not speak, but my grateful heart did utter its thanks to God. In a few minutes I discerned my Husband on the Wharf, getting into a boat to come to the vessel, and in a few more, I had the unspeakable delight of being reunited to this justly loved Husband. Need I attempt to describe my feelings?

I could not. A ten months absence under such painful circumstances thus ended! Sorrow was all forgotten, nor did any cloud seem to obstruct our joy. Were not these great mercies? Oh I have lived to retrace every Event of my life as mercies, and tho' I had drank deep of sorrow's cup, and still many a trial was prepared for me, yet now I review them all as blessings. The lesson of affliction is painful, but Oh how useful! The wretched prisoner, the Old Soldier, sent me a petition entreating I would intercede for him. Cap^m H[amilton/Hodgson] begged I would not interfere, but happy as I was myself, how could I refuse to make others so? I had received him at my own request, and wished to restore him free to the Reg^t. I therefore obtained his pardon, and was not sorry myself to part with him. We landed, and went to my friend's Father for a week, and then took a house. We remained for the Summer at New York and Long Island. Our Regiment had gone to England, and my Husband had been sent to New York with drafts into other Reg^{ts}. This accomplished we also prepared to return to England. The end of August we sailed, after having been eight years in America! We bid adieu to many kind friends but I will not dwell on our sensations on quitting America, or detain you on our voyage. Suffice it to say, it was not a pleasant one. We however arrived safe in England after a 7 week voyage, and landed at Deal in October 1773.

The Pilot family returned to Portarlington, Ireland, to visit their relatives and later relocated to Manchester. In 1774, Elizabeth gave birth to Mary in Portarlington, but the baby died within two months. Elizabeth gave birth to her last daughter, Frances Oughton in March 1775, in Manchester, where her husband had been sent with a recruiting party. Henry Pilot had obtained leave to remain with his wife during her confinement with her sixth child. However, when orders came for the 31st Regiment to return to North America at the outbreak of hostilities, he left immediately for the embarkation point at Cork. Henry was offered the chance to remain behind because of his wife's delicate condition, but his sense of honour dictated that he accompany the regiment. His wife wrote proudly of her support for this decision. The couple planned to reunite as soon as the infant was strong enough to be left in a nurse's care. It was during this stay in North America that Captain Pilot met up with his brother-in-law, William Digby, a Lieutenant with the 53rd Regiment of Foot. In his journal entry for September 27th, 1776, William Digby said he was suffering from illness. However, he 'did not remain long in that situation, as the First Brigade landed from St Johns, the 31st regiment composing part of it, when my brother in law, Capt Pilot, gave me every assistance in his power, – got me a good physician and had me removed into his tent which had a stove, where I recovered fast.'²⁰ Elizabeth Pilot's memoir is a valuable record of her brother William's history. The editor of the published version of his journal had lamented being 'baffled ... in obtaining particulars' concerning his family and early history.²¹ Though Elizabeth Pilot did not mention the incident from William's journal in her memoirs, it is clear that she had news from her husband during this time.

My accounts of your Father were favourable. He liked Canada as much as he could any place, when separated from his family, and he was not exposed to much danger, as the Reg^t remained in Canada, which was in a peaceable state. He still urged me to go out in the spring. As my youngest Child F[rances],²² was now between 2 and 3 years old, I was resolved to get her home, that she too might go to America.

The Spring arrived, and I renewed my efforts to go to America. It was a dangerous time, as the war was carrying on with great violence, and so many of the Enemy Ships being at sea, would render it very unsafe. I therefore again relinquished going, and endeavoured to wait patiently for my Husband's return in Nov^{br}. I received a letter from him dated Portsmouth, where he had arrived, but being obliged to go to London with men under his care, he could not immediately go to Manchester, and begged I would meet him in London. I reflected on the great expense, a journey of 184 miles would occasion, and as he would not long be detained there, I wrote to reconcile him to my waiting for him at Manchester. He acquiesced, and as soon as his business was finished,

²⁰ Baxter, *The British Invasion*, pp. 149-50.

²¹ Baxter, *The British Invasion*, p. iv.

²² Frances Oughton, born in March, 1775, in Manchester, England, and named after Sir James Adolphus Oughton, who, with his wife, stood as godparents, to indicate their regard for Capt. Pilot.

hastened to us.

On his arrival I was just recovering from a severe illness, and he was much distressed at seeing me so delicate[...]. I had a severe cough, and other symptoms of delicate health. It was thought the voyage would be useful to me. Everything seemed to indicate that it was my duty to go with my husband. Yet I know not why, but a strange foreboding hung over me, as the time approached, probably arising from my many disappointments & my delicate state of health. We made all our arrangements, and once more I bid adieu to the friends I had made in Manchester, and with my Husband and 4 little girls, set off for London the beginning of March. We remained in Town 8 days, during which time we were in a constant bustle.

We there met many old friends and amongst others dear Lady P[aget], (afterwards Countess of U[xbridge])²³ the daughter of Dean C[hampagné]²⁴ & whom in earliest days I had known and loved. From her I received every assurance of friendship, and a desire to be of use to my Husband, where her Lord's interest might prove so. Her Ladyship's brother, was at the time in the Reg^t with my husband, a Jun^r Officer.²⁵ In the middle of March we proceeded to Gravesend, and on Easter Sunday embarked on board the True Briton, an ordinary store ship of 20 Guns, commanded by a Lieutenant of the Navy.²⁶ We went to Portsmouth to join the Quebec Fleet & our Convoy. We sailed from the Downs the 6th of April, and now you find us actually on our Voyage, and are unprepared for hearing of any disappointment in the accomplishment of this long anticipated plan.

We set sail with a contrary wind, and made very little way, only arriving on the 9th near Fareham where we ventured to land, as I was anxious to see my old friend M^{rs} D[—],²⁷ who had been to me as a Mother, when I first became such. I was glad to show her the four precious Children God had blessed me with, and tho' a Mother's tears would still flow, over those Infants he had taken, yet could I rejoice that they were safe lodged from every storm. We spent a couple of days pleasantly at

²³ Probably Jane Champagné (or Champagne), who had married Lt Henry Bayly on 11.4.1767, became Lady Paget when he inherited a barony in 1769, and Countess of Uxbridge when her husband inherited that title eleven years later. The Marquess of Anglesey, *One-Leg: The Life and Letters of Henry William Paget, First Marquess of Anglesey, K.G.* (London: Leo Cooper, 1996), pp. 19-21.

²⁴ If the above identification is correct, this would be the Reverend Arthur Champagné, Dean of Clomacnois. J. Debreton, *The Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland...* 9th Edn. (London: J. Moyes, 1814), Vol. II, p. 879.

²⁵ Probably Josias Champagné, who was Ensign in the 31st Foot from January 1775 and rose to a Lt in June 1777 – TNA, Army List 1777, WO 65/27.

²⁶ TNA, Master's Log of the True Briton, ADM 52/1617 named Lt Charles Cobb RN as its commander. She was a merchantman purchased by the Navy in early 1778 and was lightly armed with 10 Four Pounders and swivels – Lyon, *Sailing Navy List*, p. 226.

²⁷ This woman's identity cannot be traced at this time.

Fareham, and again embarked, the wind still against us. We scarcely made any way, and by the 3^d of May, had only past the Lizard. We had another family on board, and some Artillery Officers. The delicacy of my health, and Sea sickness, prevented me from pursuing the delightful task of instructing my children, but my Jane was of an age to be very useful and an intelligent companion. The 2 men of war that convoyed us, were the Danca Frigate 32 Guns, and the Pandora 28.²⁸ We received much attention from their Commanders, and often dined on board each of the Vessels. When we reached Torbay I was so ill, that my Husband became very uneasy, and I began to fear that I had undertaken what I had not strength to accomplish. The Weather continued unfavourable, and consequently we determined to go on shore to try what change of air might effect. Our valuable friend Cap^m M[urray],²⁹ whom we had known in America on board the Ferret, was at Portsmouth, and to him we wrote, to beg he would come to us if possible. He did so, and remained a few days, as we were still detained. The Bay was full of ships of every description, the Newfoundland West India Ports and Quebec fleets &c &c

It was a beautiful sight in that fine bay. Being on shore was of much use to me. We returned after a week to the Ship, but did not sail until the 30th of May, when we had a fair wind. Our Fleet consisted of 46 Ships. The Danca went foremost, and the Pandora behind, keeping the Fleet between them. We remained together till the 5th of June, when being on Deck enjoying a fine evening, looking at a Whale, at a distance, a Sail was discovered, which the Danca bore down upon, hoisting a white flag &c &c The stranger did not answer these signals, but merely hoisted a plain blue ensign. The Danca soon found she was a powerful Enemy, being a large 2 Decker &c, and with her 3 other large men of War. The Danca made signals for our Fleet to disperse, with the hope some might escape. We obeyed the signals and crowding sail, endeavoured to escape, tho' we were closely pursued by them. By the next morning, the largest ship had approached so near that we expected to be fired on. The Enemy proved to be a Spanish 74. Our two Convoys kept as much as possible between the Fleet and our enemies, endeavouring to decoy them from us. It was a melancholy sight to see so fine a Fleet scattered around, as far as the Eye could reach, and dreading that the night might separate them, so that many might become the prey of the Enemy. By 7 Clock in the Evening, we got clear from the foe. Then only 16 of our Ships remained in sight. We sat up late to watch. The Weather was calm and

²⁸ Lyon, *Sailing Navy List* gives no RN ship by the name Danca, Denca or any possible variant of the name. It would seem that the vessel was the Danae, a French prize, which sailed in the convoy to Quebec in May 1780 under Capt. Samuel Graves. (Lyon, p. 223.) The Pandora (Lyon, p. 88) was a 6th Rate of the Porcupine Class of 1776 armed with 22 Nine Pounders and 2 Six Pounders.

²⁹ TNA, Master's log for the Ferret, ADM 52/1232 indicates that this was Capt. George Murray, RN.

warm. An awful stillness reigned. Every face wore an air of enquiry. On the morning of the 6th we were surprised & rejoiced to find no enemy in sight. A small remnant of our Fleet remained. We had only 5 Ships left, besides our own, which was the largest, and commanded by a Navy Officer who consequently summoned them together, agreeing to become their Convoy, and keep up the same signals the Danca had used, she having gone (as we supposed) in chase of the Enemy. This being settled, it was thought advisable we should prepare, in case the Enemy should return and attack us. Our 20 Guns were practised on, and every man received his orders. About noon, a large ship appeared at a distance, bearing down upon us. At 3 O'clock we perceived a large ship chasing three of our Vessels. We got off a little, and our 5 Companions hoisted all their sails, and left us, so that before night we were left quite alone. It was debated whether we should proceed on our voyage, or try to put into Cork, but as ours was an Ordinance Store Ship, and was much wanted at Quebec, we resolved to proceed. We had on board 25 Miners going to join the Army, and some Officers, all of whom were wanting, so that it was a duty to advance, though danger threatened. Everything in the Ship was prepared, in case we should be called to action. As my Husband was only a Passenger, he needed not to be in any post of danger, but you know your Father too well to think, he would avail himself of such a plea. He felt it his duty to fight with the subjects of his King, whenever they were exposed to any danger. He therefore took the command of the artillery Officers, miners and Artificers, who used small arms on the Quarter Deck.

About the middle of the 7th, our former enemy again appeared, and continued to chase us the whole Evening, but as we sailed well, she did not gain much on us. Our Ship had been cleared for action from stem to stern, prior to which I had requested, that the Cabin in which my Children slept, might if possible be left to the last, to give me time to dress them. Thus I hoped your rest would not be disturbed. Early in the morning I was told we must no longer delay. The Enemy was near.

Never can I forget my sensations, as I entered the Cabin, where my 4 Children were fast asleep, unconscious of impending danger. The Idea that it might be the last time I might awaken you, crossed my mind, but I had little time to think. The Hammers were at work. I gently awoke you all. You wondered why you were called so early, and I told you as well as I could. The young mind does not easily see the extent of danger, when softened down by those they have been accustomed to consider as better judges than themselves. You were soon dressed. I restrained my tears whilst I assisted you, tho' my heart was agonized. You my dear H[enrietta], and your younger sister, raced with children's delight from one end of the ship to the other, amused at every impediment being removed. When I went on Deck the appearance of every thing was most

appalling. The Ship cleared for action. Every man was at his post! The Enemy was pursuing and gaining on us! About 4 Clock she was so near, that it was deemed time to put the Women and Children below, out of the reach of Gun shot. To describe my feeling at that moment would be impossible. It was the most awful period of my life, nor can I reflect on it now without horror, and the most grateful thanks to God, for that support he gave me. My Husband could face the Enemy undismayed, but to look on a Wife and Children at such a moment, unmanned him, and tears rolled down his face, as he pressed my hand, unwilling to speak, lest he should add to my anguish. Gladly would I have remained on Deck, a weak and trembling Female as I was. The sense of danger was lost in the moment of parting from the endeared Husband, the steady protector of myself and children. Whatever were my feelings, they were not expressed, my tongue could not utter them. Well may it be said, little griefs are clamorous. There is a point of feeling, when the heart rejects to vent itself in words – such was my state. I looked at your dear Father a moment, and then breaking from him, with my 4 Children, descended the ladder, with several other Women and Children, fellow sufferers with myself. The Hatch way was then closed upon us, and we were placed low down, where the noise of the water against the Ship, alone was heard. This we expected would soon be lost in the sound of Cannon. Whilst in this awful suspense, we were surprised after the lapse of 20 Minutes, by the Hatch being opened, and we were told we might again go on Deck for a while, as the Enemy had veered off a little. Gladly did I obey the summons, and with my little Flock, soon found myself once more by my Husband. It was a dead Calm. Why the Spaniard so went off, it was impossible to say. She could easily have made a prey of us. It could only be conjectured that she went off, to make a more convenient tack, and so to bear down upon us. We could see her in a state of preparation. All her ports were open. She was a 74 and a full of men. Presently we discovered a Ship astern of us, and began to think our Spaniard had fled from this Vessel, but she again made a tack, and appeared to be bearing towards us. It was such a calm, that neither of us, could make much way, and there was therefore time for debate. We indulged a hope, that the distant Ship might be one of our men of War – signals were made, which she answered, and bore down as well as the Calm would allow. A Council was held to consult on the best measures to be adopted, and it was agreed on, that we were unequal to contend with so powerful an enemy, and likewise our being an Ordinance Store Ship, would make an engagement far more hazardous. Therefore that we should at once strike, to such a superior force, and become her Captive. We therefore only waited for her advance, to yield. Every one seemed anxious to appear to advantage, and to exchange their sea dresses for better attire. After what I have described, you will scarcely think it possible that a scene calculated to excite a smile,

should so soon occur, but the danger of destruction being removed, the lightened heart, was ready to share a contrary feeling. All the Trunks were of course bellow, and must be brought up to procure this change of dress, and every one was anxious for their own. And when the Trunks were brought up, where were we to dress? We had no Cabins to retire to! However we contrived to effect our purpose, tho' in hurry and confusion. You may suppose I was not in spirits to dress! The idea that we might not be treated well, and possibly have our clothes (except what we had on) taken from us, induced us to secure as much on our persons as we could, and on each of my children & myself I put two of every article. Your Father put on his uniform, and every one else acted as we did.³⁰ Thus prepared we waited for the Event. To our great astonishment the Spanish Ship tacked from us, while we saw with pleasure the distant ship advancing – nor did the former return. This conduct of the Enemy was perfectly unaccountable. But so it was! She relinquished a prize she might have secured. The Almighty willed that we should escape this calamity, as the Enemy returned no more. The Ship I spoke of, came up with us, and proved to be only a Danish Merchantman, from the West Indies, bound for London. We told them our misfortunes, and requested the Captain would have an account of us, put into the London Papers.³¹ Before Sunset, we were again alone, neither friend or enemy in sight. Oh with how thankful a heart I prepared to put you all to bed[.] Temporary Cabins of canvass were erected, and wearied but tranquil in mind I laid me down to rest after an eventful day, and slept under the protection of my merciful God. All this did not contribute to the restoration of my health. My mind and body seemed wearing out, added to which I was again in the family way. One danger passed, it pleased God to give me another cause of alarm. The calm was succeeded by a very high wind quite against us. At the same time a leak was discovered in the Ship, and the water increased hourly. The Pumps were constantly at work night and day. Still the exact leak, could not be found, and the water increased

³⁰ Clearly Capt. Pilot had not been wearing his regimentals when aboard and was probably attired in warmer and more hard wearing clothes suitable for a sea voyage. His status as a prisoner of war would have been much better if he was to be captured wearing the uniform of an officer rather than in non-regimental dress.

³¹ While there is no definitive proof that the Danish captain fulfilled this request, several London newspapers, including the *Whitehall Evening Post*, No. 5337, 22-24.6.1780, p. 4; *Lloyd's Evening Post*, No. 3590, 23-26.6.1780, p. 606; and the *London Evening Post*, No. 9082, 24-27.6.1780, p. 1, reported the following letter extract, dated from Plymouth, 19 July: 'Last Saturday we received some unpleasing news by the True Briton ordnance storeship, which put in here: She was one of the convoy bound to Quebec; they had proceeded on their voyage above 100 leagues to the westward of Scilly, when they fell in with and were chased by five or six Spanish men of war, and the whole convoy dispersed. The Officers of the True Briton are very apprehensive that many of the fleet must be taken. They made their escape by being one of the weathermost ships. In consequence of this disaster, and being leaky, they made the best of their way to this port, where they are now in safety.'

frightfully. A Consultation was held, and it was determined that with a contrary wind, and increase of water, we must inevitably sink. It was therefore instantly resolved to make the nearest sea port. This was the 12th of July. The wind was fair for England. It was very high. The Pumps tho' worked perpetually, appeared not to lessen the water, consequently the only plan of escape was adopted. The leak gained 16 inches of water in an hour, and our danger became great. But that all watchful Providence, who had hitherto preserved us, in Storm, Famine, Sickness, and almost every species of danger; mercifully again interposed in our behalf, and permitted us on the 17th to arrive safely at Plymouth, after a voyage of 3 months, returning to the land we had left in 5 days!³²

We soon quitted the Ship, and were most hospitably received by Mr Smith³³ Master attendant of the Dock, whom we had formerly known. We remained with him a Week, and then got lodgings, till we could resolve what to do, as my Husbands leave of absence was expired and it was necessary he should receive orders how to act. Two months prior to this, we had lost our ever considerate friend Sir A[dolphus]:O[ughton]: and the Reg^t was given to Gen^l C[larke] to whom my Husband wrote,³⁴ to explain the manner in which his joining the Reg^t had been prevented, mentioning my ill state of health, and that, as he could not now reach America before winter, when hostilities would be suspended, he hoped he might be allowed to remain at home till after my confinement. The Idea of my ever attempting again to go to America I gave up. Former foreboding returned to my mind, which together with the evident interposition of God to prevent my going, after so many efforts, determined me to tell my Husband, that dear as he was to me, and much as our Interest seemed to direct us to remain together, I never would again seek to go to America! It was to him a heavy disappointment, but he said it was right and yielded. Gen^l C[larke] gave the kindest reply, and granted the leave asked, saying, he should have offered it, if it had not been applied for.

Elizabeth relocated to Bideford in Devon with her daughters and gave birth to her only son, Henry Digby on January 5, 1781. Henry had accompanied her, but duty called him back to North America and he embarked in March of the same year. Elizabeth wrote that his letters to her 'were written in very low spirits' because 'he could not bear the separation from his family' (f. 126-7). Henry sold his commission soon after and returned to Bideford to be with his family. Henry and Elizabeth rented a farm a mile outside the

³² This element of Pilot's account is confirmed by *Lloyd's Evening Post*, No. 3588, 19-21. 6.1780, p. 592, which stated that 'The True Briton armed ship put into Plymouth the 17th inst. leaky.'

³³ Likely James Smith, who died in December 1809 and left a will as the "late Master Attendant of his Majesty's Dock Yard at Plymouth in Devon" – Cornwall Record Office, P 152/25/3.

³⁴ Lt Col Sir James Oughton died in 1780 and Maj-Gen Thomas Clarke then became its colonel – Cannon, *Historical Record of the Thirty-first*, xxxii.

town and remained there for five years. They then moved back to Ireland, settling first in Waterford, and then moving to Carlow. In 1798, the Pilots witnessed the bloodshed of the Irish rebellion and its aftermath in Carlow, right outside their front gates (f. 145-52). By the summer of 1800, Henry had secured a position as Town Major of Galway, after a short term as Barrack Master and Storekeeper at Cork. This patronage appointment provided his family with some valuable income. At the age of twelve, their son, Henry Digby, joined the Royal Navy. He died on December 28, 1804, of a fever while abroad in service. The Pilot family later relocated to Bath, where Henry Pilot died on March 22, 1820. Elizabeth lived for her remaining seven years with her daughter, Judith Henrietta, until she passed away in 1826. Elizabeth and Henry were both buried in Weston.

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**‘DAY AFTER DAY ADDS TO OUR MISERIES’:
THE PRIVATE DIARY OF A STAFF OFFICER
ON THE WALCHEREN EXPEDITION, 1809**

PART 2

JACQUELINE REITER

What follows is the second part of a journal written during the infamous Walcheren expedition of 1809, probably by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Walsh (1777-1810).¹ Walsh was Assistant Adjutant General on the personal staff of Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, the expedition’s second-in-command under the 2nd Earl of Chatham.

This second part of the journal opens on 7 August 1809 with a description of the French *sortie* from Flushing.

★

August 7th.

The fore part of this day was very stormy accompanied with heavy rain. – It cleared up about 3 o’clock & a little before 5 we were disturbed from our dinner, by a brisk fire of musquetry in the center, which became very heavy on the right. – It proved to be a Sortie made by the Enemy thro’ the Middelburg Gate, on our right. – Their force marched out in [a] Column of perhaps 1,000 or 1,200 men, and shortly after scattered over the Sand-hills & the plain in small parties. – They came on very gallantly till they arrived close to our Troops who received them with the most determined coolness & spirit, and after some time they retired in all haste upon the Town. – This disconcerted attack was speedily succeeded by a Second, but the French Officers were obliged to exert themselves to the utmost to get the Men on. – At last they came forward, but with far less determination than the time before, and after firing at our people, they were charged & driven back with considerable loss, in Killed, Wounded & Prisoners. – The Reg[imen]ts most engaged were the Royals, the 5th, flank Companies 35th Reg[imen]t & the 1st L[igh]t Batt[alio]n K.G. Legion. – Our loss amounted to 5 or 6 Killed, 110 Wounded & a few missing, among whom was B[rigade] Major Bird² of the 5th.³ – The Enemy suffered much more considerably, having had from 3 to 400 Killed & Wounded, and 6 Off[ice]rs & 80 men taken Prisoners. – Among the Officers

¹ University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 29, vol. 3. I owe many thanks to the staff of the William L. Clements Library for permission to publish the journal.

² Henry Bird (1780-1829) was taken prisoner. Freed after the fall of Flushing, he fell ill with Walcheren fever and was sent home (General Order, 28 Aug 1809, The National Archives (UK), Chatham MSS, PRO 30/8/262). He later rose to be a lieutenant colonel. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 1829, Vol. 99(2), p. 370.

³ The official tally was 8 officers wounded and missing, 1 sergeant killed and 7 wounded, 13 rank and file killed, 126 wounded, and 4 missing.

was the *Chef* of the *Battailon Colonial*, in garrison at Flushing: It is a kind of a condemned Corps.⁴ – The remainder of the 2d Light Battalion K.G. Legion, arrived this day: the two Battalions are encamped immediately in the front of West Zouburg. – I forgot to observe that one great advantage was obtained by us, in consequence of the Enemy's Sortie: – It had been determined to commence working this night, on the right, but for that purpose it was necessary to push our advanced Posts further forward, and our so doing would have naturally given suspicions to the Enemy of our Intentions. – It therefore very opportunely happened that in consequence of our repulsing the Sortie we advanced so far, as to give us all the advantage of ground which we might otherwise have wrested from the French in the night. – The Engineers under Capt[ain] Birch⁵ immediately commenced a Battery of Thirteen 24 Pounders & another of Six Mortars. close to the Nolle House, an excellent situation for such Works, & so masked by the Dyke, that the Enemy could have no idea of what we were about.

August 8th.

We were not in the least disturbed in the course of this day. At length, upon the remonstrance of every person who had seen the place, the Engineers consented to reconnoitre a spot in front of our left, which had originally been intended by the French for a Work, but which was abandoned. – It was an astonishingly high heap of earth of a circular form, with a Parapet all round & a wet ditch in front. Wheel-barrows & trenching Tools were found in it. – Our advanced Picquets being pushed in front of it, the Engineers could not but greatly approve of a situation so eligible, & where they had comparatively little to do, owing to the works already carried on there, by the Enemy.

Colonel Fyers,⁶ who had taken the command of the Engineer Department,⁷ therefore began to break ground, or rather to prepare the ground in that spot, for a Three 24 Pounder, & a four Mortar Battery.⁸ – The Guns & Mortars were taken down this day to the Batteries in the Center, & we were not at all molested in that essential operation, by the Enemy. – The Brigade of Seamen, under Capt[ain] Richardson,⁹ of H.M. Ship *Caesar*, exert themselves astonishingly & have been

⁴ Formed in 1802, consisting of soldiers who had volunteered to serve in the French colonies, recaptured deserters from the French army, and miscellaneous other men of military age. Since few soldiers wished to serve in the colonies of their own free will, the corps was largely composed of the latter two categories: https://www.1789-1815.com/arfr7_bns_col.htm (accessed 16 Sep 2017).

⁵ Robert Henry Birch (c.1771–1851).

⁶ William Fyers (1753–1829).

⁷ Fyers' appointment was announced in the General Orders for 8 Aug (TNA, Chatham MSS, PRO 30/8/262).

⁸ Eventually known as the Seamen's Battery.

⁹ Charles Richardson (1769–1850), commanding the Seamen's Brigade, a special body of 80 men and 9 pieces of ordnance attached to Coote's division: Martin R. Howard, *Walcheren 1809: the scandalous destruction of a British army* (Barnsley, 2012), p. 75. The seamen 'were generally employed in dragging the guns to the batteries': Sir Eyre Coote's testimony, William Cobbett (ed.) *Parliamentary Debates from the year 1803 to the present time*, Vol. XV (London, 1815), Appendix, ccccxvii.

most useful since the commencement of our Siege operations. – It was thought desirable to possess ourselves of a tyled [sic] house in front of the Work on our left, called the Black Battery or Punch-bowl. – L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] Offency, conducted the Party intended for this operation, but upon their arrival, it was found that the Enemy had abandoned the house, of which we therefore took undisturbed possession. – The total of Killed, Wounded & Missing appears to be to this date, 57 Killed, 500 Wounded, & 22 Missing.

August 9th.

There was a little firing from the Town this day upon our Working Parties, but nothing to what we might have expected, especially when our Men are so exposed. – Capt[ain] Browne¹⁰ of the 77th lost his thigh on the left, & Ensign Harold¹¹ of the 14th was struck with a shot on the hip of which he afterwards died. – It is altogether most surprizing that the Enemy does not annoy us more by Shots & Shells. – The whole of our Position, with the exception of the Left is compleatly within range, as a few Shots have sufficiently proved to us, & had the French fired on our Lines we must have moved our situation. – Besides, the Working Parties, which they must see as plainly as we see theirs, are so much exposed upon a level flat, that we must have suffered very considerably, & our Works have proceeded still much slower than they have done, had our men been disturbed, as they should have been. – Instead of that, he has allowed us to cover ourselves & compleat two of our Center Batteries without annoying us, and now begins to fire when it is no longer so hurtful or destructive to us. – There was some very heavy firing towards Evening from the Garrison, at Seven of our Gun-boats, that were taking their station in the Line, about mid-way across the Channel. – Commodore Owen¹² with a few frigates & sloops has come in as close as he can on our right, while the Gun-boats & a few Gun-brigs have stretched out a good way up, above our left. – So that, we may now presume that the Communication with Cadsand, is effectually cut off.¹³

¹⁰ Andrew Browne survived the wound, as he exchanged into the 8th West India Regiment as a major in 1810. Army List 1811, TNA, War Office Papers, WO 65/61.

¹¹ The Naval Chronicle refers to him as 'C. Harrald', but his name is spelled 'Harold' in the 1809 Army List (TNA, War Office Papers, WO 65/59).

¹² Edward Owen (1771-1849).

¹³ This was achieved on 8 Aug. Strachan, however, emphasised the precariousness of the protection offered by the fleet, even after the blockade of Flushing had been completed: 'The distance between Flushing & Briskens [sic - Breskens, the closest point to Flushing on the mainland] is so short, that it is impossible entirely to cut off the communication; but it may be so impeded (which I trust it now is) as to make it very dangerous for the Enemy to attempt anything beyond a single Boat, though there are so many circumstances in his favour, of wind and weather, shortness of distance, with covering Batteries on each side, and dark nights, that he may occasionally effect it' (Strachan to Chatham, 8 Aug 1809, TNA, Chatham MSS, PRO 30/8/369, f. 102).

August 10th.

There has been a good deal of firing from the batteries erected by the Enemy, outside of the ramparts, close to the Town. – No Casualties, however, to any amount have occurred, the shot generally going over the Trenches. – About Noon, it was discovered that the French had opened the Sluices for the purpose of inundating the Country, & forcing us thereby to abandon our approaches in the Low Grounds, confining ourselves to the two Dykes on our Right & Left. – We were glad to find that the Water did not spread so far as we dreaded, but still it was a serious inconvenience, the bad effects of which we could not yet calculate upon. – Opposite our left we could observe the Enemy hard at work, making a deep trench thro' the Dyke, & we are not without fears that it was with the intention of admitting the Sea into the Plain from which it is only kept by the Dyke. – The Comm[and]er of the Forces still continues at Middelburg, occasionally coming to the Lines to hear what is going on, as he seldom or never goes to the Trenches. – His Lordship is most anxious that the operations for the Siege should be carried on with vigour, and he has therefore directed that Brig[adie]r General Macleod¹⁴ of the Artillery & Colonel Fyers of the Engineers should assume the chief direction of their respective Departments. – Things, however, go on but badly, the Artillery are certainly not backwards, being prepared with their Guns &c but in the Engineers there is a thorough want of System, which a good natured easy man, cannot remedy. – There never was a Department, so ill conducted, and the whole Army is crying out against its slowness. – Working Parties are furnished upon requisition, but seldom properly employed, for want of arrangement.¹⁵ – Sir Eyre Coote removed this day from West to East Zouburg, owing to the exposed situation of his house at the former place the removal had all along been fixed upon, but it was with great difficulty, that he was prevailed [on] to change his Quarters, altho' he coincided [sic] in the propriety of it.

August 11th.

The water has increased, especially in front of L[ieutenant]-General Grosvenor's Division, a Reg[imen]t of which, the Queen's has been forced to change its situation. – The ditches are filling fast in front of our position, & the water is also

¹⁴ Sir John Macleod (1752-1833), also the Deputy Adjutant General of the Artillery at the Ordnance and a personal friend of Chatham.

¹⁵ The engineers were perfectly aware of their poor reputation. Capt. Pasley wrote to a colleague on 9 Aug: 'The corps of engineers is disgraced and damned for ever. The cry of the whole Army & Navy is against us. ... The French are making counterworks & do them faster than we do ours. We were offered the *whole* Army to act under us. The staff Corps everything at our disposal. Such measures, such power, such circumstances would have put life into a statue, by heaven it would have called a dead body from the Grave, but what could we do with a parcel of old men or rather old women at our head, with fellows without Souls to direct the operations of Armies': quoted in Howard, *Walcheren 1809*, pp. 115-116.

rising in front of the 82d & of our Works in the Center.¹⁶ – Every precaution possible has been ordered, the Cisterns or Tanks containing fresh water have been secured by small dykes, from receiving the salt water,¹⁷ and the sides of the Roads are marked by long poles with Wisps of Straw round the top. – We begin to be afraid of the consequences of this measure on the part of the Enemy, as it may force us to decamp in a hurry, leaving our Guns Mortars &c were [sic] they now are; But, it will not prevent us from reducing the Town to ashes, from the Batteries on our flanks situate [sic] on the Dykes, where they cannot be disturbed by the inundation. – In the early part of the morning there was a very heavy fire from the works of the place, upon our Center Batteries, but with very little execution, tho in general the range was very good. – Our Working parties for the last 48 hours have been much increased, as many as 1,600 Men being ordered at the same time. – About 6 o'clock this Evening a Squadron of Nine Frigates, under Commodore Owen, forced the Passage between Flushing & Cadsand. – There was a good breeze of wind at the time, but the tide was against them, which greatly retarded their progress. – However, they advanced in an extended line, only occasionally returning the tremendous discharge of Shot & Shells from either Shore. – The Passage took up from an hour & a half to two hours, during which there was no intermission of the most terrific Cannonade. – Very little damage was done to the Ships, altho' the Sea was in a foam around them. – We have understood that only 2 men were killed & 14 wounded in the whole Squadron. – It was altogether a most beautiful & glorious sight, of which I had a very excellent view, from the Steeple of East Zouburg Church, now turned into a Commissariat Store.¹⁸ – Sir Eyre Coote, who beheld the whole scene, was much distressed that the unfinished & incompleat state of our Batteries, prevented him from assisting the Navy in this determind & perilous enterprize; But to have opened from the Center Batteries would have done no great good, & by shewing the Enemy its situation, would have exposed it to the fire of all their Batteries. – The Black Battery on the left did open by the direction of M[ajor]-General Picton, contrary to positive orders, & Mr Congreve threw a few Rockets, also without permission, and without much

¹⁶ The water was recorded as being three feet deep and rising: Proceedings of the Army under the Command of Lt.-Gen. the Earl of Chatham, KG, 3 Sep 1809, TNA, War Office Papers, WO 190 (henceforth 'Proceedings of the Army').

¹⁷ The General Orders for 11 Aug contained strict instructions regarding preventing the contamination of the water supply: TNA, Chatham MSS, PRO 30/8/262. This may not have worked: 'All the fresh water ... is spoiled': *Letters from Flushing ... by an officer of the Eighty-First Regiment* (London, 1809), p. 172.

¹⁸ Brownrigg complained Strachan had given Chatham no intimation of his intentions, thereby giving an interesting insight into the lack of communication between the two military services: 'Our Admiral altho' an excellent man in many respects, does not appear to proceed on any Plan, and of course we do not know what is passing under his immediate direction. Until we heard the firing yesterday ev[en]ing we did not know, that the Passage of the Scheldt was then to be forced' (to J.W. Gordon, 12 Aug 1809, BL, Add MS 49505, f. 19).

success, as most of them fell short.¹⁹ – They make a terrible hollow noise, when they are let off, & at night make a beautiful fire-work. – The frigates having all passed, the Enemy's fire ceased. – With night came on a deluge of rain, which fell without intermission till 12 o'clock. – The rain was so heavy that our Parties could not work & the Nolle Battery on the right became a compleat Slough.²⁰ –

August 12th.

Capt[ain] Richardson of the Navy, went there²¹ at day light with 150 Seamen, who with excellent good will & great exertion got in all the Guns in the course of the morning. – Every means were employed this day in preparing the Batteries to open tomorrow. – The one intended to be worked by the Seamen, on the left of the Bridge in front of Br[igadier]-General Acland's Brigade, was in a very backward state, but the anxiety of the Tars was such, that, under a heavy fire from the Enemy, they worked at it so diligently, that at night it was very forward. – The Redoubt on the left of our Center Batteries was nearly compleated this day, but no Guns were got in.²² – The spot near it, prepared for a Howitzer battery, we were under the necessity of abandoning, & of chasing another more to the right, the waters having encreased so much as to cover the place originally fix'd upon. – Great exertion was made in finishing the Magazines, at the several Batteries, and before dark the following were reported nearly compleat in every respect & fit to open next day. Ten 24 Pounders & Ten 10 Inch Mortars in the Center. – Thirteen 24 Prs 2 Howitzers & 6 Mortars at the Black Work, on the left. – A very sharp fire was kept up during this day, on our Center Batteries, but with little or no damage. The Water continued to encrease fearfully. – The 36th on the left & the 59th towards the right were obliged to shift their Quarters. – The Inspectors of Sluices at Middelburg were sent for, & they held out the hope that by opening the Sluices at Armuyden²³ & Veere, much of the Water let out at Flushing would run off at those places. – But tho' an extenuation, it would by no means be a remedy for the evil. – Lord Chatham, as usual takes his morning ride, as far as the Lines, about 2 o'clock, but interferes in no respect with the operations of the Siege, which remain exclusively in Sir Eyre Coote's hands. – The duties of the

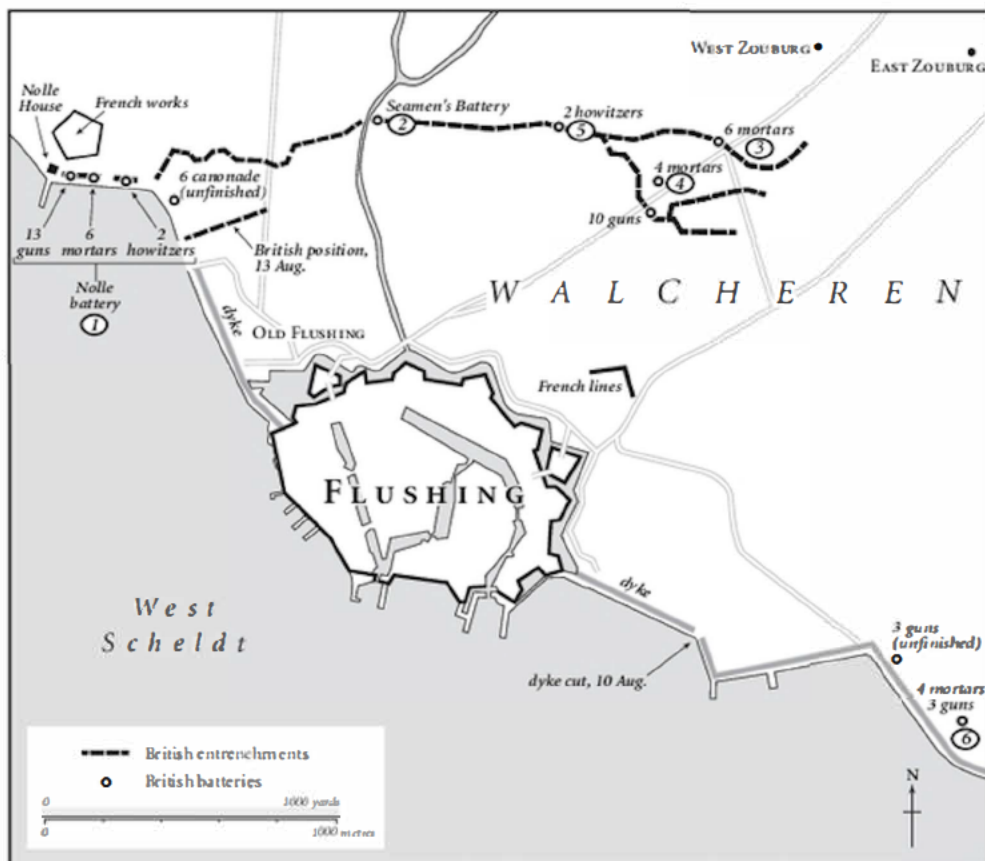
¹⁹ The order not to fire was, sensibly enough, to prevent the enemy acquiring information of the batteries' locations. The weather was also stormy, and there was a real possibility that any fire might be blown back onto the British besiegers (this is clear from a memorandum compiled by Commodore Owen in Jan 1810, BL, Add MS 37291, f. 160). Chatham wrote that Picton had 'certainly' acted contrary 'to the most positive Orders', but at the inquiry Brownrigg claimed to remember no such order having been given. Chatham to Coote, 12 Aug 1809, University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 13, Vol. 38; Brownrigg's testimony, 15 Mar 1810, *Parliamentary Debates*, Appendix, 5xcviii.

²⁰ Chatham described the storm as 'the heaviest rains I ever saw': to Castlereagh, 11 Aug 1809, Public Record Office of Northern Ireland (PRONI), Castlereagh MSS, D3030/3220.

²¹ The Nolle battery.

²² By now, even Chatham was growing impatient with the 'really provoking' slowness of the engineers: Chatham to Coote, 12 Aug 1809, University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 13, Vol. 38.

²³ Armemuiden.



The Flushing Lines, August 1809

Drawn by Martin Brown

Field, for an Army of 19,500 men, assembled here, are altogether conducted by the Ass[istan]t Adj[utan]t & Ass[istan]t Q[uar]te[r] M[aste]r Generals attached to Sir Eyre, the Heads of those Departments having continued all along at Middelburg, with the Comm[ande]r of the Forces.

August 13th.

At length the day arrived to satisfy the impatience of the Troops, for altho' the Howitzer & Seamen's Batteries were not compleat, yet it was determined to open upon the Town this day, as the inundation increased so much daily, that it became an object of the first consequence to commence the Bombardment, for fear our Center Batteries in the course of a few days, should be compleatly under

water & useless.²⁴

Our Batteries therefore, consisting of 26 Twenty four Pounders, Twenty Mortars and Two Howitzers, opened on the Town at about ½ past One P.M., & so powerful & well directed was their effect, that by 3 o'clock the Town was already on fire, in two different places.²⁵ – The Bombs & Gun-Boats kept up a constant Cannonade from the Sea.²⁶ – The Enemy returned our fire very vigorously and caused us some loss, as he had perfectly the range of our Center Batteries. – Shortly before dark, an attack was made by part of Major-General Graham's Division, under the command of L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] Nichols²⁷ of the 14th, upon the Enemy's left, to dislodge the Enemy from his advanced Position, & to ascertain what work he had been carrying on there, which was supposed to be a cut thro' the Dyke, to encrease the Inundation. The Enemy was immediately driven from his post with some loss & one Gun taken by the L[ight] Comp[an]y of the Royals.²⁸ – 22 prisoners were also made by us.²⁹ – We occupied this advanced position within 300 yards of the Works of the place, and commenced entrenchments to secure ourselves, & to be hereafter converted into a Battery. – About 7 P.M. we were enabled to open from the Howitzer Battery with considerable effect, and our exertions were redoubled to get the Seamen's Battery ready to open at day-light. – The Town continued to burn during the night, but was considerably got under by the heavy rain that fell. – Not a gun was fired by the Enemy during the night, & ours owing to the rain, was very slack towards morning. – A Church Steeple came down with a loud crash about 2 o'clock A.M.

August 14th.

With day-light, the cannonade on each side recommenced, but we had a powerful addition in the Seamen's Battery which was extremely well served & did considerable execution, having in a short time dismounted 2 Guns & a Howitzer

²⁴ According to *Letters from Flushing*, 'If the town had held out about ten days longer, the inundation would of itself have raised the siege' (p. 172).

²⁵ The strength of the batteries was as follows:

No. 1 (Nolle) 13 24-pounders; 6 eight inch mortars; 2 eight inch howitzers

No. 2 (Seamen's Battery): 6 24-pounders

No. 3 (in front of West Zouburg): 6 ten inch mortars

No. 4 (near No 3): 4 ten inch mortars, 10 24-pounders

No. 5 (near No 3): 2 ten inch howitzers

No. 6 (near the unfinished redoubt on the left): 3 24-pounders, 4 ten inch mortars

²⁶ Strachan's warships were unable to participate due to a contrary wind.

²⁷ Jasper Nicholls (1778-1849).

²⁸ Chatham accidentally left the Royals out of his dispatch: 16 Aug 1809, *A Collection of papers relating to the expedition to the Scheldt, presented to Parliament in 1810* (London, 1810), pp. 94-97. He was later challenged by the Duke of Kent (colonel in chief of the Royals), who 'was not exactly satisfied' with Chatham's temporising response (Col. Hay to Gen. Graham, 3 Nov 1809, National Library of Scotland, Lynedoch MS 3605, f. 231).

²⁹ The British lost two killed and six wounded (Proceedings of the Army, 13 Aug 1809).

opposed to it.³⁰ – Five Seamen were much scorched by the blowing up of a Cartridge, owing to the over eagerness of the Seamen.³¹ – About 10 A.M. Rear-Admiral Sir Rich[ar]d Strachan with 9 Sail of the Line, forced the Passage between Flushing & Cadsand, in a most masterly & gallant style. – The Cannonade from the Ships, at the time, was the most incessant & tremendous that ever was heard. – The roar was terrific, & so much so, that in a very short time, the Enemy's Sea batteries were almost altogether silenced. – The shower of Balls was such that the bravest Artillery man could not stand to his Gun. – Two Ships, bearing the two Admirals' Flags, viz the *San Domingo*³² & *Blake*,³³ the former, Sir R. Strachan's, the latter, Lord Gardner,³⁴ got aground in passing, but it only served to invigorate their fire.³⁵ – Mean while our Batteries played on the place very vigorously & before 2 o'clock P.M. the Town was involved in Fire & Flame. – The Enemy only returned a Gun now and then, & appeared to have quitted their Batteries. – Lord Chatham, had slept at General Grosvenor's the night preceding, and about 4 P.M. sent to Sir Eyre Coote to say that he thought it would be right in the present deplorable state of Flushing to summon it. – About the same time, a report came from Capt'n Paisley³⁶ [sic] of the Engineers, that the Enemy had cut the Dyke in front of our Left Battery, either during the night or that morning, thro' which the water was flowing fast in our front. – This intelligence only confirmed the intention of Sir Eyre Coote, to order Lieut[enant]-General Fraser to make an advanced movement to our left, to drive in the Enemy's out-posts & see what work he was carrying on in that direction: A Battery of Two Guns, in front of his Works was to be carried, at the same time. – In compliance with Lord Chatham's wish, I was sent off with a Flag of Truce, proposing to General Monnet to surrender with his Garrison, Prisoners of War, & allowing him *One Hour* to consider the Proposal.³⁷ – I cannot say I relished the jaunt much having already had such bad luck in that way, but, however, I set off on my mission by the Middelburg Road, attended by a Private Dragoon & two Trumpeters. There lay on the road two dead horses, & a French Soldier, killed

³⁰ The Seamen's Battery, 'upon which the Enemy had fired severely', had not opened on the 13th (National Army Museum, R.B. Long MSS, 1968-07-219, Box 3).

³¹ Lord Lowther noted ten seamen were killed 'by foolishly smacking [and] showing their backside whenever a shot missed them': diary, 15 Aug 1809, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale MSS, DLONS/L2/12.

³² HMS *San Domingo* (1809), a 74-gun third-rate vessel and currently Sir Richard Strachan's flagship.

³³ HMS *Blake* (1808), a 74-gun third rate vessel and currently Lord Gardner's flagship.

³⁴ Alan Hyde, 2nd Lord Gardner (1770-1815), commanding the squadron blockading Flushing.

³⁵ 'Lord Gardner in *Blake*, & myself in *St Domingo* have just got off from a three hour peppering under the walls of Flushing, having by mistake got on the inside of the Dogsand [a large sandbank off Flushing]. Our loss is trifling owing to the Steadiness of Johnny who really Smothered the Enemy with Shot': Strachan to Sir Richard Keats, 14 Aug 1809, quoted in Carl A. Christie, 'The Walcheren Expedition of 1809', PhD thesis, University of Dundee, 1975, p. 365.

³⁶ Charles William Pasley (1780-1861). He was seriously wounded during Pack's later attack on the enemy's advanced posts (see below).

³⁷ The Army Proceedings confirms that Walsh was given this task.

on the 1st of August, at the time of Br[igadier]-Gen[era]l Houston's advance. – Here I found very great difficulty in getting my Horse to pass, as I had done the first time I went along this road with a Flag, however I succeeded at length, after having blindfolded my Horse, & got to the spot where I had been fired at. – Here I waited for some time in view of the French Sentries, till at length two Officers came forward, one of whom blindfolded me, & led me along over a large abbatiss, until he seated me on a chair, where I remained $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour. – An Answer from General Monnet was then given to me, stating, that he would immediately assemble the *Conseil de défense de la place*, & forward his determination to our advanced posts. – With this answer I returned to Sir Eyre by whom I was sent back to wait until $\frac{1}{2}$ past Seven, at our advance for the promised answer.³⁸ – There I remained until within a $\frac{1}{4}$ of 8 o'clock, & then, no answer having come, I mounted my Horse & came back to East Zouburg, where I found Lord Chatham with Sir Eyre. – After some consultation, it was determined that I should once more go to the French advanced Post, with a letter stating that an hour had been granted for consideration of the Summons, that 3 had now elapsed (it being near 9 o'clock, & my first visit having been precisely at 6) and that therefore in half an hour from the date of the notice which was $\frac{3}{4}$ past 8 hostilities should recommence. – I delivered this letter to the same Off[ice]r as the first & immediately on my return to East Zouburg, which was not before $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, orders were sent to the several Batteries to recommence. – This did accordingly take place at 10 P.M. precisely, and a dreadful Bombardment it was, flights of 10 & 12 Shells, being seen in the Air at the same time; And from the circumstance of the Town being in flames, we could distinctly see the Shells falling in the very center of it. – It must have been a miserable night for the poor Inhabitants. – We had scarcely recommenced Hostilities, when a Flag of Truce arrived at our advanced Posts, with a letter from General Monnet, asking for a Suspension of Arms for 48 hours, to treat of terms for surrender. – To this Sir Eyre Coote replied that the demand was inadmissible & that no proposals would be listened to, unless the Basis of them was that the Garrison should surrender Prisoners of War: In that case, Two hours for the arrangement of the other articles would be allowed. – The Bombardment continued meanwhile with renovated fury, and at Eleven o'clock an attack was made by L[ieutenant]-General Fraser upon the Post in front of the Enemy's right. – It was entrusted to Lieut[enant]-Col[onel] Pack of the 71st L[ight] Inf[an]try who had for the purpose a detachment of about 150 men.³⁹ – As the French had cut two deep Trenches in front of their Post, it was thought advisable to move along the beach at low water, & the German Riflemen to advance on the Dyke. – Our men were directed not to fire. – The first trench was carried by surprize, but before we reached the 2nd we were discovered by the firing of the Riflemen & the great glare of light shed by the conflagration of Flushing, & Congreve's

³⁸ See Coote to Chatham, 15 Aug 1809, University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 13, vol. 51, for a corroboration of this second mission undertaken by Walsh.

³⁹ From the KGL Light Infantry, 36th and 71st regiments (Proceedings of the Army, 14 Aug 1809).

Rockets. – However, L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] Pack, with his brave party soon overcame all difficulties, entered the Battery & spiked the Two Guns, taking a great number of Prisoners, most of whom escaped owing to the darkness of the night, & the want of means to secure them. – We could hear very distinctly the French Drums beating to Arms, which were answered by the chearful huzzaing of our Troops. – L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] Pack after spiking the Guns, found his men so compleatly exposed to the fire of Grape & Musquetry from the Town, that he retired to a little distance in the rear, where he took post & began to erect a Battery, which at day light was ready for one 24 & 2 How[itze]rs, and 700 yards in advance of the Black Battery. He brought in 40 Prisoners. About $\frac{3}{4}$ past 1 A.M. another Flag of Truce came to us from General Monnet, praying for the sake of the unfortunate Inhabitants of Flushing that the Bombardment should cease, & agreeing to Surrender Prisoners of War. – On the receipt of this, Sir Eyre Coote sent orders for all firing to cease, & acquainted General Monnet that he would write to the Admiral to request the same orders might be given by him, & to beg that he would send Off[ice]rs to treat for the other Articles of Capitulation, at day light the next morning. – The Appearance of Flushing, at this time, was wretched beyond description, & an Off[ice]r of Artillery assured me that from the advanced Posts he could hear the cries & groans of the ill-fated Inhabitants. – Not a Gun was returned by the Garrison the whole night & only 3 or 4 shots fired with Grape, at our advanced Party on the Left.

August 15th.

At the dawn of day, Sir Eyre Coote repaired to General Grosvenor's with the Copies of the Correspondence that had taken place during the night. – He found Lord Chatham still in bed, from which he had not been disturbed during the night, and it was some time before he was visible. – When that took place, Sir Eyre expressed his anxiety to conclude the business immediately, for which purpose he would, with his Lordship's permission send in L[ieutenant]-Colonels Walsh⁴⁰ & Offenev, as soon as the two Naval Off[ice]rs applied for to Sir Richard Strachan, arrived in Camp.⁴¹ – To this declaration, Lord Chatham answered that he had altered his mind since last night, & that he would not send in Col[onel] Walsh, but Colonel Long, the Adjutant General, as it was necessary to have an Officer of higher rank to correspond with the Off[ice]rs of the Navy. – To this, Sir Eyre answered, that as his Lordship had stated, as late as $\frac{1}{2}$ past Nine the preceding night, his intention to send in L[ieutenant]-Colonel Walsh, he had

⁴⁰ This is the only occasion on which Walsh is referred to in the third person. Since it is reporting a conversation between Coote and Chatham, it would not appear to discount Walsh's authorship of the journal, which is otherwise confirmed in several respects.

⁴¹ Walsh mentions *two* naval commissioners, but only one commissioner represented each service. Possibly Coote originally thought to send Walsh and Offenev, then decided the Navy ought to be involved and replaced Offenev with a naval officer. This accords with Chatham's take on the situation (see below).

mentioned his Lordship's promise to that Off[ice]r who would therefore be much disappointed, and that if one of a higher rank was necessary, he would propose that Major-General Graham should be sent & L[ieutenant]-Col[onel] Walsh with him. – This however his Lordship rejected & so they parted. – At 8 o'clock, Lord Chatham came to East Zouburg, & there, Sir Eyre Coote took an opportunity to mention how much hurt & disappointed he felt, that after having experienced the whole of the Labors, difficulties & responsibility of the Siege, the honorable conclusion of it, by conducting the Capitulation was taken out of his hands. – He further stated that upon all occasions both verbal & in writing his Lordship had informed him & the Troops, that the Conquest of Walcheren was committed to his care. – To all this Lord C. only replied that he could not remain an idle spectator;⁴² But if his Lordship had had any generosity, he would previous to the surrender have gone over to S. Beveland, as he had more than once intended, & allowed Sir Eyre to reap the credit of that fatigue & anxiety which he underwent in the Trenches, while Lord C[hatham] lived in comfort quiet & luxury at Middelburg. – One thing his Lordship cannot take away from Sir Eyre & that is the good opinion of the Besieging Army, who has [sic] witnessed the exertions of both.⁴³ – There was a great deal of delay before Colonel Long & Capt[ain] Cockburn,⁴⁴ of the Navy, who were appointed to arrange the capitulation, set off for Flushing. – It was about 12 when they left East Zouburg, & tho' the grand difficulty was settled by the Basis established by Sir Eyre Coote, it was considerably past Eleven P.M. when the Commissioners returned to East Zouburg. – This unlooked for delay had operated so forcibly upon Lord Chatham's mind, that he actually sent one of his Aides de Camp to Sir Eyre Coote, just before the return above-mentioned, to enquire whether any information had been received of Col[onel] Long; and to desire that the Picquets should be kept on the Alert.

August 16th.

On Col[onel] Long's return at 12 o'clock the Capitulation was forwarded to the Comm[and]er of the Forces for his ratification, & the whole business was finally concluded at 4 A.M. when a pass order was sent for the Gates of Flushing to be taken possession of; viz that of Middelburg, opposite our right, by a Field Officer

⁴² In fact, by increasing the size of the besieging army, replacing Coote's chief engineer and chief artilleryist, and announcing his intention not to continue to South Beveland until Flushing had surrendered, Chatham had taken effective command of the army a week previously – as he informed Coote. He also reminded Coote that the decision to send Walsh and Offney had been made before including the Navy in the treaty arrangements, which 'precluded the possibility of Lt.-Col. Walsh being employed on the same service': notes of a conversation between Coote and Chatham, University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 14, Vol. 16. See also Jacqueline Reiter, *The Late Lord: the life of John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham* (Barnsley, 2017), pp. 117-118.

⁴³ According to Lowther, however, 'the whole army are very much out of humor & dissatisfied with the two principal commanders of the army, & do not appear to have any satisfaction in serving them in any way' (to Lord Lonsdale, 21 Aug 1809, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale MSS, DLONS L1/2/70, f. 12).

⁴⁴ Sir George Cockburn (1772-1853), in command of the gunboat flotilla.

& 100 men of the Royals, and that of Rammekens, on our left, by the same detachment of the 71st Reg[imen]t. – The extraordinary delay which had taken place in the capitulation was now explained, and it was owing to the following circumstance. – After a great deal of battling & parleying, the terms had all been agreed on & the Capitulation drawn out, at four o'clock of the Afternoon, but unfortunately Colonel Long, in his hurry, destroyed the fair Copy of the Treaty for some other paper, and he had in consequence to recommence *de novo*. – I do not believe the Colonel will boast of this trifling mistake, we had it from Captain Cockburne [sic] of the Royal Navy, the other Commissioner. – Orders were given to prevent Officers going into Flushing, but many having found their way in, I was sent to order them out,⁴⁵ and owing to that circumstance I went into the Town, where I beheld the most deplorable picture that can be conceived. Scarcely one single house in it that has not received some shots, but the greater part of them, especially towards the right of our position are pierced in every direction and altogether destroyed. Many houses are burnt to the ground, and among them is the handsome *Stadt House*, & one large church. A more compleat ruin cannot be fancied.⁴⁶ – The destructive effects of the Shells are everywhere visible, and the Inhabitants describe the Cannonade of the Navy, as dreadful beyond conception. – In fact, the Town of Flushing is absolutely ruined & must be re-built. – Upwards of Six Hundred of the Inhabitants are said to have perished, & it is much to be feared that many lie buried in their Caves, where they sheltered themselves, by the falling in of the Houses over them. The large Powder Magazine was on fire & tho' the Cupola of the Tower was actually burnt down, yet they succeeded in extinguishing the flames, & saving the Town from destruction, which the blowing up of that large quantity of Gun-Powder, must have caused. – We thought that Congreve's Rockets has [sic] done no mischief, but we understand that several of them fell into the Town & set it on fire in different places. – The description given by the Inhabitants of these Rockets, called by the French, *Fusées incendiaires*, is, that where you can get at them, they are easily extinguished, but where they penetrate a roof or are not immediately got at, they set fire to whatever they adhere to.

August 17th.

By the terms of Capitulation, the Garrison was to have marched out at 12 o'clock this day, but as the Tide would not have served at that hour & as the Transports

⁴⁵ Lord Lowther was one of the people who entered the town in defiance of Chatham's orders: 'Being refused admittance by the Commander in Chief to enter Flushing, we proceeded towards it & after some difficulty got in to satisfy our curiosity in viewing the destruction in the Town caused by our bombardment' (diary, 16 Aug 1809, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale MSS, DLONS/L2/12).

⁴⁶ Of 1,865 structures in the town, 65 were completely destroyed and 250 were rendered uninhabitable. The stadhuis and two churches were burned to the ground: Hugo Landheer, 'Arm Vlissingen', in Victor Enthoven (ed.), *Een Haven te Ver: de Britse expeditie van 1809 naar de Schelde* (Nijmegen, 2009), p. 258.

were not ready, it was determined upon the representation of L[ieutenant]-Colonel Offency, that it should be deferred until 8 o'clock tomorrow morning. – Had the Garrison marched out this day, it must, after having grounded its Arms, have returned into the Town, to wait the time of Embarkation. Under the circumstances it was certainly preferable to put it off to the next day.⁴⁷ – The French Troops, having shewn a disposition to become troublesome, the Guard at each gate was increased to 300 men, and a field piece. – General Monnet, upon whom I called, is a coarse, ill-bred man, and liked neither by his Troops, or by the Inhabitants, from whom it is said he exacted heavy Contributions. – He seemed rather melancholy & out of spirits, and his Officers say he will certainly be in disgrace with the Emperor Napoleon.⁴⁸ In my opinion, he either did too much or too little: Too much because he suffered the Town to be absolutely ruined by the Bombardment, and too little, because having already gone so far as to cause the destruction of the Town, he ought to have held out to the last Extremity. It is not fair, however, to condemn him, without being well assured of his means of resistance. – Not much reliance can be placed on the Prussians & other Foreign Troops, & the Batteries being all *en barbette*,⁴⁹ so exposed the Gunners, that it was scarcely possible for them to stand to their Guns; to sum up the defects of the place, there were no Casemates. One of the bad consequences of our having delayed so long in taking complete possession of the Town, was that much pillage of the public Stores, & much private plunder took place. – The Inhabitants complained bitterly of the Garrison, but especially of the Prussians. – We have since heard that only 240 of the Wretched Inhabitants perished during the Siege. – I sincerely hope that may be the correct account.⁵⁰ – We have had no certain information of what the Garrison lost, as the dead were thrown into the burning ruins, but it must unavoidably have been considerable. – Three Shells fell into Monnet's Stable, and the House he inhabited, the Town House, was totally consumed. In fact, it was so assailed by shot & shell, that he conceived we knew it to be his residence, which we did not. The Nolle Battery, the existence of which the French were not aware of, until it opened, and the one manned by the Seamen, from their contiguity to the Town, were those that caused the greatest mischief. – We learnt after the surrender, that General *Hostein* [sic – Osten],⁵¹ a native of Holland, & a man of universal good character, commanded the Sortie made against our right on the 7th Instant; the force that marched out of the Town,

⁴⁷ According to the Proceedings of the Army, the transports were ready, but Gen. Monnet claimed the garrison was still recovering from its battering and would not be ready to march out until noon. Since this would not leave enough time to march the garrison to Fort den Haak and embark them all before darkness, the ceremony was postponed till the following morning.

⁴⁸ Monnet was court-martialled *in absentia* and found guilty of treason and cowardice.

⁴⁹ On top of the parapet rather than firing through an embrasure.

⁵⁰ The final death toll was probably in the order of 335. Landheer, 'Arm Vlissingen', p. 258.

⁵¹ Pierre Jacques Osten (1759–1814) had taken part in the Dutch uprising against Austrian rule in 1789, afterwards fleeing to France. He was Commander of Flushing under Monnet and was wounded during the siege. He was made a prisoner of war after the surrender of the town, but escaped in Feb 1810, and was killed in action in 1814 in Germany.

for the purpose, amounted to about 1,200 men, out of which 500 are acknowledged to have been put *hors de combat*. The French cannot disguise their admiration of the steadiness of our Troops. – The object of the Sortie was to drive us from the Nolle House, & to erect a battery of Six 18 Pounders, on that spot. – The Guns for the purpose, were actually ordered, but fortunately rendered unnecessary.

August 18th.

By Seven o'clock, this morning, our Troops had all assembled on each side of the Koudekerke⁵² road, to witness the marching out of the Garrison of Flushing. – M[ajor]-General Graham's Division, was stationed between the road & the Sandhills, with its right, as close to the work as practicable. – On its left, was L[ieutenant]-General Grosvenor's Division. – Opposite M[ajor]-General Graham, was the 4th Division under L[ieutenant]-General Fraser, with L[ieutenant]-General Lord Paget's on its right. – At the termination of the Lines occupied by the Troops, two large fields, the object of contention on the 7th, had been thrown into one, for the purpose of receiving the Garrison to lay down its Arms. – The left of this open space as you entered it from the Town, was lined by that fine Reg[imen]t the 79th. – The front was occupied by 2 Squadrons of the 9th L[igh]t Dragoons, and on the right face, was drawn up the 81st Regiment. The whole made a very fine martial appearance. – Precisely at 8 o'clock, agreeably to orders, the Garrison began to march out, but the Commander of the Forces, not being a very early man, did not make his appearance until a quarter of an hour before Nine, which obliged Sir Eyre Coote to halt the French Troops, on the road for upwards of half an hour.⁵³ – At length, for the weather was very hot & oppressive, Lord Chatham arrived, & then the French were again put in motion. – They marched into the Field & grounded their Arms as they came up, with great regularity. – Not more than 3 or 4 men, could be said to be at all in liquor, and I understand that they afterwards embarked at Den Haak, with the same good order. – 4,450 actually laid down their Arms, exclusive of which upwards of 1,000, sick, wounded & *employés* in the Dépôts, Magazines, Arsenal &c still remained in Flushing: Add to these, 1,000 wounded whom General Monnet admits were sent to Cadsand previous to the stopping the communication, and about 1,900 Prisoners & Deserters taken before the fall of Flushing, and you will find that 9,000 men have been lost to France, since our landing in Walcheren.⁵⁴ Only 2 Standards, belonging to the two Prussian B[at]t[alio]ns⁵⁵ were brought out by the Garrison, it is therefore pretty evident that the Eagles of the French Regiments

⁵² Koudekerke.

⁵³ 'L[ord] Chatham came hour & half too late' (Lord Lowther's diary, 18 Aug 1809, Cumbria Record Office, Lonsdale MSS, DLONS/L2/12).

⁵⁴ This agrees with the number given by Chatham in his dispatch of 18 Aug (*A Collection of Papers*, pp. 111-112).

⁵⁵ The 2nd and 3rd battalions of the Régiment de Prusse.

were concealed or otherwise disposed of. – Enquiry was made of General Monnet, on the subject, who answered that the French Troops in Flushing being only in Detachments of Regiments, no Eagles had been entrusted to them. – That, I believe however to be but a lame excuse.⁵⁶ – General Hostein, marched with the Troops to the place of Embarkation, whence he was allowed to return to Middelburg, where he possesses some property. – General Monnet, was permitted to remain for a couple of days, at Flushing, to arrange his affairs. He has been seven years, Commandant in the Island. – One Squadron of the 18th L[igh]t D[ragoon]s⁵⁷ & the 81st Reg[imen]t escorted the Prisoners to Den Haak. – Among the Corps, comprising the Garrison was, that of the *Irish Guides*, which, however, could not boast of more than 30 or 40 subjects of Great Britain, the rest was made up of Poles & Spaniards.⁵⁸ – Some of the Officers were Irish, one of them, Dowdall, Captain of the Light Company was wounded the first day we came before Flushing, & sent over to Cadsand. – The men say they enlisted to save themselves from hunger in French Prison, where some of them had been upwards of five years. – When the French Troops had all laid down their Arms, Lord Chatham rode into Flushing, of which possession had been taken by M[ajor]-General Graham's Division, & where the Union had already been hoisted under a Royal Salute. – There are three Ships on the Stocks, viz a 74 called the *Royal Hollandois*,⁵⁹ a frigate of 40 guns, called *La Fidelle*,⁶⁰ & a Sloop of War of 20 Guns, named *Le Vautour*. – They had been once or twice on fire, during the Siege. On examining the Arms grounded by the Garrison, most of them were found *Cocked* & loaded with 2 & 3 Cartridges, with the abominable idea, most obviously, of causing some fatal accidents to our Troops: – None, however, happened, as the discovery was immediately made. The same mischievous expedient had been resorted to, in several parts of Flushing. Three Commissioners, have been appointed by Lord Chatham to determine upon what is Public, & what, Private Property: the three are, Captain Lawford, Royal Navy, Brigadier-General Sontag and Colonel Walker,⁶¹ of the 50th Regiment[.] they have recommended that the 74 Gun Ship on the stocks should be taken to pieces & sent to England, & that six Companies of shipwrights should be ordered here to finish the Frigate & Sloop

⁵⁶ Walsh was right to doubt; at least one Eagle belonging to the Irish Legion had been smuggled out of Flushing and taken to Antwerp: *Memoirs of Miles Byrne, Chef de Battailon in the Service of France ...* Vol. 2 (Paris, 1863), p. 87.

⁵⁷ The 18th Light Dragoons was not on the official strength of the army and is not mentioned anywhere in the official proceedings. Possibly Walsh meant the 12th Light Dragoons.

⁵⁸ There were rumours that the surrender of Flushing had been delayed by negotiations over the fate of the Irishmen captured at Flushing, many of whom had fled following the 1798 rebellion and were thus proscribed men (*Morning Chronicle*, 19 Aug 1809). In fact, no special provisions were made for them, and the officers were treated as though they were French: *Memoirs of Miles Byrne*, vol. 2, p. 87.

⁵⁹ Later renamed HMS *Chatham*. The irony of this was not lost on some: 'Lord Chatham will, we apprehend, wish those who planned him this left handed honour at the bottom of the bay from which this vessel was brought' (*Times*, 2 Oct 1811).

⁶⁰ Rechristened HMS *Laurel*.

⁶¹ Sir George Walker (1764-1842).

which could be done in 6 or 8 weeks. – L[ieutenant]-Colonel D'Arcy, of the Engineers, has received directions to put the Island of Walcheren in a state of defence; it therefore seems as if we mean to retain the Island.⁶² – If so, it will be a most difficult and expensive operation. – Walcheren, cannot be properly kept under a force of less than 15,000 men, and a powerful flotilla: Even then, the facilities of invasion from South Beveland & Cadsand, will render it a very precarious possession. In addition to this, the island is extremely unhealthy & will therefore cost us an immense number of men which the Military Establishment of England, will not warrant. Under these circumstances, it behoves Ministers well to consider whether any advantages we may reap from the possession, can compensate for the Expence of blood & Treasure, which it will inevitably cost. – In my opinion the wisest measure we could adopt, would be to destroy the Navigation of the Scheld *effectually* & then evacuate Walcheren. – This would ensure us all the advantages expected from its possession, without much expense.

August 19th.

L[ieutenant]-General Grosvenor's Division, embarked this morning at Rammekens on board Transports: It is to rendez-vous off Bathz [sic].⁶³ – Yesterday's orders mentioned its removal from Walcheren, but the time of march from Camp &c was never notified to Sir Eyre Coote, who had the first intimation of it, by seeing the Troops pass his door. – This day's orders stated that the operations in Walcheren being completed, the organization of the Army into Right & Left Wings, was to cease. – By this change, Sir Eyre Coote remains without any specific command. – It was, I believe, in contemplation to have left him here, with L[ieutenant]-General Fraser's Division, the only one that does not go forward. – This, however, did not take place, as in a conversation which Sir Eyre had yesterday with the Comm[and]er of the Forces, respecting the capitulation of Flushing, he clearly expressed his disapprobation of such a situation.⁶⁴ The Orders also stated that Head Quarters would be removed to-morrow to Ter Goes, in South Beveland, and directed the Embarkation of Major-General Graham's Division, at Rammekens, and that of Br[igadier]-General Rottenburg's Brigade at Armuyden Ferry.

August 20th.

At 8 o'clock this morning, I received a letter from the Adjutant General, stating

⁶² This was in accordance with Chatham's instructions, which ordered him, if Antwerp could not be taken, to leave 'a sufficient Force to maintain possession of the Island of Walcheren' until further orders (*A Collection of Papers*, p. 22).

⁶³ Fort Bath, the southernmost point of South Beveland.

⁶⁴ Coote told Chatham bluntly the command of the Walcheren garrison 'was not exactly a fit command for him' (notes of a conversation between Chatham and Coote, 19 Aug 1809, University of Michigan, Coote MSS, Box 14, vol. 16). Lt.-Gen. Fraser was chosen to remain in Coote's stead.

that the Comm[ande]r of the Forces would not remove to Ter Goes this day, as stated in yesterday's orders. – The cause of the delay originated in the arrival of a King's Messenger the preceding evening, with Instructions to Lord Chatham to require money from the Inhabitants for bills on England, at par, to pay the Troops, & his Lordship was to enforce their compliance with this Order. – He, however, very justly refused to adopt the proposed measure, which would have been contrary to the Capitulation of Middelburg.⁶⁵ – At 10 A.M. Sir Eyre Coote shifted his Quarters from East Zouburg to Middelburg, to be in readiness to follow the Comm[ande]r of the Forces to Ter Goes. – We got billets in Straet La. [?] near the Stadt House. – That of Sir Eyre Coote as upon a very splendid mansion, belonging to the Widow Van Hoom, who did not accommodate him, very willingly. – Middelburg, the Capital of Dutch Zealand [sic], is a very handsome opulent town, well paved & lighted. – The Streets are pretty regular, and the houses very well built: Those of the superior class of Citizens are commodious & handsomely furnished. – The appearance of the Town denotes a great degree of ease & opulence. – It was quite full, on our arrival with Officers of every description. – The Town is surrounded with a wide wet ditch & regular Bastions but there are no Guns mounted on the Ramparts & the environs are so covered with habitations & Plantations, that it could make no defence, so long as they were suffered to exist. – The *Groote Kercke* [sic], or principal church has a handsome steeple & very melodious chimes, which are for ever in play.⁶⁶ – Not many months ago, King Louis Napoleon,⁶⁷ who is deservedly much liked by his subjects, was here, & created several Knights of the Order of Union, the Ribbon of which is Light Blue. – There was a very great number of Members of the Legion of Honour at Flushing, the cross & ribbon are much the same as was formerly worn by the Chevaliers de St Louis. – Private Soldiers are decorated with the Ribbon – A simple *member*, has a Silver Cross, & a Chevalier, has a Gold one.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ William Huskisson of the Treasury Board had written to the Commissary-General refusing to send more specie. Any supplies that could not be obtained by near worthless Treasury bonds issued at par, Huskisson wrote blandly, would have to be requisitioned by force (Huskisson to Commissary-General Robinson, 17 Aug 1809, PRONI, Castlereagh MSS, D3030/3234). Some modern historians, such as A.D. Harvey, agree with Huskisson, scoffing at Chatham for seeming 'to think that since Middleburg and Flushing ... had surrendered to him he was not entitled by the laws of war to extort money from the citizenry': *Collision of Empires: Britain in Three World Wars* (London, 1994), p. 161. Brownrigg, however, agreed with Chatham: it was 'conduct unworthy the British character' (to Col. Gordon, 20 Aug 1809, BL, Add MS 49505, f. 30). Chatham's strident personal intervention extracted a further \$40,000 in Spanish silver from his reluctant government, but he wasted a precious day doing so (Castlereagh to Chatham, PRONI, Castlereagh MSS, D3030/3256).

⁶⁶ There is no 'Grote Kerk' in Middelburg; probably Walsh meant the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) attached to the abbey, which has a tall steeple (known as the 'Lange Jan') and melodious chimes.

⁶⁷ Napoleon's younger brother (1778-1846). He had been made King of Holland in 1806. He was very popular with the Dutch and was known as 'Louis the Good'.

⁶⁸ Walsh's terminology is a little confused here. The Légion d'Honneur, unlike the Order of St Louis, was open to privates as well as to officers. It had (and still has) five grades: *Chevalier*, *Officier*, *Commandeur*, *Grand Officier*, and *Grand Croix*. Chevaliers received a silver cross; the other four grades received a gold one. Many thanks to Jacques Declercq on the Napoleon Series website for his explanation.

August 21st.

Head Quarters began to move towards Ter Goes at Nine o'clock this morning, but Lord Chatham did not go much before One. – He was still in his *Room* at ½ past 10 A.M. Sir Eyre Cooté, it is settled, will proceed from hence for Goes tomorrow. – Br[igadier]-General Browne, being recovered of his wound, has resumed command of his Brigade, which belonging to L[ieutenant]-Gen[eral] Fraser's Division, remains in this island. – L[ieutenant]-Colonel Offeney, much to our regret, is taken away from Sir Eyre, & placed at the Head of the Q[uar]ter M[aste]r Gen[eral]'s Department here. – He will be a great loss to us, both as a very clever good Officer, & an excellent Companion. – General Monnet, with his Staff, & all the Employés de Gouvernement, at Flushing, left it yesterday to embark at Den Haak. – Major-General Picton is to command in that Town.⁶⁹ – Lieut[enant]-General Fraser fixed his Head Q[uar]ters this day, in the same public building, the Abbey, where Lord Chatham had his.⁷⁰ – The poor General was so unwell that he could not dine with Sir Eyre, who had a large party, & among them, Major-General Graham, Br[igadier]-Generals Houston & Sontag, with their several Staffs. The latter, has been Commandant of Middelburg, since the day we took possession of it: – He has no sinecure of it, but on the contrary a most troublesome situation. It is reported, that a few days ago, King Louis was riding with a numerous Retinue, along the bank of the Scheld, when being perceived by Sir Home Popham,⁷¹ a Gun was fired by him at the Cavalcade, which went so near that it dispersed & scattered different ways. – One Squadron of the 9th L[igh]t D[rago]ons is to embark tomorrow at Armuyden, for South Beveland, & to be followed on Wednesday, by the remaining 3 Troops intended to be sent forward. One Troop remains in Walcheren, for Orderly Duty. – A Brigade has been formed for Colonel Mahon, consisting of Three Squadrons of the 2nd Dragoon Guards, & 3 Squadrons of the 3rd Dragoons.⁷² – The Light Brigade commanded by Baron de Rottenburg, is attached to the Corps under Lord Rosslyn.⁷³

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⁶⁹ Picton had been military governor of Trinidad from 1797 to 1803. On his return, he had been arrested and tried for torturing Spanish prisoners. Initially found guilty in 1808, he was eventually partially cleared by a second trial. His appointment at Flushing thus 'excited some surprise, and perhaps some discontent ... but Picton is a ministerial favourite' (*Letters from Flushing*, p. 178).

⁷⁰ A medieval abbey that had been converted into administrative offices.

⁷¹ Sir Home Popham (1762-1820), the unofficial Captain of the Fleet, and one of the originators of the Walcheren scheme. See Hugh Popham, *A damned cunning fellow: the eventful life of rear-admiral Sir Home Popham 1762-1820* (Tywardreath, 1991), p. 184.

⁷² This brigade was never actually formed, as the regiments in question were either never disembarked or never left Britain. Many thanks to the peer reviewer for this information.

⁷³ James St Clair Erskine, 2nd Earl of Rosslyn (1762-1837). Rosslyn had taken over the command of South Beveland from Sir John Hope.

I close this second part of Walsh's journal here because, once headquarters shifted from Walcheren to South Beveland, the character of the expedition changed markedly. The expedition is mostly infamous for the extensive spread of 'Walcheren fever', and it was about this period (21 August onwards) that illness first reared its head. The third and final part of Walsh's journal, therefore, will deal with the month covering 22 August to 22 September, during which the prospect of reaching Antwerp rapidly receded, relations between Army and Navy deteriorated, and the expedition turned from a frustrating series of misadventures and poor luck into a tragic disaster.

FORTIFICATIONS IN THE SAND: MODELLING AND MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

ARTHUR MACGREGOR

Given its inherently ephemeral nature, it is perhaps unsurprising that the practice of modelling in sand – highly favoured in the mid-1800s for the education of military cadets in the practical science of fortification – should have slipped from general consciousness. As a teaching aid the technique evidently had a great deal to offer as an adjunct to theoretical lectures, two-dimensional drawing and the use of painstakingly constructed models in wood and plaster; it also offered more practically inclined students the opportunity to demonstrate the innate skills that might mark them out as valuable officers in their chosen field.

Particular credit for the development of sand-modelling must go to the Military Seminary of the East India Company, established at Addiscombe, Surrey, in 1809.¹ In addition to the rigours of the papers in mathematics, languages and drawing, the twice-yearly examinations at Addiscombe evidently provided something of a spectacle, when students were put through their paces before a Public Examiner, accompanied by members of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company and other dignitaries – extending on one occasion in 1854 to include the Archbishop of Canterbury and Maharaja Duleep Singh – all greeted on their arrival by the firing of salutes by aspirant artillerymen. The most diverting activities of the day included a general parade, followed by demonstrations of bridge-building over the Coldstream, which ran through the college grounds, at times accompanied by further pyrotechnics:

Two charges of gunpowder, of ten and fifteen pounds respectively, were sunk in water five and six feet deep; these were fired simultaneously by Professor Daniel, who was present, with his voltaic battery; the result was perfect, and the effect beautiful – the domes of water rising to a height of about twenty-five feet.²

From mid-century, the students' knowledge of fortification and their tactical skills were further tested through the medium of detailed, large-scale models constructed in moist sand. Contemporary press reporting of these occasions – evidently by observers who were themselves extremely well-versed in the principles and practice of fortification – provides us with a remarkably detailed record of proceedings from the central decades of the nineteenth century.³

Next to mathematics, knowledge of fortification brought more marks to

¹ The Addiscombe Seminary acted as a counterpart to East India College (today Haileybury and Imperial Service College) in Hertfordshire, which provided training for the Company's civil cadets.

² *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 32 (1840), p. 215. In other years the water-level proved too low for these exercises and by 1854 the Coldstream had run dry.

³ With the winding-up of the East India Company in 1858, the Seminary briefly passed into government control as the Royal Indian Military College, but was closed in 1861.

Addiscombe students than any other area of study. As a novel method of learning, scale modelling has been recognized by historians of education as one of a range of exercises embodying valuable innovative features:

Although the meritocratic system perpetrated teaching methods as formal as parade-ground drill, especially among mathematics and modern language masters, some areas of the curriculum such as military modelling, sand-modelling, surveying and sketching, encouraged more informal and interesting methods. The opportunities thus created for these and other modern studies also encouraged innovation in the teaching methods of many private academies.⁴

The remainder of this essay traces the character, development and value of sand-modelling in particular, with special reference to its practice at the Addiscombe Seminary.

Sand-modelling at Addiscombe

As an introduction to the topic we may usefully turn to the editors' preface to the seventh edition of Major Hector Straith's *Treatise on Fortification and Artillery* (1858), prepared by two of the Seminary's lecturers in fortification, Lieutenant Thomas Cook and Captain J.T. Hyde. Here it is stated explicitly that 'the practice of modelling works and systems of the most difficult description in moistened sand' had been 'carried on at Addiscombe for eighteen years' – something of an over-simplification, as seen below – and that it was developed in response to the difficulties encountered 'in conveying correct ideas of the subject to students, by the usual course of proceeding':

It occurred to the then junior, now senior, Professor,—that if the science could be practically conveyed, through some clean and cheap medium, such as would admit of change of form and constant repetition, without deterioration,—the object would be effected in a more attractive and less laborious way, than by constructing works of full dimensions, as they, moreover, would require more time and space, than could be given to the subject at this College. With the view of carrying out the idea, some gabions, fascines, and sand-bags, were prepared, on a scale of two inches to a foot, or one-sixth of the full size. Works of a simple nature, such as batteries and saps, were at first constructed; but so great was the success attending the earlier experiments, and such was the importance with which it was viewed by military men in general, that in a few years from the commencement the Court of Directors were induced to construct a room eighty feet long by fifty wide, for a sand-modelling hall, the floor of which was covered with nearly a foot of clean white sand, from the Addington hills. With this material, from that time, works of almost every description have been

⁴ Trevor Hearl, 'Education and the school curriculum 1800-1870', *History of Education* Vol. 5 No. 3 (1976), p. 259.

constructed on scales, varying from the twentieth of an inch to a foot, to four inches to a foot. Among the systems, may be named Vauban's, the Modern, Carnot's, Coehorn's, Bousmard's, Choumara's, the Prussian and the German. The attack has been scientifically conducted by a succession of parallels, elevated and sunken batteries, zig-zags, saps, &c; mines have been sprung to form practicable breaches; fortified hills have been thrown up, and the difficult art of defilading works from neighbouring heights, has been brought within the comprehension of the cadets. In short, every thing may thus be modelled upon scale, for the purpose of communicating instruction to military students. The names of numerous highly distinguished officers, both of the Queen's and the Honourable Company's Services, might be mentioned, as having borne testimony to the importance of this practical method of conveying information on this subject.⁵

What was evidently a very novel exercise, then (given the chronology proposed by Cook and Hyde), was described in an account of the examinations that took place in 1829, when the reporter felt obliged to mention:

... the method of modelling in sand ... beautifully executed by Cadets Purvis, Young, Bond, and Wm. Olpherts, who made a double sap; Cadets Pulman, Falls, Gilmore, and Gell, who made a two-gun battery; Cadets Rivers, Morton, and Rudyard, who executed a shaft and gallery. All these were done with the necessary materials, upon a scale of two inches to one foot. The two-gun battery was executed in twenty minutes, during the time that Sir Alex. Dickson was questioning the class on various subjects.⁶

From 1840 we learn that indoor modelling took place then in the Blockhouse, part of the series of full-scale fortifications constructed in the grounds at Addiscombe:

Since the last public examination, the flat bastion at the south-eastern extremity of the field-work that closes the parade-ground has been complete, having within it a cavalier block house, twelve feet high. This work has a terraced roof, to receive light artillery in barbette; and underneath is an apartment 30 feet by 29 feet, supported upon pillars, in which the cadets carry on their modelling in

⁵ Major Hector Straith, *Treatise on Fortification and Artillery*, 7th edn, ed. T. Cook and J. T. Hyde (London, 1858), pp. iv-v. H. M. Vibart, *Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note* (Westminster, 1894), p. 32, attributes the initiative specifically to Cook, a Royal Navy lieutenant and an FRS, 'to whom exclusively belongs the merit of originating and perfecting this simple and instructive mode of teaching pupils to model the works which they executed in plans'.

⁶ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* 29 (1834), p. 251. The Public Examiners in Permanent and Field Fortification during the period under review were Major-General Sir Alexander Dickson (1824-40), Major-General Sir Charles Pasley (1840-55) and Major-General Sir John M. F. Smith (1856-61).

*permanent field-works and mining, &c. This is done in moist sand; all the materials such as gabions, fascines, sand-bags, platforms, mining-frames and cases, &c. being made upon a scale of two inches to one foot. The last specimens executed by the cadets were lying for inspection, and consisted of a portion of a parallel, with a double sap driven out from it and carried on a length of forty feet.*⁷

A report on the December 1842 examinations mentions that:

*In the FORTIFICATION DEPARTMENT two beautiful models in sand were exhibited and explained. The one in the block-house is a model of Coehorn's first system, on a scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to one foot; the execution of this model excited the admiration of all who inspected it. The various details of this intricate construction are carried out with great neatness and effect; the model fills the block-house, which is 30 by 24 feet.*⁸

From 1843, however, the principal modelling activity came to be concentrated in the newly built 'great sand modelling hall' – a grand name indeed for the 60 by 50-foot structure roofed in corrugated iron supported on light iron trusses, a precursor of the design developed so successfully on a smaller scale some seventy years later by Major Peter Nissen of the Royal Engineers (See Fig. 1). The interior, at least, was suitably roomy and several reports allude to its spacious nature. In 1845, for example:

... the following models ... were shewn and explained in the great sand modelling hall:-

*1st. A range of fortified heights on a scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch to a foot, overlooking a river, and commanding a bridge covered by a field crown-work; the three principal redoubts on the hills being respectively 180, 172, and 152 feet above the river, having lunettes, &c. on the lower features of the hills. The whole position, modelled, embraces a space of about 700 yards by 600, requiring 22 pieces of artillery and about 3,000 men to man and defend the works, and was constructed by Gentlemen Cadets of the third class.*⁹

Other reports quoted below provide further detail, most impressively in the case of the model of Sebastopol exhibited in 1854, which, although executed on a scale of one-sixteenth of an inch to a foot, occupied a space of some 2,200 square feet.

⁷ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 31 (1840), p. 75.

⁸ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 40 (1843), p. 85.

⁹ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 3rd ser. 4 (1845), p. 316.



Fig. 1.

The sand-modelling hall at Addiscombe, constructed c.1843

From H. M. Vibart, *Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note* (Westminster, 1894), p. 33.

While Cook and Hyde, quoted above, describe the entire floor of the hall as being covered with sand, 'large tables' are recorded there in 1843 and from 1850 there survives a mention that when the chairman of examiners visited the sand modelling hall 'the surrounding platform ... was immediately filled', perhaps suggesting that it had been found convenient to create a central circulation and viewing area free from sand.¹⁰

Even after the construction of the hall, some modelling in sand continued to be carried out elsewhere in the grounds, seemingly those schemes executed at a larger scale. A report of 1840, for example, indicates that while models of extensive sites within the block-house were limited to a scale of a quarter of an inch to the foot (a common scale for the larger models in the modelling hall too), the nearby octagonal redoubt was used for larger-scale models at two inches to a foot.¹¹ Again in June 1849 the examiners are recorded as having visited:

¹⁰ Evidently the sand was sufficiently abundant – Vibart (1894, p. 34) describes it as 'laid to a depth of about half a yard' – to allow on occasion the construction of full-scale entrenchments. The *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 35 (1841), p. 281, mentions that 'A shaft, 3 feet 10 inches by 3 feet, and 12 feet 6 inches deep, with a portion of gallery from the bottom of it, has been executed and sustained by Colonel Pasley's mining cases. To give the cadets the best instruction in these details, a large mass of sand has been collected, in which the shaft and gallery has been constructed. This sand is so subtle, that it finds its way through the smallest opening; hence great precautions were required in executing the work, and the difficulties overcome will render mining in any other soil comparatively easy ...'.

¹¹ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 32 (1840), pp. 215-16.

... a portion of the grounds where models, most ingeniously constructed of sand, had been prepared, of a fortified dwelling house and premises, a sunken battery, a raised battery, a double sap, and a tower of the novel principle suggested by Captain Bainbrigge, R.E.

By this time the benefits of sand-modelling in the education of engineer and artillery cadets – specifically as a preliminary to their studies in draughtsmanship – had become widely accepted. In 1857 the parliamentary *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Consider the best Mode of Re-organizing the System for Training Officers for the Scientific Corps* included a submission from Lieutenant Cook, R.N., Senior Professor of Fortification at Addiscombe, extolling the benefits of time spent by cadets in the modelling hall, where:

... they are made practically acquainted with the form and construction of field-works in general, by throwing them up with their own hands in moistened sand to a given scale. This part of their course (occupying about six studies), is usually concluded by the construction of a front of Vauban's first system. The Cadets are thus, early in their first term, made acquainted with the actual forms and dimensions of works which they are expected soon to draw; and as a matter of course, they can comprehend more readily and realize more accurately the nature of the works they now begin to represent on paper.¹²

Classical systems of fortification

Just as the principles elucidated by the great theorists in fortification loomed large in the educational curriculum of the cadets and featured strongly in exercises in the drawing class, so too did they come to be reproduced in the sand-modelling hall and elsewhere, the element of three-dimensionality helping to render them more instantly comprehensible. The very process of reproducing their features doubtless instilled the details of these schemes all the more firmly in the minds of the students.

Needless to say, there was no expectation that original sources would be consulted. The principles elaborated by the great Marquis de Vauban (1633-1707) and by the Dutchman Baron van Coehoorn (1641-1704) – commonly anglicized as Coehorn – had been conveniently summarized a century earlier by John Muller in his *Treatise Containing the Elementary Part of Fortification, regular and irregular: with remarks on the constructions of the most celebrated authors, particularly of Marshal de Vauban and Baron Coehorn ... for the use of the Royal Academy of Artillery at Woolwich* (1746), but the Addiscombe cadets would have found most of what they needed in their primary course-book, authored by one of the seminary's former professors of fortification, Major Hector Straith: his *Treatise on Fortification and Artillery*, mentioned above (which had reached its

¹² *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Consider the best Mode of Re-organizing the System for Training Officers for the Scientific Corps; together with an Account Foreign and other Military Education* (London, 1857), pp. 274-6.

seventh edition by 1858), reviewed these classical sources as well as a number of more recent authorities, notably the Frenchmen Henri Jean-Baptiste de Bousmard (1749-1807), Lazare Carnot (1753-1823) and Pierre-Marie-Théodore Choumara (1787-1870), and the Swiss General Guillaume Dufour (1787-1875). Other schemes commonly referred to are designated simply as the Prussian and the German systems.

Typical examples of such schemes were produced for the examinations in December 1847, when 'a remarkably well finished set of models, all of them ... constructed upon the scale of a quarter of an inch to a foot' was recorded:

There were four full fronts exhibited:—1st, a front of Carnot's system, explained by Gentlemen Cadets Jervis and Heathorn; 2d, a front of Dufour's system, explained by Gentleman Cadet Southey; 3d, a front of Bousmard's system, explained by Gentleman Cadet Donne; 4th, a front of Coehorn's system, explained by Gentleman Cadet Russell.

In December of the following year:

... a front of Vauban's first system, the enceinte showing the fausse braie tracing, a counterguard being before the ravelin, [was explained by] by Cadets Hargrave and Walker; a second front of the same system, the enceinte showing the orillon and retired flank tracing, with tenaillons before the ravelin, by Cadet Innes; while a third front of Vauban showed the chemin des rondes tracing in the enceinte, the ravelin being strengthened by demi-tenaillons, by Cadet Mullins ... well executed on scales of from one-eighth of an inch to two inches to a foot.

Again in December 1851 were displayed:

Nearly two fronts of Choumara's celebrated system (on a scale of a quarter of an inch to a foot), one of the bastions showing the arrangement of the works under ordinary circumstances, while another bastion illustrated Choumara's idea of a shifting parapet to repel an enemy on discovering the fronts of his attack; every other bastion remaining as originally disposed to repel an attack from within, being, in fact, like so many citadels. This model, which was explained by Cadet Martin, covered a space of 1,400 square feet.

On occasion sections were cut through the defences and siege works in order to demonstrate more clearly the principles on which they were constructed. In June 1853, for example, 'two fronts of Bousmard's system, one half showing a horizontal section taken through his elaborate system of counter-mines' were explained by Cadet Champain, and in December 1854 'a front of Chasseloup de Laubat (scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot) was explained by Cadet Macdonell' and 'three fronts of Carnot's system for hilly ground (scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to a foot)' were elucidated

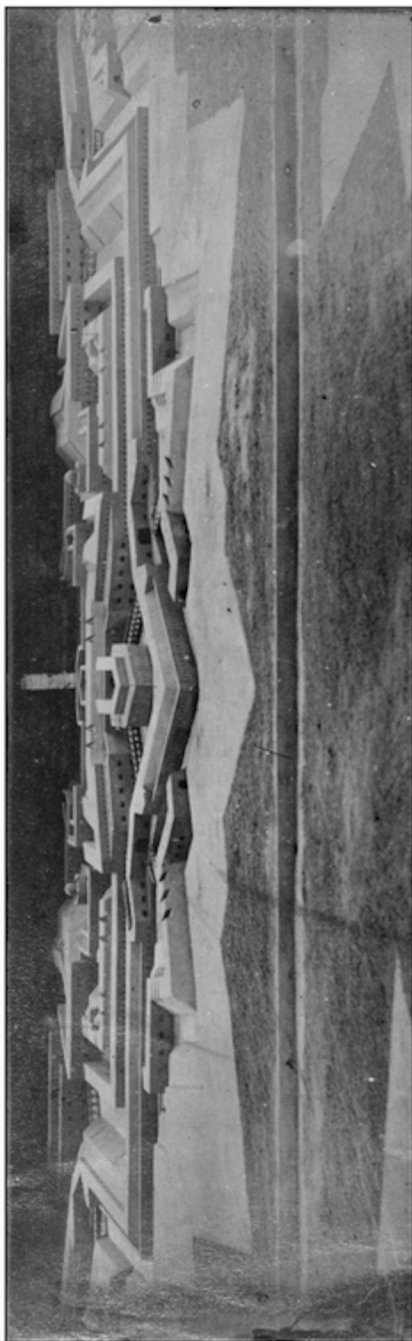


Fig. 2.

Sand model of Cormontaigne's system of fortification, photographed at Addiscombe by Aaron Penley, c.1859.

© British Library Board, Photo 42(120).

Louis de Cormontaigne was born in Strasbourg in 1695 and entered the French Army as a volunteer in 1713 serving at the sieges of Fribourg and Landau. He was appointed an engineer in 1715 and Engineer-in-Chief in 1733. He continued the traditions of Vauban in both the construction and defence of fortresses and served in the War of the Polish Succession and the early years of the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1745 he was appointed Director of Fortifications for the Moselle Region including the towns of Metz, Thionville, Bitche, Verdun and Longwy.

by Cadet Lucas. Not mentioned among the systems in these reports but recorded in a photograph – seemingly a unique survival – in the British Library, dated c.1859, is a model executed according to the system devised by Louis de Cormontaigne (1696-1752): it shows the remarkable degree of exactitude that could be obtained through sand-modelling, with near-vertical walls and precisely-cut architectural details (Fig. 2).

These models in sand reproduce to a large extent the range of subjects that had previously been introduced to students in theoretical lectures and in the drawing class. In a report on the examinations of July 1838 carried in the *Morning Post*, for example, emphasis had been laid on the plans of the various systems, accompanied by drawings and (perhaps) small-scale models in wood and plaster of paris, illustrating the methods by which these defences might be circumvented:

*In the Fortification Department, Gentlemen Cadets Fraser, Cuninghame, Cox, Dickens, and Christie, had prepared various constructions, which were full of interest. The fortifications on both sides of the Rhine, at Coblenz, as executed by General Aster, were beautifully drawn by Cadets Fraser and Cox, with explanations of the Forts of Alexander, of Ehrenbreitstein, and their dependencies. Cadet Christie had prepared the subject of sapping, and Capt. Jebb's modification of advancing the double sap with three sap rollers; all these methods were illustrated by clear, well-executed models of each kind of sap ... A series of ordnance and mining experiments for breaching, as carried on by the French artillery at Metz, was arranged by Cadet Christie, accompanied by explanatory observations, showing how carefully he had studied the subject. These were amongst the leading subjects of a vast quantity of useful professional matter brought forward on this occasion.*¹³

The formula followed on that occasion would continue to serve the examiners after the introduction of the sand-modelling exhibits that came to complement the work of the drawing class, with individual cadets being called upon to explain one or other of the features presented. Large-scale representations of major permanent defences clearly took days of preparation in advance of the examinations, and indeed were created with the aid of ancillary staff. Hence, in 1845 it is noted that 'In the constructions of all these sand models, the Cadets were ably assisted by Corporals Daniel and Cook, of the E.I.Co.'s Artillery, and also by Corporal Wright and Gunner Whyte',¹⁴ and with reference to the classic systems exhibited in December 1847 it is recorded that 'These systems were traced by squads of

¹³ *Morning Post*, 7 July 1838.

¹⁴ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 3rd ser. 4 (1845), p. 317. Vibart, *Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note*, p. 32, notes that in June 1836 it had been 'resolved to employ a small detachment of sappers and miners, consisting of 1 non-commissioned officer and 6 sappers, at the Seminary during the months of April and May, and August to October'. Elsewhere (p. 34) he comments that the sappers became 'most expert in finishing the work, which, when complete, had the appearance of finely cut stone'.

cadets ... but they were principally constructed by men attached to the department, who have been trained to the work, by which arrangement the cadets get the information without unnecessarily sacrificing time'.¹⁵

As mentioned above, some of these painstakingly constructed models did not last beyond the end of the examination in question and indeed the nature of the material from which they were constructed might be thought to have precluded longer-term preservation. A postscript from one reporter in 1841 is, therefore, of particular interest:

*We are glad to find that this model [‘a front of Choumara’s celebrated method’] is likely to stand for some months, and we recommend our military friends to avail themselves of the Croydon Railway to see its beauties and study its principles. We say we are glad that this model is likely to stand for some months; because the Addiscombe sand-models are destroyed, and others of various kinds rebuilt, by successive classes of cadets.*¹⁶

Quite how the precisely modelled angles of the fortifications would have been kept intact for such a period – even with periodic spraying – remains a mystery, but Vibart confirms that ‘it would stand perfect for many months together’.¹⁷

Fortified towns and strongholds

Alongside the realizations of theoretical schemes described above, the cadets also paid attention to representing actual systems of fortification that evidently had attracted the approval of the professors. Hence in December 1847 was exhibited ‘a work called “Fort Rosny” (one of those recently constructed around Paris), traced by Gentlemen Cadets Nasmyth and Henchy’, and a year later, ‘A handsome model of the tête-de-pont (or bridgehead) of Ingoldstadt, on the left bank of the Danube, was explained by Cadet Ballard’ and a model of ‘Fort Alexander, near Coblenz, by Cadets Galagan and Bogle’. In June 1849:

The Chairman and visitors ... proceeded to the sand modelling hall, where a beautiful model of the town, fort, and citadel of Moulton had been prepared. The model was on the scale of one-eighth of an inch to a foot, and represented the fortress at the moment of the last successful assault. It was designed by Mr. Cooke and the cadets, from plans and drawings made on the spot by Lieutenant Oliphant, and was ably illustrated and the various events of the siege explained by Cadets Hughes, Donaldson, Blagrove, Ryves, and Lucas.

In December 1851 a model was produced of ‘the new Prussian system, as constructed near Coblenz, called Fort Alexander, [with] casemates, embrasures,

¹⁵ *The Times*, 11 December 1847.

¹⁶ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 35 (1841), pp. 280-81. The opening of the London and Croydon Railway two years earlier must have rendered Addiscombe considerably more accessible.

¹⁷ Vibart, *Addiscombe: its Heroes and its Men of Note*, p. 34.

and loopholes, which produced a striking effect ... and was explained by Cadets Bassevi and D. Thompson'. Fort Alexander featured again in December 1853, but a year later attention had shifted to a field embodying much contemporary interest, when:

... the directors and company proceeded to the sand modelling hall, where some beautifully-executed models were exhibited, and amongst them one particularly interesting at the present time, as the scene of warlike operations in the Crimea. It was a model of the forts and harbour of Sebastopol, and although executed upon a scale of 1-16th of an inch to a foot, it covered a space of about 2,200 square feet. The two main forts, namely Alexander and Constantine, were most accurately represented at the extreme sides of the entrance to the harbour, one of these batteries being surmounted by the noted telegraph battery; whilst all the other forts, the names of which the public have become familiar with during the present siege, were all faithfully represented, and gave an idea better than any description can convey of the difficulties with which the allied armies have to contend in their attempt to gain possession of what may almost be considered as the impregnable hold of the barbarian, and the bane of Europe. This model was explained by Cadets E. Jones and Forbes, and its execution appeared to give the highest degree of satisfaction.

A further, more developed representation of the same territory was presented in June 1855:

... a most interesting model (scale 50 feet to an inch, and covering a space of 80 feet by 50) of the harbour, city, and fortifications of Sebastopol, with the adjacent country as far as and including the port of Balaklava; showing the allied lines of attack, the positions and camps of the several divisions, together with the lines of circumvallation crowning the various heights and ridges, and constructed after the battle of Inkerman. These and many other interesting particular circumstances were described and pointed out by Cadets Bonus, Luard, Judge, and Hancock.

Asian alternatives: the Indian dimension

It had been evident for some time, however, that not everyone was convinced of the value of the endless hours of study devoted to the classical schemes of fortification or even their realization within the European theatre. In 1823, before the introduction to the curriculum of sand-modelling, criticism had been expressed by Samuel Parlby, a Captain in the Bengal Artillery and Model Master at the regimental training establishment at Dum Dum, to the north of Calcutta. After bemoaning the general lack of instructors at Addiscombe who had seen service in India (where all the cadets were destined to serve), Parlby observed:

From the present Establishment, the students cannot derive any knowledge of Indian Fortifications, or the modes of attack and defence peculiar to the native powers. Instruction in the European Continental Systems, appears to be all that it is at present thought necessary; but where is there a single fort in the possession of any Native power, that verges upon these constructions?

The Continental System of Fortification may very properly be taught, but knowledge of those of India, which alone the pupils will have to deal with in their career as Officers, should be considered as of greater consequence ... We can safely say ... that not one Cadet from Addiscombe who has joined the Bengal Artillery, has received any useful instruction on this important head; and that generally they learn to despise the plans of European fortification, which have cost them so much labour, and in the execution of which so much of their time has been expended, when they find the utter uselessness of them in India. We entirely except from this observation, all the Cadets who have received instructions under Colonel Pasley, at Chatham. The Engineer Cadets learn under that distinguished Officer, what they will have to practice in India, when called upon on service as military Engineers.¹⁸

More attention came in due course to be paid to the views expressed by Parlbly, with the result that Indian set-piece fortifications began to be included alongside the classical systems, though never entirely displacing them. The first we read of these was in 1844 when:

The most interesting and attractive exhibition at this examination was a large model in stiff sand, on a scale of one inch to a foot, of an excellent specimen of a mud fort, so common in India, the Fort of Nepaunee, in Southern Marattah Country. This model fills the whole area of the octagonal redoubt near the north lodge at Addiscombe. It has been traced and superintended by Cadets Harris, Newall, Watson, O'Connell, Tulloh, Jefferis, Bunny, and Gowan, aided in the construction by Gunner Cook and Corporals Daniels and Wright.¹⁹

Even more impressive, it seems, was another exhibit constructed in sand later in the same year:

A model of the fortress of Hattrass, thirty miles north of Agra. The plan and details of this fortress were furnished by Col. Hutchinson, of the Bengal engineers, who was present at its siege in 1817.

This model was traced by, and the execution of it intrusted to, Gentleman Cadet George Hutchinson (son of Col. Hutchinson), aided by Gentleman

¹⁸ Captain Samuel Parlbly, *The British Indian Military Repository* (Calcutta, 1823), vol. II, pp. 152-3. It may be noted that cadets from Addiscombe might be assigned to the engineers, artillery or infantry, according to their abilities and tastes.

¹⁹ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 3rd ser. 2 (1844), p. 313.

*Cadets Wm. Stewart, G. Rodney Brown, Miller, Timbrell, Hyndman, Widdicombe, Thompson, and Smith, assisted by Corporal Daniels and Gunner Cook. The scale is ¼ of an inch to one foot – the redoubt in which the model is constructed not admitting of a larger scale, in consequence of the huge nature of the works; the walls of the inner citadel being eighty-five feet high, of the enceinte 56 feet, of the fausse-braie 50 feet, of the counterscarp 45 feet. Cadet Hutchinson explained the nature of the defensive works; Cadet G. Rodney Brown the real attack and reduction of the place in 1817, when it was overwhelmed by the fire of an immense battering train, and when a shell from one of the British mortars exploded the great magazine of the place, containing about 400,000 lbs. of gunpowder.*²⁰

Some students, at least, evidently absorbed these lessons and went on to develop their own schemes, relayed back to the Seminary. Hence in June 1850 the Examiners had demonstrated to them by Gentlemen Cadets Geneste and Limond 'The front of a new system of fortification, proposed in 1836 by Captain Kaye, of the Bengal Artillery (about a year only after he left Addiscombe)'. The cadets seem not to have been heavily disadvantaged by their Euro-centric training in fortification: at the time Colonel H. M. Vibart produced his celebratory volume *Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note* (1894), he could count among his subjects a number of distinguished soldiers up to and including a Commander-in-Chief in India, while the 'The heads of the Great Survey Department are still Addiscombe cadets'. 'It is hardly too much to say', he continued, 'that they have been mainly instrumental in making India what it is'.²¹

Tactical exercises

While the carefully prepared models on a grand scale as described above allowed for the demonstration of knowledge of fortification through patient reconstruction, more testing exercises were set by the public examiner designed to show the cadets' abilities to overcome the seeming impregnability of these defences. We can see this process in operation in June 1850, when –

The Chairman then proceeded to the Examination Hall, where a beautiful model was exhibited in sand of Jebb's double sap, on a scale of one inch to a foot, which had been previously constructed by Gentlemen Cadets Sellon, Merriman, Raikes, and Earle, and was explained by the first; when Cadets P. Stewart, Rotton, Vaughan, and Church were directed by Sir Charles Pasley, K.C.B., the Public Examiner, to demolish the sap, and with the same gabions, fascines, &c., to construct a two-gun battery on the same scale, while he proceeded to

²⁰ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany* 3rd ser. 3 (1844), pp. 291-2.

²¹ H. M. Vibart, *Addiscombe: its Heroes and Men of Note* (Westminster, 1894), pp. 8-9. J. M. Bourne, 'The East India Company's Military Seminary, Addiscombe, 1809-1858', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 57 (1979), pp. 206-22, at p. 211, concedes that 'it produced many remarkable men, but how much they owed to the Seminary is debatable'.

examine the rest of the class; and in rather more than half an hour a very complete work was executed, and model guns placed in battery.

In June 1854,

After the mathematical examination had been finished in the hall, Cadets Moore, Haig, Tanner, and Baker, were called upon to construct two gun batteries in a shallow box, six feet square, two-thirds filled with moistened sand, gabions and fascines, to the scale lying ready for use; whilst Cadet Browne was desired to explain the principles on which Vauban's first system is constructed; Hadon, the various methods of retrenching bastions; and Taylor, the methods of tracing countermines. The other cadets were called upon to answer various questions put by the public examiner, by which time the battery was completed and remarkably well executed.

The principles of sapping (including 'Capt. Jebb's modification for advancing the double sap', evidently much admired) were demonstrated on several occasions by means of sand-modelling, as were elevated batteries, half-sunken and sunken batteries, bomb-proof and splinter-proof batteries, and in December 1854 the construction of 'a bridge head' with 'properly flanking ... batteries on the reverse side of a river'. While the positioning of demolition charges was regularly indicated on the models, added verisimilitude was occasionally provided (as in the summer examinations in 1844) by the inclusion in the model of Hattrass of 'reduced charges of a few ounces' which would duly be ignited, 'in order to shew the nature of the breaches that would, under such circumstances, be made for descending counterscarp and assaulting the place'. Similarly, the model of Nepaunee was described in the same year as 'upon a scale sufficiently large for shewing all these galleries and mines on the miniature scale in which this work has been executed, and suitable charges were accordingly lodged and discharged on this occasion, which at once shewed the superiority of mining in attacking mud forts on plains.'

All of these exercises combined at Addiscombe to produce one element of the curriculum that met with general approval. One commentator observed in the early days of the sand-modelling course in 1840 that 'The cadets cannot fail to derive great benefit from constructing these models, which, we understand, they are exceedingly fond of executing in every variety of permanent and field fortification'.²² In the same year another commented that 'This novel mode of instruction received the unanimous approbation of the numerous scientific officers who were present on this occasion',²³ while in 1841 one reporter enthused over a model showing the method of defilading a redoubt from neighbouring hills that 'We never witnessed this mode of defilading before; it is entirely new, and must afford most clear ideas upon this most intricate subject.'

²² *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 32 (1840), p. 216.

²³ *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register* new ser. 31 (1840), p. 75.

Clearly sand-modelling had the capacity to convey significant lessons: indeed, so successful did it prove that it was adopted more widely.

Sand-modelling beyond Addiscombe

The primacy accorded here to Addiscombe in the development of sand-modelling is borne out by the contemporary statement that

*...the Parliamentary "Commission on Military Education" ... have recommended its adoption by Government, in proof of their estimation of its value; they having declared to us that, in all their visits to Home and various Foreign Military Educational Establishments, they had seen nothing of the kind, until they officially visited last year.*²⁴

The value of sand-modelling was evidently well appreciated when the Royal Engineering Establishment at Chatham was instituted in 1854, 'to furnish a sound course of practical instruction in Military and Civil Engineering to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and sappers of the Royal Engineers'. For non-commissioned officers and sappers the first part of the seven-part course of practical instruction was titled 'Modelling in Sand, etc.':

This part consists of making models of gabions, fascines, hurdles, and sap-rollers; of throwing up models in sand of portions of a first parallel and its approaches, of a second parallel, of single and double saps, both kneeling and standing, of a trench cavalier, of a lodgment by half double sap, of rifle-pits, and of trous-de-loup.

Also of making models in sand of field powder magazines, and of elevated, sunken, half sunken, and screen, gun and mortar batteries (ordinary and indented), revetted with gabions, fascines, and sand bags

*It includes the laying of model gun and mortar platforms, the making of a salient of a field redoubt, with gun en barbette, of a field kitchen, and of the passage of a wet ditch by means of gabions and fascines.*²⁵

Writing in 1875 with a plea for the 'better technical education' of the Artillery, 'A General Officer' advised that 'in the lectures, models should be largely used', adding that 'Sand-modelling would be much employed. In fact, the acquaintance with fortification necessary for an artilleryman might be almost entirely acquired in this way.'²⁶

Sand-modelling evidently retained its popularity in military instruction until the end of the 1800s, to judge by the evidence from Anglesea Barracks on

²⁴ Cook and Hyde, editorial preface to Straith's *Treatise* (1858), p. vi.

²⁵ Henry Barnard, *Military Schools and Courses of Instruction in the Science and Art of War*, revised edn; available at <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/44443/44443-h/MilitarySchools4.html>

²⁶ 'A General Officer', *Our Artillery. A Plea for its Better Technical Education* (London, 1875), p. 9.

Tasmania, where, during refurbishment at the turn of the twentieth century, a new sand-modelling shed was constructed, 'which allowed sand models of terrain and military features to be constructed undercover, as an aid for military exercises'.²⁷ A contemporary development – seemingly unique in a school context – saw the reintroduction of sand-modelling at Cheltenham, as formerly practised under the Reverend T. A. Southwood, head of the school's 'modern department' in mid-century. Evidently it enjoyed considerable popularity with the boys as it had done with the cadets at Addiscombe, for in the 1890s it is recorded that:

*The school Rifle corps, which was enrolled in 1862, has recently been converted into an Engineer corps, an excellent change considering how many of its members go to Woolwich. This change has involved a return to sand-modelling of fortifications and bridge-making, which were so great an advantage at Woolwich to the Cheltenham boys of Mr Southwood's time. It has caused the number of the corps to increase, which had been before as a rule very small.*²⁸

Later references have not been found in the present exercise, suggesting that for the generation whose mettle would be tested in the fields of Flanders, sand-modelling was already a forgotten curiosity from a bygone era.

²⁷ J. Wadsley, 'Anglesea Barracks – 200 years of military heritage', in *Proceedings of the 16th Engineering Heritage Australia Conference, 13-16 November 2011* (Hobart, 2011), pp. 7-8.

²⁸ Various authors, *Great Public Schools* (London, [1892]), p. 137.

SIR JOHN JOHNSTON CAMPBELL FROM PRIVATE SOLDIER TO GENERAL MANAGER

CLIVE COHEN

Introduction

The joiner and his wife¹ lived in a two-room tenement in Stewarton, Ayrshire. The kitchen also served as scullery, sitting room, dining room and bedroom for themselves, their four sons and surviving daughter. The front room, known always as 'the room' was kept pristine for Sundays and honoured guests, although Grace slept there when she grew too old to sleep in the same room as her brothers. When the boys were studying for exams, they were also allowed to use the room – 'gas light and no fire... [a room where you] would not be likely to doze over in these arctic conditions.'² Outside there was a privy, shared by all 22 residents in the tenement.

Life was hard: William, the children's father worked a 54-hour week at 6d an hour. Hard, but far from uncultured: William loved poetry, not least Burns, and the bookcase boasted a large collection of *Penny Poets*. He was also a man of rock-hard principles, principles that he instilled in his children.

With the coming of the 1914 war, one-by-one the brothers joined up. Alexander, the eldest, enlisted in the 6th Battalion, the Highland Light Infantry, and later served with the Scottish Rifles. In June 1916, for young William, a joiner like his father, it was the Cameron Highlanders, and, later, the Gordon Highlanders. Tom, who on leaving school at 14 worked for the Clydesdale Bank, joined the 9th Battalion, the Highland Light Infantry. The youngest was John, who was born on 11 February 1897; this is his story, gleaned from his (unpublished) autobiography, begun soon after his beloved wife's death in 1967, to fill the lonely days. It is headed, and one can almost hear his father's voice: 'To thine own self be true, and it must follow, as the night the day, thou canst not then be false to any man.'³

Although John won a bursary to Kilmarnock Academy, he left school at 14 and went to work on a cousin's farm. After six months, brother Tom, who wanted to seek out the bright lights, persuaded John to take his place at the bank in Stewarton, so he could move to the Ayr branch. John began his banking career on 10 February 1913, aged 15. 'John has got a job in the Bank at 4/2d. a week,' said his mother, 'and has to wear a bowler hat.' By 1915, John recorded:

¹ William and Margaret (née Johnston) Campbell.

² All quotations, unless otherwise stated, are from MS *Memoirs of John J. Campbell* (Private Collection). Some punctuation and paragraphing has been altered. I am particularly grateful to Mrs Agnes Barham, John Campbell's daughter, and Mrs Maggie Draper and Ms Sue Barham, his granddaughters, for the loan of this manuscript and photographs, and for their unfailing kindness and helpfulness.

³ W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 1, Scene 3.

I felt uneasy about my position as a civilian, and although only 17 years of age and 5'9" tall, I had a strong feeling that I was big enough to do something more for the war effort than standing behind a bank counter... By 1916 the pull of the forces was too strong and I enlisted in the Ayrshire Yeomanry⁴ at Ayr in May of that year – age 18. So all four boys were now in the Army leaving only Grace at home – and she now employed by the Clydesdale Bank to fill the gap created by my enlistment.

Due to the nature of the War, where Cavalry were not required, the Ayrshire Yeomanry was by this time completely dismounted: in fact, an Infantry Unit although still clinging to certain aspects of Yeomanry dress. For example, they rolled their puttees from the knee down instead of from the ankle up. They were reluctant to acknowledge that they were merely Infantrymen, but they were later to have some of their high-falutin ideas knocked out of their cavalry heads by me – as will later be related.

Initial Training

Writing more than half a century later, John still remembered the shock of Army life:

I was fitted out with a uniform and kit-bag, and given a railway warrant with instructions to proceed to Scone Camp, Perth. I had never before been further from home than Glasgow, and it was something of a shock to find myself, complete with kit-bag, winding my way through Glasgow and on to Perth, drinking cups of tea and eating buns provided free by women helping in the war effort. But there were greater shocks to come.

On reporting at Scone, I was allocated to a Bell Tent in which there were already seven occupants – I made the eighth and my arrival was not greeted with applause. That night two of my companions arrived back late – and drunk – and there was considerable commotion before they settled down, one of them next to me. What between the snoring and the stench I didn't sleep a wink on my first night in the Army. (But the man next to me turned out to be Rab Findlay, who, in spite of his rough exterior, had a heart of gold and showed me great kindness and consideration in my early days as a soldier.)

My first morning in the Army was even worse than my first night. The organisation of the Ayrshire Yeomanry was appalling. Discipline was good because all the men were volunteers who played the game according to the rules. But the Officers, most of them Country Gentlemen, had just no idea of how to handle a battalion of about 1000 men. Thus, on the first morning, I went for breakfast and got none. Nevertheless – having eaten heartily on the previous day – the call of nature came to me after breakfast time and I proceeded to the Latrine. I had assumed that we would each have a separate compartment but as I entered the canvas erection I was astonished to witness a line of about thirty

⁴ Ayrshire (Earl of Carrick's Own) Yeomanry.

men sitting on the spar, some chatting to their neighbours, some reading a small piece of newspaper shortly to be put to practical use, and all shamelessly engaged in the same noisy task. I turned away at the sight of all this and I managed to get through my first day in the Army without sitting on the spar, no doubt assisted in this achievement by the fact I had no breakfast.

That evening, I walked down to Perth, visited a Public Convenience, and then had a good meal. When I recounted my predicament to Rab, he told me to get close to him at meal times and he would see I got my rations. He did indeed. On the days that followed, I had double rations and no doubt some other new boy had to go without. As for the latrine, I was soon able to enjoy my morning exercises on the spar, reading the "scrap of paper" and playing my part in the orchestra.

The first line of the Ayrshire Yeomanry was meantime fighting in Gallipoli, and after I had been at Scone for two months or so a draft was detailed to join the first line – including my friend and benefactor, Rab.⁵ I was not included as I was still under age to go abroad. The night before the draft left Rab got completely bottled, and as I was teetotal, I felt it my duty to stand by him and see him safely back to the Camp. During the evening Rab became sick and out came his dentures – top and bottom. I collected them, rolled them up in my handkerchief, and tucked them safely away in my breast pocket. Rab had a good noisy night's sleep, but when he woke up in the morning he was a picture of utter dejection. His face glum and sunken, his large goggle eyes staring at me, and, with a trembling voice quite unusual for Rab, he announced, "Gees, am fur a Court Martial, A've lost ma teeth." In those days it was not uncommon for soldiers with dentures to have them 'accidentally' broken just before going on a draft, and it became a Court Martial offence – similar to a self-inflicted wound.

I was tempted to keep Rab in suspense for a little, but he was so utterly broken that I felt it would be cruel, so I produced my tunic and, like a Masculine Devant performance, I opened the breast pocket and there, to his great relief, were Rab's dentures intact.⁶ He left to join the first line that day and I never saw or heard of him again during the rest of the war.

Life with the Life Guards

When I had completed my training at Scone (in those days they produced a qualified soldier in three months) a request came for men over 5'9" to volunteer for the Life Guards, which were by now dismounted and formed into an Infantry unit called The Household Battalion (as distinct from the Household Cavalry). I volunteered and, along with some others, proceeded to Combermere Barracks, Windsor.

Here was a very different kettle of fish. The discipline was strict in the

⁵ The 'first line' involved overseas service.

⁶ The meaning of this phrase is unknown, but the sense of it is that Campbell was likening himself to a conjuror.

extreme, and, apart from being characterised on the parade ground as 'bastards', we were very fairly treated and certainly well fed, each man receiving his full ration. The drill sergeants were all Foot Guards – our Sergeant Rundle being a Grenadier and a fire-eater on the parade ground. If he was dissatisfied with our performance, he would drill us at the double, and I have seen men dropping down from exhaustion; but this did not dismay Rundle in the slightest – I sometimes wonder how he would have fared if one of them had expired. I suppose in those days nothing would have been said, whereas today⁷ such a matter would be raised in the House of Commons and an enquiry set on foot.

Certainly at Windsor I learned to be a good parade soldier, and this was to stand me in good stead later in the Army, and also some 25 years later in the Home Guard.

I was promoted Corporal and my pay increased from 7/- to 12/- per week. In those days the Bank made up the difference between Army pay and Bank pay, and on receiving my promotion, it gave me great pleasure to write to the Bank intimating that my Army pay was now equal to my Bank pay and so they owed me nothing.

As an N.C.O. I found it very difficult to keep out of trouble. I was put in charge of a room in the barracks, and before long I was up before the Company Commander charged with having a filthy room. The inspecting Sergeant-Major had found a match stick in an otherwise spotless fireplace. A few weeks later, I was Corporal of the Guard at Windsor Castle and the Commanding Officer with his retinue came cantering round the corner. At very short notice I turned out the Guard, but by the time they were lined up the C.O. had passed. I was charged with failing to turn out the Guard to the Commanding Officer and given the usual lecture. Today I would have told the Company Commander that it was physically impossible to turn out the Guard in the time available, but in the Guards nothing was deemed impossible, and I tried so hard to live up to this stupid standard...

Under strong pressure from my brother Tom, who was serving with the 2nd Royal Scots Fusiliers in France, I applied for a Commission.

Early in 1917, John Campbell received a letter from Captain H.C. Pember, his former Company Commander, who was to die on 3rd May that year:

I was glad to hear you were applying for a commission, as a matter of fact, I had mentioned your name both to the Col. and Capt. Legge sometime ago as the most likely man I had in the Company. I am sure you will do well and I wish you the very best of luck.⁸

⁷ The Journal was compiled between 1967 and 1978.

⁸ Letter: H. C. Pember to JJC, 27.1.17.



John Campbell (1899-1983)
Ayrshire Yeomanry, Lifeguards
(Household Battalion)
Royal Scots Fusiliers
and Hertfordshire Home Guard

Alexander Campbell
Highland Light Infantry
and Cameronians (Scottish Rifles)



Tom Steel Campbell
Highland Light Infantry and
Royal Scots Fusiliers
Killed in action 23.4.1917



William Johnston Campbell
Cameron Highlanders
Killed in action 20.11.1917
with the Gordon Highlanders

'It was,' Campbell wrote, 'like a letter direct from God.' However, not everyone was so impressed:

When the Sergeant took me before the Sergeant-Major, the great man glowered at me and said, "How long have you been in the Army?" I replied, "Six months sergt.-major." And the kindly Sergeant-Major retorted, "Good God, I've been in the Army for 22 years and I don't think I am fit for a Commission. Who the Hell do you think you are?" I muttered something about withdrawing my application, but that didn't appear to please him either, and he promptly ordered me to appear before the Company Commander at 9 a.m. tomorrow. So I appeared amongst the defaulters and was marched in – but with my cap on, as distinct from the others.

From Oxford to Alexandria

In due course, my papers came through and I was sent to the 6th Officer Cadet Battalion in Balliol College, Oxford. Here I was at once conscious of the benefit of my Guard's training, and after three months I passed out as a 2nd Lieut. in the 4th Royal Scots Fusiliers – my County Regiment.⁹ I joined the regiment at Portobello, near Edinburgh, and was shortly afterwards sent to the Curragh Camp in Ireland. At this time, the Black and Tans were giving a lot of trouble, and we were required to sleep with the Revolver under the pillow in case it was pinched. I was not there long, probably a month or so, when I was posted to the 4th R.S.F. in Palestine along with Johnny Whitehead, Herbert Clegg and Walter Allan...

Shortly before I left for Egypt, word came through that my brother Tom was reported missing following an action in France on 23rd April, 1917...

The signature is undecipherable, but the painful message all too clear:

2nd RSF BEF France 26.4.17.

Dear Mrs Campbell,

I am extremely sorry to tell you that your son 2nd Lt. T. S. Campbell is missing. He went into action on the 23rd in command of D Coy and was last seen entering the German trench we were attacking. We have every hope that he is a prisoner in the hands of the Germans but you have all my sympathy in the anxiety you must have until you hear definitely. I shall write to you and let you know as soon as I have any news.

With all my sympathy.¹⁰

⁹ John Campbell was commissioned on 27.6.17, aged 19.

¹⁰ Copy letter: Anon to Mrs Margaret Campbell, 26.4.17.

On the day that he was commissioned Second Lieutenant, John wrote to Major R.A. Grant-Taylor, whom, he had learnt, might know something of Tom's fate, and received the following reply:

Dear Campbell

I am writing in reply to your letter of 27 June about your brother Tom. I think I know as much as anyone. It is impossible to know if he is a prisoner of the Boch [sic], but the fact that he is not listed amongst prisoners is not promising. It is almost impossible to get any accurate information as the casualties were very heavy and only 3 Officers are known to have come out alive. Tom was last seen attacking the Boch with the butt of his rifle. This was just the sort of thing one would expect of him. He was a fine fellow.

Your Truly

R. A. Grant-Taylor (Major)¹¹

John, therefore, left for Palestine not knowing his brother's fate.

We embarked for Alexandria and moved in Convoy escorted by Japanese destroyers (Japan was on our side in that War!). As we neared Malta, we were in collision with another ship and had to put into Valetta for repairs. This suited us very well and gave us a look at Malta – St Paul's Bay – for some ten days ...

On [later] reading some old letters which I found amongst my mother's papers, I was reminded of a very stupid mistake I made while lying at Malta. We found it was possible to send a telegram which had to bear the surname of the sender – 'John' was not sufficient. So presumably to save expense, I sent my mother a telegram reading, "All well, Campbell". To satisfy the wartime regulations this was delivered with no indication as to where it originated – "sans origin". This gave rise to the hope it may have come from Tom, earlier reported missing, and with all the boys away and father on War work in Swansea, mother turned to the local schoolmaster for help. He went to great lengths to solve the problem, but without success, so mother's hopes lingered on until she received a letter from me at Alexandria, saying, "No doubt you received my telegram from Malta." A crushing blow for mother resulting from my stupidity ...

Palestine

On arrival in Alexandria, we moved up to the canal at Kantara,¹² and here, to my dismay, I found myself separated from my three companions – they went on to Gaza to join the 4th R.S.F. and I alone was posted to a unit I had never

¹¹ Copy letter: R. A. Grant-Taylor to JJC, Summer 1917.

¹² El Qantara, north-eastern Egypt.

heard of, the 12th R.S.F. at Beersheba. I did not like this at all, but I was soon to discover that the 12th R.S.F. was my old unit the Ayrshire Yeomanry in which I had started my army career.¹³ (Rab [Findlay] was not on the strength, so I assumed he had been invalided home – or killed.)

The Officers were for the most part Country Gentlemen from Ayrshire – no idea of discipline as I now understood discipline, but none the less with their own code which served very well. The men were well known in civil life to the Officers, and it was not unusual to hear the C.O. (Col. Houldsworth) say to a defaulter, “What would your father say if he knew of your misbehaviour?” The Palestine campaign suited this type of soldier and they gave a very good account of themselves there.

We were up against the Turk (reinforced here and there by German Machine Gunners) and they were not a difficult enemy. Even so, the boys on the coast failed twice to take Gaza,¹⁴ and as a result General Murray was recalled. General Allenby took over command. He cleared the Army H.Q. out of Cairo and brought them up on to the desert where they could eat sand along with the rest of us, and the effect was electric. Gaza fell at his first attempt,¹⁵ and we pushed forward on the right flank and entered Jerusalem on 11th December, 1917, my 20th birthday.

Lying in front of Jerusalem, we were given leave to visit the holy places and I cannot say I was greatly impressed, although I suppose it was something of a thrill to visit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, The Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemane. It was about this time that a woman in my native village asked my mother, “Any word from John?” and my mother replied, “Yes, I had a Post Card from him yesterday from Jerusalem.” “Oh! my Goad,” said the woman, “I didna know you could go to Jerusalem in this world.”...

The Army in Palestine had to wait a long time for letters, and by the time we were leaving that front to proceed to France I had not heard from home since joining the Palestine Force. I was walking along the lines one day when I saw a soldier reading the “Kilmarnock Standard”, our local newspaper, and I said, “Will you let me have a look at that paper when you’ve finished with it?” He gave it to me there and then, and I went along to my bivouac, opened the paper, and there was a photograph¹⁶ of my brother William – killed in action, November, 1917, age 24.

¹³ Early in 1917, the Ayrshire Yeomanry was combined with the Lanarkshire Yeomanry to form the 12th (Ayr and Lanark Yeomanry) Battalion of the Royal Scots Fusiliers in the 74th (Yeomanry) Division, seeing service in Palestine, and, from May 1918, on the Western Front.

¹⁴ 26.3.17 & 17-19.4.17. 4,000 and 6,000+ British casualties respectively.

¹⁵ 1-2.11.17.

¹⁶ John Campbell had misremembered. While *The Kilmarnock Standard* of 15.12.17 reported William’s death, there was no photograph. There was, however, one of Tom in the paper’s 5.5.17 edition, reporting him missing.

Lance-Corporal William Johnston Campbell was killed on 20 November 1917, the first day of the Battle of Cambrai, while serving with the 7th Battalion, the Gordon Highlanders. The battle is famous as the first time large numbers of tanks were used in a tank, artillery and infantry combined operation.

B.E.F. 6th Decr. 1917.

Mrs. Campbell

Dear Madam,

It is with deep regret I write to inform you that your son William was killed in action on 20th Nov. last.

During a counter-attack he was seriously wounded by a German bomb but was quite conscious after we had carried him back to shelter.

We did everything in our power for him but despite our efforts he passed away about 6 o'clock that night.

The following morning we buried him in our Divisional Cemetery which lies to the South of and quite near the village of Flesquieres – the exact marked reference and other details will be forwarded to you by the Authorities.¹⁷

A fine soldier and ever cheerful and willing he won the hearts of all who came into contact with him.

As my most promising N.C.O. he leaves a big blank in the platoon. We all loved him and can hardly realise he has gone from us.

To you and all his sorrowing relatives and friends we tender our deepest sympathy and trust that God may give you strength to bear under this great loss.

All personal belongings he had with him I have forwarded through the Army officials and I trust that you will receive them safely.

Yours faithfully

Alex. S. Clark 2/Lt

O.C.

No. 6 Platoon

"B" Company

1/7 Gordon Highlanders¹⁸

John was deeply shocked both to learn of William's death and to learn of it in such a way.

¹⁷ Orival Wood Cemetery, Flesquières, plot I.C.17.

¹⁸ Letter: A. S. Clark to Mrs Margaret Campbell, 6.12.17.

I must admit I felt shattered, especially as I had been detailed to go out on patrol that night on a somewhat dangerous task. I wondered how my mother would stand up to the loss of three sons if I were killed that night, and with no news from home I did not know how my other brother, Alex, was faring.¹⁹ Later, I went along to the Bell Tent (which formed the Company Mess) for a meal, and my Company Commander, P.M. Campbell, saw that I was upset at the sad news. About 10 o'clock that night I was getting ready to take my patrol out when P.M. came along and said that the Commanding Officer had phoned through to say that he required some detailed information from this patrol and "he would like me [i.e. P.M. Campbell] to take it out myself." So it was. This was one of the greatest acts of friendship and sacrifice of which men like P.M. were capable. I never forgot it.

France

We were pushing forward to Damascus via the sea of Galilee when the great March [1918] offensive took place in France, and the British Armies were almost beaten – but not quite. It was then [11 April] that General Haig issued his famous message to the troops, "Your backs are to the wall, you must fight it out." We were suddenly withdrawn from the line, moved as speedily as possible to Alexandria, and thence to France to help with the onslaught. By the time we got there the force of the German offensive was spent, and, as we now know, they realised that their last fling had failed. In fact, both sides were exhausted, but by now we had the Americans coming over in force, fresh to the encounter and looking outsized as compared with the remnants of the British Army.

Thus far I have deliberately refrained from recording in any detail incidents which, if not designed to do so, certainly enlivened the monotony of Trench Warfare. But I feel I should place on record the gallant performance of my friend Charlie Thomson.

Trench Warfare was new to most of us after Palestine, and it came as a great relief to the young subalterns when a new Company Commander, with vast experience in France, was posted to 'A' Company in which I commanded No. 1 Platoon. In view of what follows I prefer to call him Capt. Mac rather than disclose his full name.²⁰ He had been on active service in France for three years and he wore the ribbon of the Military Cross for gallantry; so we felt safe under his command and proud to serve with an officer of his experience.

No. 2 Platoon was under the command of my friend 2/Lt. Chas. Thomson. Charlie was a Yorkshireman but nonetheless proud to serve in a Scottish Regiment. We had many happy times together; he was gazetted one month before I was, and he used to tell me, jokingly, to stand to attention while

¹⁹ As there was no 'news from home' it seems John must either have just assumed that Tom was dead, or back-projected this information when he wrote his journal.

²⁰ In respect to John Campbell's intention and his family's wishes, I have not sought to identify Capt. Mac.

addressing my senior officer. This matter of seniority was to prove of some importance in due course. We were both then age 20.

The Platoon Commanders had several detailed briefings under Capt. Mac for the forthcoming advance to a new position some 50 yards ahead, and then a second leap of some 75 yards to a German Reserve Trench, where we had to consolidate. Briefings over and watches duly synchronised, we stood on the firestep anxiously watching the minute hand moving to the appointed time. Meanwhile our Artillery laid down a terrific bombardment on the trenches opposite, and, as arranged, at 05.15 our barrage lifted to a forward position and we sprang over the top. But at the same time, the Hun barrage opened up and all Hell was let loose as we moved across No Man's Land.

It was difficult to keep control of some 30 men; some killed or wounded by Machine Gun Fire, some blown to bits by Artillery Fire; but even so a fair number of us reached the first objective. So we set about preparing for the next phase. Suddenly Charlie Thomson appeared – revolver in hand and his eyes staring about twice their normal size. Sticking his revolver into my ribs he said, “You take your orders from me – understand – I’m in command of the Company.” I wanted to ask if Capt. Mac had been killed but Charlie was in no mood to answer my questions. “You consolidate here and get your boys ready to go forward to the next objective at 06.15 as arranged – is that clear?” and so he disappeared along the trench.

At the appointed time, we moved forward again in face of heavy Machine Gun fire and several of my boys went down on the way to the Reserve trench, where we did some useful bayonet work on the Huns who still survived there. Although there was still a lot of heavy shelling from the Hun artillery, we were able to settle in and ready to defend our new position, and we soon made contact with the troops on either side. I knew we had a pretty thin line as I only had 14 men left out of 31, and my right-hand man, my Platoon Sergeant, was a casualty.

Suddenly a runner came along the trench and told me Mr. Thomson wanted me to report to him in a dugout to which he would guide me. So, I left my Platoon Corporal in charge, and proceeded to the dugout. Here I found Charlie (with a field dressing round his left wrist) and Capt. Mac sitting alongside him looking very pale and drawn. Charlie was busy writing and he went on writing while I stood silent, and Capt. Mac sat there – also silent. Finally, Charlie looked up and said, “Gentlemen, this is the report to the Commanding Officer on the day’s performance by ‘A’ Company. He read his excellent report, and then looked to me and said, “Do you agree, or have you any comments?” I said, “I agree, Sir, and I have no comments.” Charlie then passed the report to Capt. Mac and asked him to sign it, and it went forward as his report, first to Battalion, and then to Brigade, and presumably much further down, for in due course Capt. Mac was awarded the D.S.O. (Distinguished Service Order).

Later it emerged that when the ‘Balloon went up’, the Company Commander lost his nerve completely and found himself unable to go forward.

Charlie went back and found him at the starting point, crying like a child. Charlie told him, "You stay here until I come back for you, but if you dare to interfere with the Company's activities today I'll blow your brains out." And so, when the final objective was securely in our hands, Charlie went back, at considerable personal risk, and brought Capt. Mac to his forward position.

Meanwhile, Charlie had suffered a slight wound to his left wrist, and it had received no attention apart from a Field Dressing wrapped round it. Next morning, he shewed it to me, and I didn't like the look of it, so I pressed him to report to the Casualty Clearing Station. He did so, but they were so busy that they had no time to deal with minor wounds, and so he was passed from one to another till he found himself in a Hospital train bound for Boulogne. Here it was established that Gangrene had set in, and Charlie died on board the Hospital Ship, which was to take him to Blighty. "Now cracks a noble heart."²¹

Lest it should be thought that Capt. Mac was Yellow, I consider that any man who has endured the conditions of Trench Warfare for three years should have been awarded a decoration for that alone. Capt. Mac was a brave man who served his country well, and who should have been sent home to rest after, say, two years. But such was the British position by 1918 that gallant men like him were required to soldier on until they were broken. And now it appears that the same position obtained on the German side. Thus the futility of War.

Our Division, which had not hitherto been exposed to the trials of Trench Warfare (except in Gallipoli), compared very favourably for physique with the other Divisions in our Army which has [sic] soldiered on in those terrible conditions for some four years. Indeed, we had many men who were original territorials of pre-war days, but it was not long till our Battalion was unrecognisable. In our first encounter with the Hun in August 1918, we lost very heavily. I was still a Platoon Commander in 'A' Company, and after our initial experience of advancing from trench to trench, some 50 yards, under an intense Artillery Barrage, I was to find on consolidating my position, that I had lost 17 men out of my total 31. So, when further drafts of men came out from home (by now the dregs of humanity or mere boys), my platoon took on a very different appearance and discipline was difficult. The standards which had operated well up till now were no longer applicable. It was then that, with a change of C. O., I was promoted Captain and Adjutant of the Battalion, and it became my idea to knock some idea of discipline into what remained of my old Ayrshire Yeomanry friends; I think I did this to some effect; and remembering my early days at Scone Camp, I was at pains to ensure that no one ever went without breakfast.

There was still a lot of fight left in the Hun, and it took us until October to get him on the run. By then, he was retreating miles each day, and we were in hot pursuit. It is odd now to reflect on mistakes made by those in command. We

²¹ W. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act 2, Scene 2. The full quotation is: 'Now cracks a noble heart. Good night, sweet prince, and flights of angels sing thee to thy rest.'

had reached the river Lys and, after the Engineers had thrown a bridge across the river, we pushed on and marched some 20 miles before we made contact with the enemy. But it was soon discovered that we had gone far ahead of our rations – in other words, the Army was unable to feed us as the horse-drawn limber waggons could not cross the one bridge in sufficient force to feed all the troops who had poured over. So, we marched back those 20 miles, and back across the river Lys to where the food was available from a line of waggons miles long, waiting their turn for the bridge. I sometimes think that with the knowledge available to the rank and file in the Second World War, a Lance-Corporal from that War would have been an improvement on Douglas Haig as Commander-in-Chief.

Our last battle with the Hun was on 31st October 1918. We went in with 24 Officers and came out with 9 – apart from the C.O. and Adjutant. I put forward recommendations for Decorations, and these came through just after the Armistice – each of the nine got the Military Cross, the C.O. got a D.S.O. and the Adjutant (who was by now in hospital) nil!²²

Armistice

In the early days of November 1918, the Army was decimated by 'flu, and the Doctors' orders were "Ruthless evacuation". I had the humiliation of ending the war in hospital in Boulogne with 'flu which developed into pneumonia, and kept me there until about the end of December.

On Armistice Day 1975, Campbell added a codicil to his journal, giving an account of his illness:

Towards the end of October, the great 'flu epidemic was raging, not only at home, but equally so in our armies in the field, and, as we now know, in the opposing armies. Our Doctors' orders were "Ruthless evacuation" in an endeavour to prevent this sickness from spreading further. Suddenly, on the 9th of November, I found this order being applied to me. I was anxious not to be sent home as, in all probability, this would have resulted in the loss of my job as Adjutant for which I drew an extra allowance of ten shillings a day. So, I asked my good friend the Doctor to mark my 'label' to the effect that I had only a slight attack and would probably be fit again in a few days. I was sent down to a Casualty Clearing Station in a marquee at Roubaix where I found myself, although still squeamish, very comfortable in a bed with white sheets.

The next day passed quietly, but on the afternoon of the 11th, all Hell was let loose. Doctors and Orderlies forgot about their patients and bathed in ample supplies of Champagne, which suddenly became available – the war was at an end. Just as it was getting dark, a plane came over (one of the few in France at that time) firing very-lights to loud cheers from the boys on the ground. This

²² The Adjutant was, of course, John Campbell himself.

was too much for me, so I got up, donned my great-coat, and [went] out in my slippers to join in the fun. I had only been out for minutes when I felt dizzy, and, on turning to go back, I took a header to the ground and passed out. It must have been the following day when I opened my eyes to find an angel, all in white with a large white hat, standing beside me, as we hurtled on – as I thought – through space. I had been to the river Jordan before, but this time we had crossed it and left the world behind. But gradually I began to grasp the situation, and I found myself in the top bunk of a Hospital Train on the way to a hospital in Boulogne.

It was a near thing, but after 57 years I am still going moderately strong.

Army of Occupation

I re-joined the Battalion at St Omer, and after it was disbanded and sent home, I volunteered to join my old unit, the 4th R.S.F. at Hilden, Germany, being part of the Army of Occupation. After a few months at Hilden, we moved to Bedburg near Dusseldorf. We were not allowed into Dusseldorf as it was in the Neutral Zone, but I did in fact spend a day there with the German with whom I was billeted. He lent me a blue suit and a straw hat, and we drove over in his horse-drawn gig to spend one of the most uncomfortable days of my life – expecting to be arrested by the Hun at any moment. I can still see the look of astonishment on the face of my sentry as we halted by him and asked for our passes on the way over.

While serving with the Army of Occupation, John learnt more of his brother Tom's fate:

In 1919, when I was serving in Germany, I met an officer who had served with the 2nd Battalion and knew Tom well. He told me that 'D' Company had been subjected to very heavy shelling after they took the German trench, and that casualties were extremely heavy. So it would seem that poor Tom took a more-or-less direct hit from a heavy shell – and disappeared – age 22.

In his regimental history, John Buchan wrote of the Battle of Arras, that between the dawn attack on 23 April 1917, designed to draw enemy attention away from French operations under General Nivelle, and the 28th, when the division was relieved, it suffered some 3,000 casualties. 'The Scots Fusiliers had 23 men killed, 4 officers²³ and 99 other ranks wounded, and 26 men missing – their small losses being due to the fact that throughout the battle they were in support. This action

²³ John Buchan, *The History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (1678-1918)*, (London, 1925) p. 381n gives the officers as 2 Lts T. S. Campbell, R. S. Pooley, E. A. Sinclair, and D. Trench. Actually all four – Thomas Steel Campbell, Richard Sibthorpe Pooley, Eric Alexander Sinclair and David Trench – were killed (rather than just wounded as Buchan implies) on 23.4.17.

was one of the most desperate fought during the battle, the enemy was in strength and fully prepared.²⁴ Although Buchan named Second Lieutenant T.S. Campbell, who was serving with the 5th Battalion, among the four officers wounded, it is clear he was actually killed on the 23rd. He has no known grave, and is commemorated on the Arras Memorial.²⁵

The Inter-War Years

I stayed in Germany till November 1919, when I was demobilised and returned to U.K. to resume my duties in the [Clydesdale] Bank at the end of 1919.

It was something of a shock to return to the small office, which I had left some three and a half years earlier, to work as a clerk for £100 per annum, after having earned 25/- per day as Captain and Adjutant of a Battalion numbering about 700 strong. The Manager – who had never commanded a staff of more than two – looked a ‘pigmy’...

After a short spell in my native Stewarton, I was appointed Accountant [Office Manager] at Darvel Branch [East Ayrshire] ...

I was still only 23 years of age and I decided I had had enough of the Clydesdale Bank, so I applied for a job in the Imperial Bank of Persia ... The following weekend [after the interview] I went home to Stewarton, and there awaiting me was a large envelope bearing the seal of The Imperial Bank of Persia. My mother handed me the envelope and said, “And you’re not going to Persia – not one step.” I quickly drew her attention to the fact that I was no longer a boy, and that surely at 23 I could do as I pleased. After some discussion mother played her trump card: “When the War started I had four boys. Two were killed and Alex married last month. And now you, the only one left, decide to go to Persia. What kind of way is that to treat your father and mother?” I felt she was winning, but I tried to shew her that she was not dependent on me – rather the reverse. This did not seem to be important to her, and finally she said, “Now I want you to promise me, before your father comes in, that you will not go to Persia, for I know he’ll just encourage you.” I replied, “All right, mother, I’ll stay for one year, but I must be free after that to go my own way.” In that year the whole course of my life changed, and ever since I’ve thanked God for a strong mother.

Soon after this conversation, John was appointed Accountant of Dalry Branch in North Ayrshire. It was there that he met his wife-to-be, Margaret Brown. Their courtship was complicated by the fact that, in 1923, John was transferred to the Bank’s London Office. In March 1927, however, he was posted back to Ayr, he and Margaret were married on 5 July.

²⁴ Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, p. 381.

²⁵ His name was wrongly inscribed on the Jerusalem Memorial, but in 2014 this was corrected, and he is now named on the Addenda panel, Arras Memorial, Pas de Calais, France. Letter: Commonwealth War Graves Commission to Mrs A. Barham, 14.7.2014.

In 1927, when I was doing my stuff as First Teller in Ayr Office of the Bank, I looked up to see [Rab Findlay's] goggle eyes looking across the counter at me. "Gees, whit are you doin" here?" I learned that Rab was a pawnbroker in Ayr, and I was able to establish from a glance at the ledger that he wasn't doing at all badly.

The following year, John was appointed Manager of Darvel and Newmilns branches. Then, right at the end of 1930, he was asked to go back to London and open a new branch in Piccadilly Circus. In March 1939, he took up a new appointment: Assistant Manager of the Clydesdale's chief London Office, in Lombard Street, a post he held until 1944 when he was appointed London Manager.

World War II

John recorded in his memoir that the War made these difficult years, particularly as regards staff:

When I took over [in 1939] we had a staff of 40 men and 20 women – by the end of the war we had 45 women and 11 men the latter crocks or youths ... The Bank basement, in common with all other basements in the City, had been reinforced with iron girders, and, in the early days of the War, when the Air Raid Sirens sounded, we all collected our papers and proceeded to the basement where it was frequently necessary to stay for an hour or two until the 'All Clear' sounded. But it soon became obvious that we could not continue to hide away for long spells in the basement, and, after the first few months of bombing, life in the office carried on normally during Air Raids. It was not long before all our windows had been blown in, and they were replaced with wooden barricades, thus depriving us of any daylight – a dismal-looking place for some years. I divided the staff into squads, such as Red Cross, Catering, Rescue and Fire. I took command of the Fire Squad which involved many hours of Fire Drill, and, during raids, patrolling the building from basement to roof, dressed in Fireman's outfit complete with Tin Hat. Maybe it was just as well we had no fires to deal with ...

For months, nothing much happened ... But about May 1940, Hitler invaded the Low Countries and the war was on in dead earnest. Chamberlain was thrown out and Winston Churchill became Prime Minister ... Winston called upon all ex-service men to join the Local Defence Volunteers – later renamed by him 'The Home Guard'.

Campbell responded on 4 June 1940, and was soon relishing the challenge of being back in uniform. He drafted, had printed, and delivered through every letterbox in Northwood, where he, Margaret and their two children lived, a 'Call to Arms':

LOCAL DEFENCE VOLUNTEERS

Men of Hertfordshire

A STRONG FORCE OF MEN is urgently required for the defence of the Hertfordshire area of Northwood and Sandy Lodge. There are large open spaces adjacent to your own homes in Hertfordshire which must be guarded. It has therefore been decided to form a Section in this area to come under a Platoon of one of the Hertfordshire Companies. Several have already offered their services and it is hoped that a sufficient number of men will come forward to share in the duties necessary for our protection.

If you are not already identified with one or other of the Auxiliary Services, here is an opportunity for you to become associated with a Force which will provide defence near your home. If you had Military experience in the last war or have had other firearms training, so much the better. If not, and you are willing to learn and anxious to help your country in its hour of need...

Fall in with the Home Guard – NOW!

Even if you feel you cannot give a great deal of time please come and see us, as it will give you who live locally some idea of what we wish to do for our common protection.

Apply in the first place at

BUILDERS HUT
AT CORNER OF DAVENHAM AVENUE AND
GROSVENOR ROAD, NORTHWOOD

Between the hours of 7.0 p.m. and 9.0 p.m. on Wednesday, Thursday or Friday the 24th, 25th and 26th July when all particulars will be given you. If you cannot possibly call, phone Northwood 2162.

John Campbell recalled his days in the Home Guard with real relish:

I was soon on parade in charge of a Platoon of about 40 men with Headquarters at Sandy Lodge Club House, and I then entered upon what was for me one of the most exhilarating experiences of my life. I fell back on my training in the Guards, and very soon I had a most enthusiastic following from many old soldiers and young lads, all of whom were proud to be trained on strict but fair lines. We were very soon chosen to represent our Battalion (the 6th Herts.) in the Divisional Cup Competition, a full day's exercise involving Parade-ground drill, Route marching, Field exercises and Firing on the Range. We walked off



Captain John Campbell receiving the Divisional Cup Trophy on behalf of the 6th Battalion, Hertfordshire Home Guard, 1941

with the cup at our first encounter. The following year, another Platoon from our Battalion was entered and finished last out of 15 Battalions. Because of this humiliation, the C.O. asked me to go in again, and against my better judgement I agreed to do so. We finished second. I could have kicked myself for going back instead of resting on my laurels – you get nothing for ‘second’ except defeat.

We had a parade every Wednesday night and every Sunday morning, and when these, and other Competitions were on, it meant all Sunday, and various meetings of Section Commanders during the week...

Although much of our time in the Home Guard was spent on inter-platoon, inter-company, and inter-battalion competitions, my work with the Platoon was real – we were in fact preparing for warfare with a ruthless enemy, and we were determined to contest every inch of ground if Hitler’s minions set foot in our country. Churchill’s famous broadcast reinforced us in our determination – “We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight in the streets, we shall fight in the hills and the mountains – we shall never surrender.”²⁶ I had occasion to speak to my Platoon on these lines frequently in an endeavour to instil into them the determination to fight on ...

Each night, when the siren sounded, which for two years was every night ... I donned my tin hat and proceeded on my bicycle in the blackout to visit the Guard at my Platoon Headquarters. On one occasion while I was there a stick of bombs fell quite near, and, looking across the Golf Course, I saw a fire starting to blaze in the vicinity of my house. I thought, “This is it!” So, I jumped on my bike and [went] hell-for-leather along the mile or so to Farm Way. On arrival, I found the blaze was the result of a bomb hitting the gas main at the end of our road; it also burst the water main, and here was a fierce jet of flame some ten feet high and alongside a strong jet of water higher still, the problem being to marry the two. But that was the province of the Air Raid Wardens, so I ran along the 50 yards or so to the house. Here I found Margaret on her hands and knees sweeping up the glass from our shattered windows in the Dining Room, and, of course, this had to be done in the dark because of the strict blackout. As soon as daylight came, we boarded up the windows and we were soon back to normal. It was by everyone doing their little bit and smiling that we beat Hitler. Or rather, in deference to our gallant fighting men, that Hitler failed to beat the civilian population of this country.

Despite a scare from a V-1 flying bomb, which flew directly over their home, John and Margaret and their two children, William and Agnes, survived the war, unscathed. However, now promoted Manager of the Bank’s London Office, pressure of work forced Captain John Campbell to relinquish his commission and

²⁶ The actual quotation is, ‘We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender.’ 4.6.1940.

appointment as 2 i/c 'B' Company, 6th Hertfordshire Battalion, Home Guard, on 25 May 1944:

*The C. O. wishes to place on record his appreciation of this officer's loyal and distinguished service with the Bn., and all members of the Company will receive the notice of his relinquishment of appointment and commission with much regret, particularly those who by close contact have been inspired by his great keenness and leadership.*²⁷

On V.E. Day, Mr John Campbell closed the Bank at 1.00pm and gathered all the staff in the Boardroom to listen to the Prime Minister's broadcast at 3.00pm. They then toasted 'Victory', and he made a short speech of thanks to the staff. The caretaker and his wife, who had lived in the building throughout, were thanked and toasted. 'The wife, in a good cockney accent, made a spirited reply.' Campbell had 'huge respect for the Cockney,' and had been deeply troubled by the sight of them struggling along Lombard Street with their bedding to Bank Underground station night after night to shelter from the bombing. He wanted to open up the Bank's vaults to them, but the hierarchy would have none of it.

I have huge respect for the Cockney and I doubt very much if any other section of the British community (including Scotland) could have displayed a braver front than he did...

Those in authority did not seem to realise that we were at war – they had not seen, as I had seen, Bank buildings in France in ruins, and their precious Bills of Exchange strewn about the streets.

Post-War Years

In 1946, Campbell was appointed firstly Assistant General Manager and then General Manager. Four years later, he oversaw the merger of the Clydesdale and the North of Scotland Bank, a huge undertaking. He visited every branch of the new combined bank, met every member of staff, and kept notes on each of them! In 1953, he became President of the Institute of Bankers in Scotland, and from 1955 to 1957 he was Chairman of the Committee of Scottish Bank General Managers. He was knighted in the 1957 New Year's Honours. Sir John Campbell retired as General Manager in 1958, and from then until 1975 served as a director. In the Bank, which he had joined 45 years earlier, aged 15, he was remembered as 'a bluff and forthright man with a keen and spontaneous sense of humour.'²⁸

John's beloved wife, Margaret, who had first suffered a heart attack in April 1965, died on 6 July 1967, one day after their fortieth wedding anniversary. In the

²⁷ Extract from *Part I Orders*, (undated c. May 1944). John Campbell's certificate of service in the Home Guard gives his dates of service as 4.6.1940-31.12.1944.

²⁸ Charles W. Munn, *Clydesdale Bank: The First One Hundred & Fifty Years*, (London and Glasgow), 1988, p. 324.

years that followed, as well as compiling his journal, John travelled quite widely. In 1977, in the company of his daughter, Agnes, he visited his granddaughter and Agnes's daughter Margaret, then working on a kibbutz in Israel. It was the first time he had been back since serving there in 1917.

We took a taxi trip down to ... Nablus, the main city of Samaria. It was here that we spent a few days early in 1918 before we were rushed back to France to help to stem the German push. We had come a long way and, of course, the other units went on under Allenby to take Damascus and Aleppo, and finally to put the Turk out of the war. I remembered Nablus quite well, but when I got there again I didn't recognise anything from my previous visit.

In October 1982, and now very frail, accompanied by his son, William, John made a third and final pilgrimage to the Western Front. At Flesquières, he stood in front of his brother William's grave, and read in the portico of the cemetery:

The 51st Division Cemetery was made by the Divisional Burial Officer and it contained the graves of 74 Officers and men of the 51st (Highland) Division and The Tank Corps, who fell in the last eleven days of November 1917.

Flesquières railway station was attacked by the 51st (Highland) Division with tanks on the 20th November 1917, in the Battle of Cambrai, but was held for a time by a German officer with a few men; it was captured on the 21st. It was lost in late stages of the battle, and retaken on the 27th September 1918 by the 3rd Division.²⁹

John wrote in the visitors' book, 'Visiting Brother William's grave with my son,' and William himself added, 'Visiting my namesake and Uncle. Very moving.' From Flesquières, they drove to Arras, where John's brother Tom had been blown to pieces, and has no known grave. For some inexplicable reason, he had been erroneously included on the Jerusalem Memorial. In 2014, Agnes contacted the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and the error was corrected. He is now remembered on the Arras Memorial. But the correction came too late for his brother. Sir John Campbell, Ayrshire Yeomanry, Royal Scots Fusiliers, Home Guard and Clydesdale Bank, died on 7 December 1983, four days short of his 86th birthday.

²⁹ This part of John's journal was written up by his son, William.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS AND RESEARCH THESES ON BRITISH MILITARY HISTORY

Compiled by IAN F.W. BECKETT

In accordance with previous practice, this lists doctoral dissertations and research theses completed in the UK to 2017 and elsewhere to 2016-17, together with those previously omitted.

Doctoral Dissertations (UK)

CHESWORTH, Andrew, *Planning and Realities: The Recovery of British Far Eastern Prisoners of War, 1941-45* (Sheffield, 2017)

DASHTI, Eissa, *The Shiite Resistance against the British Occupation of Iraq, 1914-21* (Bangor, 2017)

DEEKS, Roger, *Officers not Gentlemen: Officers Commissioned from the Ranks of the Pre-First World War British Regular Army, 1903-18* (Birmingham, 2017)

DUNCAN, Andrew G., *The Military Education of Junior Officers in the Edwardian Army* (Birmingham, 2017)

EVERSHED, Jonathan, *Lest We Forget: The Politics of Commemoration, Loyalty and Peacebuilding at the Centenary of the Somme* (Queen's Belfast, 2017)

FIDDES, James, *Implementing Post-Cold War Anglo-American Military Intervention: Scrutinising the Dynamics of Legality and Legitimacy* (Aberdeen, 2017)

HANAGAN, Deborah L., *NATO and Coalition Warfare in Afghanistan, 2001-14* (London, 2017)

MAGUIRE, Anna M., *Colonial Encounters during the First World War: The Experience of Troops from New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies* (London, 2017)

MCEWEN, Yvonne T., *In the Company of Nurses: The History of the British Army Nursing Service in the Great War* (Edinburgh, 2016)

MORTON, Liam, *Re-evaluating the Pacification of the North West Frontier of India, 1897-1919* (London, 2017)

PALMER, William R., *Twenty-First Century Celebrations of the British Armed Forces: The Rise of the Bio-political Military Professional* (Manchester, 2017)

PATTERSON, Ryan, 'So Many Applications of Science': Novel technology in British Imperial Culture during the Abyssinian and Ashanti Expeditions, 1868-74 (Exeter, 2015)

POULTER, John, The Role of Remembrance of the First World War in the Construction of the Discourse of National Identity in Northern Ireland (Leeds, 2017)

SANGHVI, Neil, Gentlemen of Leisure or Vital Profession? The Officer Establishment of the British Army, 1689-1739 (Oxford, 2017)

SMITH, Jacob Ramsay, Imperial Retribution: The Hunt for Nana Sahib and Rebel Leaders in the Aftermath of the Indian Mutiny of 1857 (London, 2017)

SMITH, Justin S. E., The Sword and the Law: Elizabethan Soldiers' Perception and Practise of the Laws of Armed Conflict, 1569-87 (Glasgow, 2017)

SMYTH, Terry, The Roots of Remembrance: Tracing the Memory Practices of the Children of Far Eastern Prisoners of War (Essex, 2017)

TAYLOR, Michael A., A History of 119 Infantry Brigade in the Great War, with special reference to the command of Brigadier-General Frank Percy Crozier (Birmingham, 2017)

WALTERS, Andrew J. C., Inter-war, Inter-service Friction on the North West Frontier of India and its Impact on the Development and Application of RAF Doctrine (Birmingham, 2017)

WATT, Patrick, Managing Deadlock: Organisational Development in the British First Army, 1915 (Edinburgh 2017)

WORTHEN, Hannah, The Experience of War Widows in Mid-Seventeenth Century England, with special reference to Kent and Sussex (Leicester, 2017)

Doctoral Dissertations (Other)

ANDERSON, Kyle J., Egyptian Labour Corps: Logistical Labourers in World War One and the 1919 Egypt Revolution (Cornell, 2017)

BEIER, Zachary J. M., All the King's Men: Slavery and Soldiering at the Cabitts Garrison, Dominica, 1763-1854 (Syracuse, 2017)

DROHAN, Brian, Rights at War: British Counterinsurgency in Cyprus, Aden and Northern Ireland (North Carolina Chapel Hill, 2016)

GOLDING, Christopher T., At the Water's Edge: Britain, Napoleon and the World, 1793-1815 (Temple, 2017)

HUF, D. L., *The Junior British Army Officer: Experience and Identity, 1793-1815* (Tasmania, 2017)

IMY, Kate A., *Spiritual Soldiers and the Politics of Difference in the British Indian Army* (Rutgers, 2016)

JARRETT, Nathaniel W., *Collective Security and Coalition: British Grand Strategy, 1783-97* (North Texas, 2016)

KALOS, Matthew A., *Remember Paoli: Archaeological Exploration of a Military and Domestic Landscape* (Temple, 2017)

LECLAIR, Daniel R., *Supervising a Revolution: British Ordnance Committees, Private Inventors, and Military Technology in the Victorian Era* (Houston, 2015)

MJELDE, Elizabeth A., *Britain's First War in Kandy: Landscape, Violence and Conquest in Colonial Sri Lanka* (North Dakota, 2016)

PELLERIN, Daniel, *Sharpening the Sabre: Canadian Infantry Combat Training during the Second World War* (Ottawa, 2016)

SHIPE, Jonathan L., *The Cost of a Moral Army: Masculinity and the Construction of a Respectable British Army, 1850-85* (Florida State, 2016)

WEISE, Markus S., *A Social History of the West India Regiments, 1795-1838* (Howard, 2017)

WELSCH, Christina, *The Sons of Mars and the Heirs of Rustom: Military Ideology, Ambition and Rebellion in South India, 1746-1812* (Princeton, 2017)

Research Dissertations (Other)

MCLELLAN, John, *Soldiers and Colonists: Imperial Soldiers as Settlers in Nineteenth Century New Zealand* (Wellington MA, 2017)

RICHARDSON, John P., *The Most Complete Experiment in Army Hygiene: British Military Reform in Sanitation from the Crimea to India – A Comparative Account of Sanitary Reform in the Nineteenth Century* (Canterbury MA, 2017)

JOURNAL INTELLIGENCE: NOTES

1985 RAPID FIRE TECHNIQUE – Nicholas Harlow’s article, “The Mad Minute: Rapid Rifle Fire, and its place in the Edwardian Army”, published in *A Long, Long Trail A-winding*, the Society’s special publication commemorating the centenary of the First World War, stirred an unexpected memory. Mention was made of a theory that in ‘In terms of cycling the action, there have been suggestions that the middle finger may have been used to pull the trigger, while the thumb and index finger operated the bolt...’

In February 1983 I qualified as a sniper and at some point later that year was shooting on Warcop Training Area in Cumbria. It was a rather bucolic establishment at that time presided over by an elderly Warrant Officer First Class of the Foot Guards. Rumour varied as to whether he had been sent there as a punishment posting or whether he was merely biding his time until a vacancy appeared at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea.

Rather eccentrically I was using a 0.303 Inch No.4(T) rather than the then current 7.62mm L42, and he fell upon it with cries of delight, declaring that it was a proper rifle. As the conversation continued he insisted on teaching me how to work the bolt rapidly in case of an emergency. This was similar to the technique described above, but differed significantly in that the bolt was firmly grasped by the thumb and forefinger, while the trigger was pulled not by the middle finger but by the little finger.

While the little finger is generally thought to be weak and near redundant, I am reminded by the editor that it is recognised by musicians as being more capable of independent movement than the middle and third fingers, and as I clearly recall, it found the trigger quite naturally. Indeed, just as the thumb and forefinger remained wedded to the bolt, I never actually removed the little finger from the trigger until it was time to recharge the magazine.

An enjoyable afternoon was spent with plenty of ammunition, perfecting the technique [as might be expected the WO1 was an excellent teacher] and I may have the curious distinction of being the last Serviceman to have practiced it.

STUART REID

1986 PERCUSSION FIREARMS USED BY THE SIKH ARMY – Can any member suggest a primary source that details the Sikhs as being armed with percussion muskets in the Anglo-Sikh Wars of 1845-9? Contrary to general expectation, one source asserts that the Sikhs did use these weapons during the two Anglo-Sikh Wars. The oldest original source that mentioned Sikhs and percussion caps was cited by Fauja Singh Bajwa in *The Military System of the Sikhs 1798-1849*, (Delhi, 1964) p. 236. Bajwa cited the East India records *For: 1836 Pol. Progs. 5th Dec., 149* in which it was stated that Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, had imported two million detonating caps from France in 1836. Yet, he also stated that for the Sikhs at the time of Ranjit Singh’s death in 1839, the percussion cap musket, ‘was not a common weapon’. The earliest published mention of the Sikhs having used percussion muskets in the two Anglo-Sikh Wars appears in Septimus Thorburn’s *The Punjab in Peace and War* (London & Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1904) p. 354. Here he stated that ‘The percussion cap principle appears to have been already known to some of the Sikh Sirdars, who possessed arms factories and employed European artificers in them, and in the wars of 1846-47 and 1848-49 the larger part of the Sikh regular battalions were armed with percussion muskets.’ Thorburn appears to be a reliable source, as he had worked in the Punjab for the Indian Civil Service just 13 years after the end of the Second Anglo-Sikh War.

I would be pleased to hear from any member or reader of the Journal on this subject. Please reply to the Hon. Editor – andrew.e.cormack@btconnect.com – so that the information may appear in the Journal.

RICHARD GOLDSBROUGH

1987 HISTORY OF 115 FIELD REGIMENT (NORTH MIDLANDS), ROYAL ARTILLERY – two parts of the history of this regiment have been completed. Part One covers the period from the end of the First World War to the unit's return from Dunkirk in June 1940, and Part Two continues the history to June 1944. The Regiment was located in the UK until March 1942 when it was sent to India and Ceylon, and Part Two ends just before it was ordered to move eastwards to Burma as part of 19th Indian (Dagger) Division. Part Three, which will cover its experiences from June 1944 through the Burma Campaign, until the regiment returned to the UK in late October, 1945, is in preparation.

Several published works and Internet sources relating to the Regiment's history contain incorrect material. Members wishing to acquire accurate information on the regiment should consult this history, copies of which have been deposited at the Imperial War Museum and the Leicestershire Records Office. A copy has also been lodged with the Library of the Royal Artillery Museum – Firepower – formerly at Woolwich and will be available when it re-opens. Members may request their own electronic copy in PDF format from the author at – terry.gale48@outlook.com

TERRY GALE

1988 MALVERN FESTIVAL OF MILITARY HISTORY – REPORT – The Society was represented by the Membership Secretary, the Editor and our Social Media Officer at this new festival over the weekend 5th to 7th October. The event is a combination of a conference and a book fair and alongside us were Cambridge University Press, Casemate Publishers, The Army Records Society, The Victorian Military Society, The Pike and Shot Society and various local history groups. All of these were intent on selling their publications and recruiting new members.

Throughout the three days, a wide-ranging set of talks and panel discussions were mounted with the participation of major academics and specialists. They included Anne Curry on Agincourt; John Buckley and Sir John Kiszely on the Second World War, Saul David on Small Wars and Insurgency; Messrs Boff, Lloyd, Philpott and Sheffield on the First World War; Peter Gaunt on the English Civil War; Ian Beckett and Edward Spiers on the nineteenth century; Andrew Lambert on seapower; Adam Zamoyski on Napoleon and John Hussey and Charles Esdaile, amongst others, on Waterloo. Each day ended with celebrated authors talking about their new books – Sir Max Hastings on Vietnam, Andrew Roberts on Churchill and Lord Ashdown on the numerous conspiracies against Hitler.

All of those attending were greatly impressed by the quality of the speakers and the friendly atmosphere that pervaded the event. It is hoped that this will become a regular fixture so that researchers, authors and book-buying military history enthusiasts may enjoy it.

ANDREW CORMACK

1989 MILITARY EVIDENCE DATING THE EMERGENCE OF A COMMON COCKNEY RHYMING SLANG PHRASE – Soldiers serving in British India before the Second World War localised a Cockney rhyming slang phrase about two decades earlier than the phrase is recorded as having been used in literature.

Jonathon Green's *Green's Dictionary of Slang* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012) indicates that early use of the Cockney phrase 'two and eight' for 'state', usually meaning a state of upset or confusion, is to be found in James Curtis's *They Drive by Night: a novel* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1938).¹

The Cockney version, taken by Servicemen to refer to two shillings and eight old pence, was converted in British India into 'a chip eight', i.e., one rupee and eight annas. That phrase was used by men who had served in British India in the early and the late 1930s.² In those years, however, the British Indian rupee was valued at one shilling and four old pence. It had been valued internationally at two shillings Sterling for only a brief period at the end of the First World War and immediately thereafter. That limited period saw the introduction of the Florin [two shillings' Sterling-based] currency into Kenya in 1920 as the British sought to replace the rupee-based currency there and so

¹ Google Chrome www.quora.com; British Library Main Catalogue.

² By my uncle, A. H. Upton, and by my father, E. Stigger, respectively.

sever the financial connexion with British India as that country developed economically and constitutionally towards eventual independence. The collapse of the British Indian rupee and therefore of the Kenyan Florin currency during the following year caused a shilling/cent currency to be introduced speedily into all British East African dependencies, thereby confirming the end of the period in which the British Indian rupee was worth two shillings.

British soldiers pay accounts were kept in Sterling, whether they were serving at Home or overseas. Soldiers paid in rupees in British India in the limited period for which the British Indian rupee was valued at two shillings Sterling, rather than at one shilling and four old pence, would have been fully aware of that fact because in practice they were experiencing a one-third cut in pay.³ The conversion of 'two and eight' into 'a chip eight' must have occurred not later than 1921, thereby demonstrating that the phrase 'two and eight' was in use colloquially in Cockney rhyming slang at least seventeen years before it appeared in a British publication.

PHILIP STIGGER

³ Two shillings = 24 old pence *versus* one shilling and four old pence = 16 old pence.

OBITUARY

IAN ROY

Ian Roy, who has died aged 85, was active in the field of 17th-century British history and he will be particularly remembered for his work on the military history, especially the Royalist military history, of the English Civil War. Despite popular interest in the civil war, the number of academic experts on the military conflict is small, and Ian was among the most learned and authoritative. However, his published work embraced many interests: population history, the English gentry, taxation, and central and local administration.

He was born in Edinburgh, son of John, a head-teacher, and Elsie, a midwife, and went to Daniel Stewart's college. He read history at St Andrews University and after National Service in the army in Malaya, he gained a PhD at Magdalen College, Oxford, then taught history in Bristol. He moved to London in the early 1960s to teach at King's College London where he remained until his retirement as senior lecturer in history in 1996.

He was a presiding presence at seminars of the Institute of Historical Research (IHR) for many decades, willing to share his erudition and great fun to be with when doing so. Like Chaucer's Clerk of Oxenford, "Gladly would he learn and gladly teach". Ian had a retiring manner, but anyone who met him realised his depth and range of knowledge.

His published work is marked by care and attention to detail. He was not one to publish for its own sake. The Royalist Ordnance Papers 1642-1646 was published in two volumes, 1964 and 1975; The Hearth Tax Collectors' Book for Worcester, 1678-1680 appeared in 1983. His last publication was The Diary and Papers of Henry Townshend, 1640-1663 (2014), edited with Stephen Porter and Stephen Roberts. His final project was on the parentage of the infamous Earl of Rochester, on which he delivered a paper in 2015 to the IHR. He published, with Joyce Macadam, in the Journal on Marston Moor in 2008, but was also kind enough to peer review material on the Civil Wars.

He is survived by his wife, Helen (nee Williams), whom he married in 1957, and their three daughters, Kate, Jan and Lindsay.

STEPHEN PORTER
AND LES ROBINSON

BOOK REVIEWS

THE FEAR OF INVASION: STRATEGY, POLITICS, AND BRITISH WAR PLANNING, 1880-1914, by David G. Morgan-Owen. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. ISBN: 9780198805199, pp. 272, £65.00.

Since the late 1960s there has been almost constant study of British war planning prior to 1914. If most attention was once devoted to the Anglo-French military talks, and then to wider British strategic options, the more recent emphasis has been upon the Royal Navy's plans for war. An underlying assumption has been that, notwithstanding the Committee of Imperial Defence's (CID) three invasion enquiries between 1903 and 1914, the frequent prominence given to the threat of a 'bolt from the blue' by the Army was unwarranted in view of the navy's public insistence on its ability to defend Britain. Moreover, Germany only briefly considered the possibility of invasion in the late 1890s before abandoning the idea.

As a result of the pre-war enquiries, and as agreed again by the improvised War Council in August 1914, two of the six Regular divisions of the British Expeditionary Force were to be held back from the continent initially: the 4th Division arrived in France on 22/23 August and the 6th Division on 8/9 September. As is well known, Kitchener's fears of invasion coloured his view on the use of the Territorial Force overseas and there was a renewed scare in October 1914 following the fall of Antwerp. The potential scale of an invasion force of 70,000 established by the pre-war enquiries was not reduced until December 1917, finally being adjusted to a mere 5,000 in September 1918. The standard study of invasion has remained the still unpublished two volumes of Howard Moon's doctoral thesis completed for the University of London as long ago as 1968, and upon which John Gooch drew for an article on the 'bolt from the blue' published in the *Prospect of War: Studies in British Defence, 1847-1942* (London: Frank Cass, 1981).

David Morgan-Owen sets out to offer a revisionist interpretation of the accepted framework for the consideration of invasion in military and naval planning. It is his contention that the Army's apparent obsession with invasion and home defence represented more than just a means of leveraging more resources from government. It was linked much more to the Admiralty's failure to inspire confidence that there were sufficient naval resources to enable the Army to develop its expeditionary aspirations. That in itself sets Morgan-Owen against the general assumptions stemming from the Stanhope Memorandum, which placed any expeditionary capacity as the lowest War Office priority, albeit that Garnet Wolseley certainly did want to organise two if not three corps in Britain, one of which could form the basis of an expeditionary force. Liberating the Army from home defence was a consistent theme that Morgan-Owen believes has been generally overlooked.

The principal argument, however, is that whatever the Royal Navy professed in public its own fears of German invasion were deep-seated. Indeed, Morgan-Owen maintains that plans for the destruction of the German High Seas Fleet in 1914 had a far lower priority than the defence of home waters in the calculation of most leading naval figures other than Jellicoe. The Admiralty was always extremely sensitive to what revelations might come out of the invasion enquiries. Pre-war naval manoeuvres as well as the deliberations of the Fremantle Committee in 1907-8 had consistently revealed the vulnerability of the east coast to attack. The navy, therefore, including the highly secretive Jackie Fisher, stand accused in Morgan-Owen's account of deliberately deceiving the CID and the politicians regarding its true fears. Morgan-Owen usefully points out, however, that Arthur Wilson remained on the CID after leaving the Admiralty. Whatever Arthur Wilson's perceived inadequacies at the famous meeting of the CID sub-committee in 1911, he did secure the retention of the two divisions in Britain at the start of any war. Subsequently, it was assumed only one division would be held back but that was revisited in August 1914. There was a far wider understanding of strategy in the Admiralty than in the War Office, but the navy's operational freedom had been compromised through the failure to counter the politicians' confidence that an expeditionary force could be deployed to the continent without risk. As a result, the Royal Navy became the *de facto* junior partner to the Army, subordinating it to the requirements of transporting the BEF. Having said that, Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Herbert Asquith are condemned for abdicating responsibility for strategic oversight in a manner that gives even further weight to the general consensus that British government machinery was unequal to the challenge of directing a major war. By contrast, Arthur Balfour had at least understood something of strategy albeit that the CID did not evolve in the way he had envisaged.

In effect, Morgan-Owen argues that through the failure of the two Services – and, especially, the Army – to consider each other's requirements, fear of invasion became the real determinant in shaping not only pre-war strategy but also initial decisions in 1914.

The monograph is based on extensive archival research, including the papers of the Directorate of Military Operations now held in the British Library after the dispersal of the much-lamented Old War Office Library. As might be expected, there are aspects, which one might contest. The conflict of 1878-81 was not the first but the second Anglo-Afghan War. Lansdowne's removal from the War Office to the Foreign Office in 1900 did not represent the last obstacle to Wolseley's replacement by Roberts as commander-in-chief. Wolseley's five-year term was up and, as an inveterate opponent of Wolseley, Lansdowne had already secured Roberts's succession. Morgan-Owen does not seem to have used William Philpott's work on the 'Belgian option', and some consideration of the renewed invasion fears in the autumn of 1914 would have been instructive.

Nonetheless, Morgan-Owen's monograph is thought-provoking and puts forward a highly persuasive case. Its conclusions need to be taken seriously in any re-evaluation of British strategy between 1880 and 1914 and will no doubt prompt particular debate among those naval historians whose on-going debates have often become quite heated. Morgan-Owen's work represents a major contribution to the historiography of pre-war planning.

IAN F.W. BECKETT
University of Kent

GLORIES TO USELESS HEROISM: THE AMERICAN JOURNALS OF COMTE MAURÈS DE MALARTIC, 1755-1760, edited by William Raffle. Solihull: Helion, 2017. ISBN: 9781911512196, pp. 324, £19.95.

In 1755, Anne-Joseph-Hippolyte, Comte de Maurès de Malartic (Mautauban, France, 1730-1800 Port Louis, Mauritius), was a captain of infantry in the 2nd battalion of the Béarn Regiment that was part of the troops sent from France to reinforce Canada in response to looming war threats. Although only twenty-five at the time, he was already a veteran of several campaigns in Europe during the War of the Austrian Succession and, since 1749, had also been named to the battalion administrative staff function of *aide-major*. Such posts were usually entrusted to the better-educated and somewhat more studious young officers, some of whom would rise later to become field officers. This was to be Malartic's career path. In Canada he was an aide-de-camp to General Montcalm during 1756 and participated in all the major battles of the war in North America. He was wounded at Montcalm's brilliant victory over British and American troops at Carillon (Ticonderoga) on 8 July 1758, which earned him the coveted Cross of the Order of Saint-Louis. He survived the war, went back to France in 1760, and in 1763 was named colonel of the Vermandois Regiment. He achieved field rank as a brigadier general in 1770 while in Guadeloupe as its governor, and went on to become a major general, then a lieutenant general in 1790, and in 1792 governor general of the 'French Establishments East of the Cape of Good Hope'. This really meant he was governor of Mauritius, but also strategist for France's interests in the Indian Ocean. In that role, he was successful in encouraging Tipu Sultan to resist the British conquerors of Mysore while turning Mauritius and La Réunion into such a successful nest of corsairs, led by privateer captain Robert Surcouf, that British naval insurance rates skyrocketed. Malartic was also an instant local hero when, in 1796, he ordered the French Republic's commissioners sent back home when they tried to apply some of the National Assembly's laws, notably the abolition of slavery, which every person of property thought would ruin the islands. All this is not part of his memoirs, but it shows some of the man's character.

This part of Malartic's memoirs covers the years 1755 to 1760 and is quite substantial. It will give much joy to anyone interested in the Seven Years War in North America. Malartic writes with a lively pen and is not shy of a little gossip here and there while remaining very factual, at least from the facts he could get. Since he often served in various staff functions, he had access to better information than most battalion officers and his sources appear to have been rather good, but might be at variance with other period documents. His papers were eventually discovered by Count Gabriel de Maurès de

Malartic and, thanks to Professor Paul Gaffarel, of the University of Dijon, were published in 1890. Gaffarel was the original editor and this new English edition often mentions his footnote comments in the French 1890 edition. This new edition is the work of William Raffle, who has done splendidly both in terms of the translation as well providing very informative annotations across hundreds of footnotes. All of which speaks highly of the fine research that went into this work, which can certainly be trusted as a source for further studies and insights into a seminal era of North American history. There are a few glitches related to minor points of geography, such as the misspelling of the 'Pot-à-l'Eau-de-vie', a small island off Rivière-du-Loup. It was also known as the 'Brandy Pot' and Royal Navy ships later used it as a watering station. In general, the work is a good translation with copious extra references added by Raffle's laudable editorship. For example, the indigenous tribes – now referred to as the First Nations – interested Malartic so much that he attempted to define them in a short appendix, and Raffle provides long footnotes with further references to help illuminate this topic.

It is puzzling to this reviewer as to why there have been so few translations of such French memoirs. Louis-Antoine de Bougainville's *Adventures in the Wilderness* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press) edited by Edward P. Hamilton is well-known although it dates from 1964. More recently, Pierre Pouchot's *Memoirs of the Late War* (Youngstown, NY: Old Fort Niagara Association Publications) translated by Michael Caddy and edited and annotated by Brian L. Dunnigan appeared in 1994. Helion and its editors are to be congratulated for adding Malartic to this rather short list, especially when compared with the numerous British and American memoirs. True, translation is an obstacle, because relatively few anglophone historians – especially American ones – command French capably, nevertheless one would think similar endeavours on the memoirs of Montcalm or, more importantly, Lévis would find a large audience. One might also add the 1758 Louisbourg siege journal of Governor Druccourt to this list. These were, after all, the senior commanding officers and it would be their own opinions and strategic views that they recorded. In consequence they are likely to be more important and useful than those of more junior officers. William Raffle has done a great service to the historical community with this work; let us hope that such good source material will be published at more frequent intervals.

RENÉ CHARTRAND
Gatineau, Québec

1917: WAR, PEACE, AND REVOLUTION, by David Stevenson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. ISBN: 9780198702382, pp. 528, £30.00.

Two major books have already established Professor David Stevenson of the London School of Economics as among the United Kingdom's foremost historians of the First World War. Stevenson's *1914-1918: The History of the First World War* (London: Allen Lane, 2004) is perhaps the best one-volume history of the war now available: the one to be recommended to the intelligent student or general reader trying to get to grips with the basics of the war as a whole. His *With Our Backs to the Wall: Victory and Defeat in 1918* (London: Allen Lane, 2011) is the general history of the last year of the war that one would recommend to the same sort of readership. Though Stevenson is by background (and by the title of his university chair) an expert in the history of international relations rather than the history of warfare or military history specifically, the focus of these two books is tightly on the war itself: the fighting of it, the winning and the losing of it. Both works demonstrate an impressive grip not only of issues of high policy and grand strategy, but also of the military strategic and operational levels of the war. In those volumes Stevenson ventures, on occasion, even down to the tactical level so that one gets at least a little of the feel of the filth, discomfort, and intermittent terror of the front line.

This reviewer initially expected *1917* to be the same sort of work: doing for 1917 what *With Our Backs to the Wall* did for 1918. Actually, though a very good book, it is of a rather different kind, more clearly reflecting Stevenson's background as a historian of international affairs rather than a military historian. *1917*, as its subtitle indicates, is less tightly focused on the war itself than are his previous two volumes. That fateful year saw dramatic international developments, the consequences of which are still with us: the beginnings of the first emergence of the United States as a world-class military power, the Russian Revolution and the massive boost given by the British cabinet and the British Army to the

Zionist project in the land then known as Palestine. It also saw lesser, though still interesting, phenomena such as the decision of a number of Latin American countries to follow the United States into the war on the Allied side without really committing major resources to fighting it.

Matters such as the rise of Zionism and the international and internal politics of Latin America, which had little direct impact on the course or outcome of the war, take up quite a bit of space in Stevenson's *1917*. The internal politics of Russia and Greece, though these had a greater impact, also get much more attention than they normally would in a book concerned primarily with the processes by which the war was won and lost. Here Stevenson is very clearly interested in issues going well beyond the war itself. He looks into the seeds of time and show us how some of the big trees of later twentieth- and twenty-first-century international politics germinated in 1917, becoming vigorous saplings in the blood-fertilised soils of the latter half of the First World War.

Stevenson certainly does not neglect major strategic issues, such as the German introduction of unrestricted submarine warfare and how the Allies dealt with it. He has substantial chapters on the planning and the conduct of the Nivelle, Kerensky, Third Ypres, and Caporetto offensives. But in this book, far more than in his two previous volumes, the author's point of view seems nearly always to be from the cabinet room, the senior civil servant's desk, the naval chief's chair in the Admiralty, the chief of the General Staff's or at least the army group or army's commander's headquarters. We hear a lot about battles on the Eastern, Western, and Italian fronts, but little from the point of view of those below the rank of general who were doing most of the fighting and the dying. We hear a lot about submarines, but little from the immediate perspective of the submariner or his prey in the cruel seas around the British Isles. There is much about food riots, but mainly as seen from the windows of government ministries rather than as experienced by the proletarian or shopkeeper.

In short this is a superb, scholarly book, but a book of a particular type. Far more than the author's two immediately previous volumes, it is about international relations and long-term political consequences as much as the conduct of the war. When dealing with the war itself it rarely delves much below the strategic level.

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THE ROYAL FLYING CORPS, THE WESTERN FRONT AND CONTROL OF THE AIR, 1914-1918, by James Pugh. Abingdon: Routledge, 2017. ISBN: 9781472459725, pp. 190, £105.00.

James Pugh's *The Royal Flying Corps, the Western Front and Control of the Air, 1914-1918* is one of a handful of studies recently published that represent a burgeoning new generation of scholarship on air power during the Great War. Arguably one of the most mythologised aspects of the conflict and one dominated by amateur and popular history, the Great War in the air has traditionally been studied in isolation from surface operations and with a narrow focus on the tactical level, such as dogfights, aces and aeroplanes. Considerations of the air war in relation to strategy, policy, industry, its integration in military and naval operations, and aspects of organisational development have, until recently, been under represented in the historiography.

Pugh's study originated as a doctoral thesis that examined the formative intellectual and practical dimensions of air power's fundamental function of controlling airspace, a state of affairs traditionally described as air supremacy, superiority, or mastery. The thesis approached the topic in both army and naval contexts but, for the book, Pugh has narrowed his focus to the Royal Flying Corps on the Western Front. His research is extensive, focusing mainly on the Air Ministry's expansive AIR 1 series at The National Archives in Kew and private papers held in a number of institutions. Though he is far from the first to consult many of these sources, Pugh subjects them to new questions, informed by a thorough understanding of the secondary literature, to produce a study that is original and revealing. Evidently, the well-thumbed files of the AIR 1 series still have much to reveal.

Pugh positions his study at 'the intersection between [the] theory, policy and practice' of the RFC's efforts to control the skies over the Western Front. As he notes in his introduction, this is an original approach as far as the literature is concerned but one that builds on the RFC's and RAF's First World War official history – W. Raleigh and H.A. Jones, *The War in the Air* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

6 vols., 1922-37) – and the handful of existing studies of the RFC as an organisation, its operations, and air power's relationship to strategic and political issues pertinent to Britain's war effort. In defining his topic, Pugh astutely highlights its lexical ambiguities, noting how historians and others (including air power practitioners) have used the terms air control/supremacy/superiority/mastery synonymously, inconsistently, and ambiguously. As a working definition he adopts the 'simultaneously precise and flexible' definition in the British Ministry of Defence's *Joint Doctrine Publication, JPD-030* (2013) that sees control of the air as a temporal and relative condition allowing the projection of force at the political (strategic) and military (operational) levels while preventing an adversary from doing likewise.

The book begins with three chapters that trace the development of air control in intellectual and operational terms in the pre-war RFC (it was formed in April 1912) and during the war itself. Pugh convincingly challenges a prevailing view in the historiography that before the war British aviators had little coherent concept of air power and, specifically, the incumbent need to fight for control of the air. The RFC's pre-war leadership not only anticipated the need to fight in order to use airspace, but they developed foundational air power principles that would serve the corps throughout the war. After going to war in 1914 with little technological capability to fight in the air, the RFC's nascent conception of air power and early operational experience saw the relatively rapid development of air-to-air fighting capabilities and a more explicitly articulated ethos. (Pugh aligns himself with scholars of the British Army who eschew the term 'doctrine' for describing its theoretical conception of warfighting.) Nevertheless, the unprecedented scale and intensity of aerial warfare proved to be less decisive than British airmen had anticipated and during 1915-16 the RFC adapted to fight an on-going campaign of attrition over the Western Front that had both technological and moral dimensions.

Pugh argues that, in this respect, the RFC represented a new and highly technological form of warfare while, at the same time, developing an ethos that closely aligned with that of the Edwardian British Army, as articulated through the Staff College (from which a number of the RFC's senior commanders had graduated) and *Field Service Regulations*. This ethos emphasised flexibility and pragmatism in the command and control of forces (while implicitly rejecting the rigidity of doctrine), the primacy of morale on the battlefield and the critical nature of offensive operations. Alongside its parent institution's intellectual heritage, the RFC also drew on its operational experience during the war's first two years and, as Pugh highlights, a close and productive relationship with the French *Aéronautique Militaire* to develop a concept of air power in which air control was fundamental.

These institutional, operational and coalition influences found their clearest expression through the leadership of Sir Hugh Trenchard, who commanded the RFC on the Western Front between August 1915 and January 1918. Pugh challenges conventional representations of Trenchard as a 'prophet' or visionary of air power by charting the incremental development of his understanding of offensive air power and highlighting the input of others, such as David Henderson, Robert Brooke-Popham, and Frederick Sykes (who, ironically, would later criticise the RFC's focus on offensive operations). This evolving institutional understanding of air power, as Pugh convincingly represents it, culminated in RFC Headquarters' circulation of its 'Future Policy in the Air', in September 1916. In this seminal document, Trenchard recognised aircraft as inherently offensive weapons, the sky as a space into which force could only be projected ephemerally (unlike the sea) and enemy morale as the most vulnerable target of air power. He therefore concluded that the RFC should fight a 'relentless and incessant offensive': one in which British aviators continuously projected force into enemy skies as a means of securing control over the battlefield and providing the BEF with air support while denying the Germans the same opportunity.

Pugh argues that Trenchard's conception of air power, which reflected continuity with pre-war thinking in the RFC, remained consistent for the rest of the war and shaped the RFC's development as a force and its operational employment during 1917-18. Nevertheless, in keeping with the British Army's 'flexible' and 'pragmatic' approach to command and control, Trenchard's staff did not prescribe tactics and, as a result, subordinate commands employed their air assets as the tactical circumstances required. In making this point Pugh challenges the conventional view that, under Trenchard's leadership, the RFC fought a rigidly dogmatic and unnecessarily wasteful campaign. Rather, Trenchard emerges from Pugh's evaluation as a clear sighted and pragmatic commander who prosecuted a costly but effective air campaign. His failing was that 'he did not take sufficient account of the pressures on more senior commanders' when pressing for resources to expand his corps. When appointed Chief of the Air Staff in 1918 Trenchard also lacked 'the skill and finesse' to operate at this

junction between government and military.

Although Trenchard's vision defined the RFC's – and, after April 1918, the Royal Air Force's – operations until the Armistice, several factors challenged the extent of its execution. These represent the focus of Pugh's final two chapters, which examine the contextual influences on the RFC's efforts to control the skies above the Western Front. Central to these was the burgeoning issue of air power's strategic dimension: first debates concerning home defence, a political imperative given the (albeit sporadic) bombing of British civilian populations from 1915 onwards, and later a desire to strike back at German cities. Although such considerations ultimately led to the establishment of the RAF as an independent third Service, they did not change the focus that British airmen on the Western Front had on supporting ground forces. Still, as Pugh contends, these emerging strategic concepts of air control did develop into a counter-narrative that would have substantial implications for the development of air power after the war.

Pugh's study makes an original and significant contribution; it is absolutely essential reading for anyone wanting to write about the subject of military aviation in the First World War or the history of British air power. Indeed, *The Royal Flying Corps, the Western Front and Control of the Air, 1914-1918* is arguably the most important book on the subject since the publication of Malcolm Cooper's *The Birth of Independent Air Power: British Policy in the First World War* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986). Pugh's study illuminates how the RFC learned and adapted as an organisation and how fighting for control of the air became central to its efforts to support the BEF. Beyond this, his approach suggests the potential of research into air superiority as it has been conceived in other Services and historical contexts. As Pugh's study convincingly demonstrates, ideas about controlling airspace are fundamental to air power theory and air forces as organisations; examining them from a historical perspective is not only key to understanding the application of air power in the past, but also to informing discussions on the subject into the future.

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THE ORIGINS OF THE GRAND ALLIANCE: ANGLO-AMERICAN MILITARY COLLABORATION FROM THE PANAY INCIDENT TO PEARL HARBOR, by William T. Johnsen. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 2016. ISBN: 9780813168333, pp. 414, 46.50.

The field of monographs discussing the early days of the Anglo-American coalition in the Second World War is a rather crowded one and William Johnsen is to be commended for having the courage to attempt to establish a lodgement on a battleground already claimed by and fought over by the likes of James Leutze, Christopher Thorne, David Reynolds, Malcolm Murfett, Ian Cowman, and Greg Kennedy. It is probably fair to say that in terms of combing archival collections and integrating the most recent scholarship, Johnsen is the equal of his predecessors/competitors. A collection of brief CVs of the key historical players at the beginning of the book is a helpful tool for navigating the text; the discussion of primary sources at the end is a model of its kind and should be held up as an example to university press publishers who seriously believe that in this day and age such academic foibles can and should be dispensed with. In terms of a new chronological approach, he goes further back than many of his peers by giving the events of the Great War period and the 1920s their full due (nearly forty pages), thus providing a firm foundation for what is to follow. In the wartime years, nearly fifty pages are dedicated to providing the reader with excellent summaries of what transpired at the ABC 1 (Washington) and Argentia (Newfoundland) conferences of 1941.

Crucially, the author then goes on to provide a fascinating account of how the agreements reached at these conferences were processed (and more often than not, misinterpreted) by subordinate bodies. Some of this at times borders on the farcical, but the fact remains that the learning experience gained in these first attempts at co-ordinating strategy cut down on a lot of the friction that would be experienced from 1942 onwards.

Johnsen's emphasis is clearly on the Anglo-American attempts somehow to find common ground for a future strategy in the South Pacific. This was greatly hampered by an American insistence to give

the Atlantic theatre first priority, while the British – now that the fear of invasion had receded – made repeated attempts to interest the American side in making a timely commitment to the defence of South East Asia. Since such a change in strategy would have been impractical without a major presence by the US Navy in the vicinity of Singapore, these initiatives were all rebuffed. In the light of what was to transpire, Johnsen is undoubtedly right in crediting the American side with greater realism than the British, something that appears to go against the accepted orthodoxy of the innate British superiority in practising coalition politics.

By comparison, the gradually increasing presence of the US Navy in the North Atlantic is discussed much more briefly. This is something of a pity, since in doing so the author may have robbed himself of an opportunity to break new ground. A number of titles on the subject are already available, even though these tend to focus on the issue of convoy escort. However, the less well-covered sorties by a number of the US Atlantic Fleet's capital ships in the innocuously named 'Neutrality Patrol' might have repaid closer attention. Allegations at the time, that by the spring of 1941 their courses were plotted to follow those of British convoys in order to deter attacks by German surface raiders have yet to be properly examined. After the 'Berlin' operation of February/March 1941, which saw a task force made up of the battlecruisers *Schamhorst* and *Gneisenau* sweep much of the North Atlantic, the British Admiralty prioritised the escort of the more valuable convoys by at least one battleship. When one factors in the number of British capital ships, which in 1941 spent months out of commission due to battle damage, the feasibility of this scheme beyond a couple of months quickly becomes obvious. Since no blood was drawn during any of these US Navy operations, interest in the topic never really reached a critical mass and in any case was bulldozed into history by the events of 7 December 1941. Politically the implications could have been enormous. This is a topic definitely both worthy of study and long overdue for re-examination.

Despite this omission, *The Origins of the Grand Alliance* is an excellent piece of scholarship fully deserving of the highest praise. It can be recommended without reservation to anyone with a serious interest in the period or the politics of wartime coalitions in general.

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WATERLOO: THE CAMPAIGN OF 1815. VOLUME II: FROM WATERLOO TO THE RESTORATION OF PEACE IN EUROPE, by John Hussey. Barnsley: Greenhill Books, 2017. ISBN: 9781784382001, pp. 582, £30.00.

A twenty per cent discount is available for SAHR members when purchasing both of John Hussey's two volumes on Waterloo. To claim your discount, enter the following code when making your purchase on Pen and Sword's website: JSAHRW20

With this second volume, John Hussey completes his acclaimed re-assessment of the Waterloo campaign, which has deservedly won plaudits. Through painstaking detective work and the application of sheer, relentless common sense, he has transformed our knowledge and understanding of the campaign.

The battle of Waterloo constitutes the core of this volume, and takes up roughly one-third of it. But Hussey also examines the political and diplomatic background, including the negotiations that led to the occupation of Paris and the end of the conflict, and thereby places the battle in its proper context. He is careful to avoid becoming bogged down in irrelevant detail: his focus is on the point of view of the commanders and the great powers of Europe, and the tactical details of insignificant skirmishes, particularly outside Belgium, are of little concern.

Hussey resolves a whole string of controversies, many of which originated in Napoleon's unscrupulous twisting of the truth whenever he thought it served his own interests. For example, Hussey meticulously dissects the terms of the capitulation of Paris, refuting misconceptions that the inclusion of Article XII meant that Wellington and Britain were guilty of bad faith when Marshal Ney was subsequently executed.

Hussey presents the evidence even-handedly and spares no commander from criticism where he

believes it justified. He concludes that Wellington made some key errors at Waterloo, notably in failing to ensure that his central bastion of La Haie Sainte was properly fortified. On some issues, such as whether the Imperial Guard made its final attack of the battle in columns or in squares, Hussey openly admits the impossibility of giving a definitive answer, but provides the evidence, states his opinion and then leaves readers to reach their own conclusions. On these and countless other points, he has opened up the subject to informed, rational debate. For example, he shows that Wellington himself was probably not in the eastern sector of his position when it was attacked by the French I Corps. Hussey suggests that this massive attack came close to overwhelming the eastern wing, and that the absent Duke 'was saved by the independent actions of Uxbridge and Picton, acting entirely on their own initiatives'. It is a fascinating argument, but its implications are worth exploring in more detail. The danger in which Picton's Division found itself can obscure the principle that lay behind Wellington's dispositions, that of a flexible defence-in-depth. Rather than cram more than the necessary minimum of troops on to the ridge crest, he had his units arrayed in a succession of positions, from where they could counter-attack. Even if the French had managed to secure the top of the ridge, Wellington's rearmost units could have intervened to re-establish a cohesive front line so the fight could continue. Wellington himself could have committed reserves from his centre and western wing as part of this process. Indeed, this may be one reason why he did not station himself in the east: lest he became cut off by a French break-in and unable to control his reserves. Controlling the reserves was the most effective way in which he, as commander-in-chief, could influence the battle once it was under way.

A case can also be made that Wellington deliberately refrained from interfering on his eastern wing because he adopted a form of mission command. It can be argued that, rather than being saved by his subordinates, he actually enabled them to surmount such crises by ensuring they had the freedom to take instant, decisive action without having to await his orders. He recognised that Picton and Uxbridge were capable of handling their units without the close supervision that the young Prince of Orange required in the centre of the battlefield, and he therefore allowed them a degree of initiative that belies the popular notion that he tried to control everything in person. The persistence of this misconception owes much to anecdotes whose reliability should be questioned more deeply, such as the tale of how Uxbridge asked Wellington on the eve of the battle about his plans and supposedly received an unhelpfully brief answer.

In both his volumes, Hussey has opened up such debates by shattering conventional thinking. Interestingly, he points out that Wellington was unaware that so many French troops had been detached under Marshal Grouchy. This helps explain the Duke's focus on his western wing, since he thought Napoleon had enough troops in hand to undertake a major turning movement. For this and countless other insights, Hussey's work is quite simply indispensable. It is a triumph of scholarship, logical thinking and readability, and a masterly demonstration of how to write military history.

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A DANGEROUS SERVICE ... MEMOIRS OF A BLACK WATCH OFFICER IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR – JOHN GRANT, 1741-1828, Edited by Earl John Chapman and Ian Macpherson McCulloch. Montreal, Robin Brass Studio Inc., 2017. ISBN 978-1-896941-75-2 (Hardback) 978-1-896941-74-5 (Softback), pp. 294, UK £26.99, Canada – \$34.95, USA – \$37.95.

The title of this book, taken from Grant's own words, is certainly proved by his account, which covers his service with the Second Battalion of the 42nd Foot during the Seven Years War. Although soldiering in both battalions was doubtless dangerous, and positively murderous in the 1st Battalion's attack on Fort Ticonderoga in July 1758, the 2nd Battalion had more varied service than the 1st and Grant's narrative is therefore extremely valuable for the breadth of its coverage of the war in the Americas from the Equator to the Great Lakes.

The memoir was dictated to Grant's grandson, Dr. John Johnson M.D. in the last couple of years of Grant's life. It is now lodged, following Johnson's emigration, in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand and although the editors explain that the manuscript, is a rough draft, with

various notes indicating where interpolated passages should fit earlier in the narrative, they have made an excellent job of arranging a coherent copy. The book starts with a long Introduction to Grant's story explaining the background to life in the Highlands during the pacification-suppression of the inhabitants after the last Jacobite Rebellion and continues with a narrative that brings him up to the moment of his commissioning into the newly-forming 2nd Battalion of the Black Watch. Because Grant died before he could finish dictating his memoir, the editors have been obliged painstakingly to reconstruct his life as a settler on land granted to him in America after 1763, his expulsion by the rebellious colonists at the start of the War of Independence and his efforts to return to active service thereafter. In doing so, they illuminate the plight of an officer – and there must have been many others like him – without means or influence, who struggled to re-enter service out of a strong sense of duty and necessity. Though a place in his former regiment was denied him, he lobbied sufficiently to be granted a commission in the Invalid Service, which took him to the Bahamas, Landguard Fort, Berwick-upon-Tweed, Alderney and Hull until he retired in 1802. These details of Invalid garrison service are all the more interesting because they are exceptionally rare.

Grant's own memoirs in seven chapters are preceded by introductions setting the scene and are then left to his own words, though the editors have provided generous notes where necessary. His narrative is lively, opinionated, exciting and full of detailed observation and anecdote. Starting with the conquest of Guadeloupe, Grant then went to New York and was part of Amherst's army in the final advance on Montreal in 1760. His account of the descent of the St. Lawrence to that city is thrilling and it is no surprise that there were notable casualties by drowning. Winter quarters in upper New York were followed by a posting into Monckton's expedition to Martinique and then on to Grenada and finally Albemarle's expedition against the Havanna. Before he could recount that fortress' capitulation Grant's life ended, but his and his grandson's efforts to set down his story, though unfinished, were very well worthwhile.

Part 3 of the book contains extensive biographical notes on 45 of the more celebrated or significant characters who appear in Grant's narrative.

The book is lavishly illustrated with portraits and maps throughout, though some of them could, with benefit, have been reproduced at larger size.

This is a notable and strongly recommended addition to the shelves of anyone who studies the Seven Years War.

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HON. EDITOR'S NOTE

First published in 1921, the *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* is one of the premier journals of military history. It is published quarterly, in March, June, September and December. The Hon. Editor welcomes Articles, Communications, and Notes and Documents from members and non-members of the Society on any aspect of the history of the British Army – including the Militia and Volunteer Forces, and armies levied by the Crown in earlier times – or land forces in the countries of the Commonwealth and former British Empire. It is a journal of record, publishing a wide range of papers on subjects as diverse as military campaigns, war and society, uniforms and weapons, and military art and architecture. As part of its mission to promote army historical research, the *JSAHR* also has an ongoing commitment to publishing primary sources. Thus, it includes editions of letters and diaries from all periods, as well as a selection of personal military memoirs and reminiscences. Every issue includes a full colour illustration.

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Material for consideration should be sent to the Honorary Editor, Andrew Cormack, PhD, FSA, FRHistS, 36 Ebbisham Road, Worcester Park, Surrey KT4 8NE. E-mail: andrew.e.cormack@btconnect.com



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PEER REVIEW IN THE JOURNAL OF THE SOCIETY FOR ARMY HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* has published groundbreaking scholarly articles on army history for more than ninety years. In the last twenty years it has continued to provide a venue for publication by its non-academic members, many of whom are engaged in focused historical research, but it has also constituted a forum to academics at various grades for whom research and publication constitutes an important part of their professional development.

Although the quality and accuracy of everything that the Society publishes is of the greatest importance and standards are maintained at a very high level, it is nevertheless appreciated that different types of material require different treatment. For some years now the pieces in the Journal have been divided into **Communications** and **Articles**.

Articles are substantial scholarly studies that are subject to anonymous peer review by one or more specialists in the field to ensure academic quality. Peer reviewers are chosen from established academics internationally, and are authorities on the particular subjects of articles. Points arising from this process will be passed to the author for comment, counter argument, clarification or expansion and the results of that process will be incorporated into the article before publication. Articles are subject to initial editorial review and may be referred back to authors for development of some points; once accepted for peer review they are not formally accepted for publication until the peer review process has been completed.

Communications are shorter pieces that, by their focused nature, do not lend themselves to peer review. They include studies of equipment, weaponry, uniform or medals, as well as diaries or memoirs and regimental or campaign history. While not peer reviewed, they are subject to a rigorous editorial process to ensure quality, accuracy and clarity of expression. The Honorary Editor may take advice from any other specialist in the field who will be able to assist in the 'quality control' of this type of material. Pieces are returned to the authors to address any matters raised and are only published subject to satisfactory adjustment in the light of the comments received.



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Members of the Society will be aware that there is usually discussion at the Annual General Meeting regarding the Society's finances and that this is sometimes in relation to proposed increases in subscriptions. Council naturally keeps a tight rein on subscriptions and increases are rare. Nevertheless the Society's expenditure is substantial and our reserves are not extensive.

Members are therefore encouraged to consider whether they would like to make provision for a legacy to come to the Society after their deaths. The Society is an educational charity (Registered Charity No. 247844) and will be well able to make good use of any increases in funds which may derive from such generosity. Having enjoyed the *Journal* and the Society's other activities, it is hoped that members will wish to ensure that this work can continue to introduce new, enquiring minds to the fascinating history of the British Army and its associated forces.

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Thank you in advance for your generosity.



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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS TO THE JOURNAL

Michelle Arentsen completed her B.A. Honours in History at the University of Manitoba in 2016. She is currently enrolled in the M.A. History program at Trent University. Her thesis explores the lives of the juvenile delinquents in London in the 18th-century and seeks to understand the experiences of young adolescents in English reformatory institutions. She has received several awards, including the University of Manitoba Undergraduate Research Award – awarded under the mentorship of Dr. Greg Smith, who also studies English juvenile delinquents. She was offered a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada grant for her M.A. studies and the Alan Wilson Memorial Graduate Entrance Scholarship at Trent University.

The Venerable Canon Clive Cohen worked for the Midland Bank for 12 years, and is an Associate of the Chartered Institute of Bankers. He then trained for ordination at Salisbury and Wells Theological College, and served in parishes in Surrey and Wiltshire before moving to Cornwall to be Archdeacon of Bodmin. Retiring, as Archdeacon Emeritus, in 2011, he then served as a Chapter Canon of Exeter Cathedral until 2017, when he was made Canon Emeritus. He was also Acting Archdeacon of Totnes, 2014-15. He is married with 4 children and 7 grandchildren.

Jennine Hurl-Eamon is a Professor of History at Trent University, Canada. She is the author of three books: *Gender and Petty Violence in London, 1680-1720*; *Women's Roles in Eighteenth-Century Europe*; and *Marriage and the British Army in the Long Eighteenth Century: The Girl I Left Behind Me*. The latter was published by Oxford University Press in 2014. She has also written more than a dozen articles in academic journals and edited collections and presented her research at many international conferences. She is the recipient of several Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada fellowships and was a Visiting Fellow of Clare Hall College at the University of Cambridge in 2011. She is currently working on a book on childhood and war in the period from 1756 to 1815.

David Knight is a retired secondary school teacher whose first foray into military research was an M.Phil. in Classics and Ancient History specialising in the *auxilia* of the Roman Army. Afterwards, he collaborated with the late R.J. Smith to focus on the Yeomanry Cavalry. Together they produced three regimental histories, several articles and two Special Numbers for the Military Historical Society and four volumes on yeomanry uniforms. More recently, he has written a book on yeomanry undress uniforms, another MHS Special Number on the Georgian yeomanry and is currently working on a history of the East Lothian Yeomanry.

Arthur MacGregor graduated in European Prehistory from Edinburgh and worked as a researcher and deputy director at York Archaeological Trust before spending most of his career as a curator at the Ashmolean Museum. His D.Litt. (Durham) encompassed archaeology, anthropo-zoology, and the history of collecting. He is a Fellow (sometime Director) of the Society of Antiquaries, a founding-editor of the *Journal of the History of Collections* and co-general editor of the *Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo* (Royal Collection). He has edited and contributed to a number of multi-author volumes, while his own books include *Bone, Antler Ivory and Horn* (1985), *Curiosity and Enlightenment* (2007), *Animal Encounters* (2012), and *Company Curiosities. Nature, Culture and the East India Company* (2018).

Jacqueline Reiter is a freelance historian. She received her PhD in 2006 from the University of Cambridge on the subject of national defence in British political debate during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. Her first book, *The Late Lord: the life of John Pitt, 2nd Earl of Chatham*, was published by Pen & Sword in 2017.



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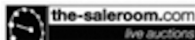
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