The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations of the 1890s

Submitted in requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy by

Glenn Michael Anthony Fisher

School of English, Communication and Philosophy

Cardiff University

June 2020

Contents

Illustrations

Chapter 1

Chapter 3

Chapter 4

Chapter 5

Chapter 6

Abstract

The 1890s saw the establishment of Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations in some cities and towns across the British Isles. They came into existence because of the convergence of popular agitation, a sympathetic local and national press and growing sense of national shame, regarding the treatment of these veterans. At the same time, the public regard for soldiers showed a contradictory ambivalence that had waxed and waned since the creation of a regular standing Army in the seventeenth century. The Crimean War saw the elevation of the enlisted common soldier to the 'noble hero' suffering for Queen and Country. This thesis is the first to describe, explore and explain how The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol, came into being and became a nationally recognized exemplar of good practice. The administration of private philanthropy, targeted to 'deserving' poor veterans, is contextualised within the debates about the obligations of the State towards its former servicemen. The immediate local imperatives of the relief of impending destitution took precedence over the radical, national objectives for all veterans. The discovery, in Blaise Castle Museum, of the most complete archive of a Veterans Association, has enabled a detailed analysis of the organisation and its membership and practices. Across three centuries the veteran was a useful, malleable abstraction to be shaped and exploited by political, economic, social and cultural trends and pressures. The two World Wars of the twentieth century, with mass conscription and 'total war', deviated from this trend. The return to a small, professional Army in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, fighting controversial wars abroad, has seen a return to the old ambivalences regarding soldiers and veterans. The emergence of 'The Military Covenant' has re-opened debates about moral and political obligations between Government, people and its armed forces.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the help and support of the staff of Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, in particular Senior Collections Curator Sue Giles at Queen's Road and Catherine Littlejohn, Senior Curator at Blaise Castle.

I would also like to thank my supervisor Professor Holly Furneaux. Her patience and tact, as well as her knowledge and guidance, have been inspirational.

I acknowledge the encouragement and support of my family – Josephine, William and James. William, in particular, for his invaluable IT support.

Abbreviations

BRO – Bristol Records Office

CIMVAB – Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol

GRO – The General Register Office

NRS – National Records of Scotland

RA – Royal Archives

TNA – The National Archives

Introduction

This thesis is about the Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations established in parts of the British Isles in the 1890s.[1] It explains the reasons for and the variety of ways in which the veterans of these campaigns were significant in late Victorian society. The thesis shows how the foundation, operation and cessation of these veterans associations fit into the history of shifting relationships and obligations between the State, the public, the Army and the veteran over three centuries, and focuses on the 1850s and 1890s. These decades are significant because the common soldier/veteran was idealized as a result of different political and cultural influences which will be explored later.

The discovery of the archive of the Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol (CIMVAB) has enabled analysis. The scope and depth of the records cover the establishment of the CIMVAB in 1892 through to its extinction in 1920. For the first time, it is possible to write an analytical account of the CIMVAB and how and why it functioned as a private charity that specifically cared for and supported pre–1860 campaign veterans. It enables a detailed examination of a local organisation set against the context of national, social and political trends and developments in public tastes, including other self-help groups. From a wider perspective the work will make a contribution to a number of key debates in nineteenth-century studies regarding the treatment of the poor, the politics of philanthropy, the rising power of the middle-class, new attitudes to the Army and the working class and the rise of popular imperialism. These were the 'shifts in perceptions of class' and 'the radically revised conceptions of military heroism', identified by Stefanie Markovits in her analysis of Lady Butler's Crimean War painting of *The Roll Call* in 1874.[2] The 1870s are identified by John MacKenzie, as a period of positive transformation in public regard for the Army.[3] This development continued into the last quarter of the nineteenth century and beyond and extended to veterans.

The archive comprises membership forms, financial records, journals, statistical material, year books, telegrams, newspaper cuttings, letter files, inventories, committee and minute books, photographs and private letters. From this rich assemblage, the underlying ethos, values and administration of the private charity emerges. Uniquely, it fills a gap in existing and scarce scholarship related to Victorian veterans associations. The CIMVAB achieved national recognition

1 Throughout this thesis I have used the term 'Indian Mutiny'. It was used in the title of the organisation, the medal the participants received and in the contemporary documents in the archive. My use of it in no way suggests an endorsement of, or support for, imperialism. In the twenty-first century there is debate regarding its use as an appropriate description of the conflict. See Harold E. Raugh, 'The Battle of the Books: An Indian Mutiny Historiography', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* 380 (2016), 294–313.

2 Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 214–15.

3 John M. MacKenzie, *Popular Imperialism and The Military, 1850-1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,1992), p. 2.

and approval as an exemplar of a well-organised and effective private charity dedicated to the welfare of a neglected community. Their 1912 commemorative publication sheds light on how the CIMVAB wanted to be seen after twenty years of dedicated service. Private philanthropy, based on patriotic loyalty and imperialism, contrasted with left-wing, anti-establishment altruism, that ran a parallel course in the 1890s. Though presented as 'non-political' the CIMVAB was politically and religiously conservative. This is confirmed by the majority of the archival material. Conversely a single surviving application form from an anti-establishment Irish veteran, shows the presentation of an applicant with very different political views to those prevalent in the Association. Though described by the Army as an individual who exhibited 'disgraceful' behaviour and made traitorous utterances against Queen Victoria, the CIMVAB helped him achieve a small pension.

Photographs and paintings in the collection reinforce and emphasise the loyal, steadfast service, humanity and individuality of the membership and chime with the growing sense of public pride and gratitude for veterans part in, and contribution to, the popular imperial narrative. Collectively the archive focuses on a group of individuals connected by shared experience and heroically idealised in late nineteenth-century literary culture and popular entertainment.

The 165 application forms constitute a unique collection of records that shed light on the members attitudes, experiences and assumptions regarding the type of expected behaviours deemed essential for public support. They inform my wider exploration of the politics of charity and the 'Establishment' narrative as the prevailing ethos behind veterans organisations.

The members' occupations ranged from a speculative builder to a marine-store gatherer, who often went hungry. The forms and their contents reveal the different origins of the veterans and their biographies. The common denominator throughout, is the willingness to strive for the objective of self-help independence, in some cases against overwhelming odds, and only to seek parish relief as a last resort. Further analysis reveals surprising results. Most of the membership were not poor but used their status as veterans to help those who were. The importance of 'respectability' in relation to valued middle-class approval is a recurring theme found throughout much of the documentation. In the Minute Book, the unacceptable practice of a veteran begging or importuning passers-by, is recorded, as is the resultant expulsion of the offender from the CIMVAB. The individual was seen as bringing the organisation into disrepute. The books also record the details of how the looming poverty of some veterans was alleviated by the direction of precise and targeted available CIMVAB funds.

Telegrams of goodwill from royalty and aristocracy, a long list of patrons published in the various year-books, reinforce the approval of those at the top of the established civic and social order, for the conservative private philanthropy of the organisation.

This thesis is concerned with English, and later British, veterans in general and those who fought in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny in particular. Like his predecessors, the Victorian veteran did not enjoy an easy, straightforward relationship with civilians. Kate McLoughlin, referring to the Victorian public, acknowledges the unevenness and contradictory nature of its regard as it 'loved, feared, sighed over, smiled at, defended and ignored its former soldiers'. She prefaces this observation by referring to the eighteenth century public who exhibited the same ambivalence.[4]

The status of the veteran evolved into a malleable, exploitable abstraction that was shaped, influenced and deployed by powerful interest groups in the unfolding conflict between existing and emerging ruling elites. These parties were part of the developing tensions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that repositioned political power at home. Within this power struggle, the relationship between the population, its army and its veterans followed a twisted, undulating course that eventually saw the emergence of modern political parties.

The growing economic power of the entrepreneurial middle-class was not matched by corresponding political representation. Matthew Lalumia cites the developing power struggle between the old order of landed privilege and influence and middle-class political aspirations.[5] In this struggle the common soldier and veteran became useful pawns. Sympathetic middle-class interest in the common soldier pre-dated the war with Russia. Responsibility for the suffering of soldiers in the war was presented as the result of incompetent aristocratic leadership. This idea was exploited and extended to challenge their political supremacy and reinforce pressure for reform. Change to the franchise though, excluded the common soldier and the common man until 1918, when the property qualification was removed as a precondition for the right to vote.

Regard for the Army was also transformed from the eighteenth-century opprobrium directed at what was perceived as a necessary evil, to the popular endorsement of national armies in the twentieth century. Though notionally apolitical, the Army, the veteran and the veterans associations were conservative in every respect. Qualities of obedience, loyalty, discipline, sobriety and reliability were the difficult parameters imposed on serving soldiers but were to become the essential prerequisites behind public support for the veteran. The late-eighteenth century stereotypical veteran, either a comic or tragic or unsettling persona, was transformed from a nuanced character in later nineteenth-century literature. He became the steadfast, loyal defender of 'free born Englishmen'. With the rise of imperialism in the last decades of the nineteenth century

4 Kate McLoughlin, *Veteran Poetics: British Literature in the Age of Mass Warfare, 1790–2015* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), p. 256.
5 Matthew Lalumia, *Realism and Politics in Victorian Art of the Crimean War* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984), pp. 48–49.

the veteran was popularly hailed as a major contributor to Britain's military and naval strength and global supremacy.

From the English Civil War and the Restoration, a 'standing army' emerged at the end of the seventeenth century. In this pre-industrial society the military were loathed and feared in equal measure. The complex negotiation of soldier and civilian relations and identities, has developed ever since.[6] From the outset, the retention of a permanent force of regular soldiers was mired in political and religious controversy and public odium. John Childs describes a 'confusing duality in the public reaction to the army' and that it was 'viewed with the highest suspicion from all quarters'.[7] The Army, at that time, was a pawn in the Restoration power struggle between Crown and Parliament. The success of the latter established the principle of the Army as 'a servant of civil power and not its dictator'.[8] The ordinary people in the pre-industrial English population, loathed the Army because of its poor behaviour. It attracted a proportion of rogues, thieves and drunkards and their licentiousness made them the bane of peaceful communities. From these unpromising beginnings emerges the professional Army and the veteran, who was tainted by association.
The regular Army's participation in the foreign wars in the early- and mid-eighteenth century, largely kept them out of contact with a changing society at home. The comic old soldier emerged as a figure of fun in literature and art. In the first half of the eighteenth century the Chelsea out-pensioners were seen as 'Meritorious Objects who received the Royal Bounty'. Andrew Cormack's study of Chelsea out-pensioners in the period 1682 to 1755, observes that the system created for the administration of pensions was innovative, as it tried to deliver a national welfare scheme at a time when poor relief was a local responsibility. He also points out that the status of some discharged soldiers returning to civilian life and despite receiving a pension, was that of a pauper. Veterans were set apart from other people by their experiences, and for some, their chronic disabilities and their receipt of government money not available to others.[9] McLoughlin refers to the numbers of 'out-pensioners' that steadily rose throughout the eighteenth century so that the war veteran was 'a well-established figure in national life' towards the close of the century.[10]

In the early- and mid-eighteenth century wars against the French, the British Army was enlarged and reduced according to the progress and demands of the various conflicts. H.C.B. Rogers refers to the ploy adopted by the Government of introducing short periods of enlistment when raising the Army to a war establishment. The limited period, rather than life service, attracted

6 Before the seventeenth century there was no permanent regular army of professional soldiers but 'trained bands' and locally raised militia forces.
7 John Childs, *The Army of Charles II* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976), p. 214.
8 Ibid., p. 232.
9 Andrew Cormack, *'These Meritorious Objects of the Royal Bounty': The Chelsea Out-Pensioners in the Early Eighteenth Century* (London: Andrew Cormack, 2017), pp. 6–7.
10 McLoughlin, p. 249.

recruits and also made it easier for the Army to be reduced at the end of a war.[11] This also absolved the State from large scale pension obligations based on length of service. Saul David cites the size of the Army in 1760 as 203,000 soldiers including German mercenaries. With peace the number was reduced to an establishment of 45,000 men by 1764. This figure was maintained right up to the War of American Independence in 1775.[12] The reduction points to another constant that runs throughout the narrative of veterans' experiences. The Army was always short of trained men. In wartime, frenzied recruiting would augment the strength in order to match commitment, but with peace, thousands would be discharged 'on reduction'.

The last thirty years of the eighteenth century saw radical transformations at home and abroad and these directly impinged on, and accelerated, changing relationships and attitudes towards, and between soldiers, veterans and the public.

The Army's Poor Raw Material and 'Free-Born Englishmen'

At home, the industrial and agrarian revolutions presaged the mass production of materials and these included the manufacture of weapons of war. The population explosion and rural depopulation, led to a vast increase in the urban poor. It was from this growing underclass that the army found most of its manpower. Disenfranchised, unskilled and illiterate, they became the raw material to be transformed into the redcoats of the British Army. They continued to be viewed with hostility and suspicion by the ruling elites. If called upon 'in aid of civil power', they could be a blunt instrument turned on their own kind, as in the Gordon Riots of 1780. Radicals viewed the Army as a tool in the hands of their reactionary masters and a bulwark against any challenge to their monopoly of lethal power.

Abroad, the American and French Revolutions created new political thinking which began conceptually to alter the relationship between the individual and the State and this extended to the Army and the public at home. The political threat posed by Jacobin and later Napoleonic France, influenced and altered the presentation of veterans in an increasingly militarised British society. The comic stereotype evolved into a more serious persona, demanding recognition and respect for sacrifices and suffering on behalf of the nation. Public exposure to, and participation in, military organisations became fashionable and led to a more sympathetic regard for existing and old

11 Col. H. C. B. Rogers, *The British Army of the Eighteenth Century* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1977), p. 61.
12 Saul David, *All the King's Men: The British Soldier from Restoration to Waterloo* (London: Penguin Viking, 2012), pp. 193–205.

soldiers. The resurrection of this regard, at the end of the nineteenth century, is evident in the archive material of the CIMVAB, though its revival came from a different, imperialist impetus. The poor were part of the rapidly growing urbanisation of British society that accompanied industrialisation driven by *Laisser-Faire* economics. It was not the government's business to interfere in the progress and activity of commerce and trade. To do so would be prejudicial to the virtues of self-reliance and industry. Cecil Woodham-Smith describes the British government's faith in *Laisser-Faire* as 'fanatical' in the 1840s, when faced with the humanitarian catastrophe of the Irish potato famine. The government saw intervention as 'meddling' and 'interference' with the operation of the 'natural causes' of trade and commerce. She adds an observation that has a resonance with the destitute veterans 1890s. Irish famine victims had to give up every possession before they could apply for relief.[13] In the 1890s a veteran had to be completely destitute before he could be considered eligible for a special campaign pension.

The poor were excluded from political life, owned no property and lived lives that were frequently nasty, brutish and short. Their numbers and their leadership though, gave them a latent potency. After the French Revolution, this realisation made the ruling elites increasingly nervous. Encouraged by seditious radicals and armed with ideas from *Rights of Man,* the politicized poor could become a revolutionary mob.[14] E. P. Thompson observed: 'The sensibilities of the Victorian middle-class were nurtured in the 1790s by frightened gentry who had seen miners, potters and cutlers reading *Rights of Man* and its foster parents were William Wilberforce and Hannah More'.[15] These reformers, and others, provided a moral counter-current against the consequences of prevailing *Laisser-Faire* economics that had countenanced widespread ignorance, squalor and deprivation. They provided a compassionate impetus that developed during the nineteenth century. Martin Gorsky suggests that, in Bristol, voluntary charitable societies were presented as countervailing forces of compassion and stability in contrast to the chaos in revolutionary / Napoleonic France. Charity was then equated with national identity and unity. The Prudent Man's Friendly Society declared that begging was 'alien to the spirit of the English'. The lower classes were now idealised as 'acceptable plebeian patriots'.[16] In this thesis this shift in class attitudes is discussed in chapter 1 with the pre-Crimean elevation of the common soldier and chapters four and five with the status of the 'respectable' and idealized veteran-hero.

---

13 Cecil Woodham-Smith, *The Great Hunger Ireland, 1845-9* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1964), pp. 410–1.
14 Some mobs were more acceptable than others. Those whose violent activities were directed against perceived enemies were allowed a certain liberty of action. Uglow cites 'Church and King' Mobs who rioted for three days in Manchester attacking Non-conformist and reformist property. See Jenny Uglow, *In These Times: Living in Britain Through Napoleon's Wars, 1793-1815* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014), p. 21.
15 E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1982), p. 61.
16 Martin Gorsky, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 201.

'The Terror' and guillotine in Paris after 1789 and the war that followed, galvanised the British response. Revolutionary barbarism was presented as a threat to 'Free-born Englishmen'. Navy and Army budgets were increased in order to prosecute the war. The former found most of its men via the Press Gang, the latter by recruiting parties and the Militia ballot. Through music, drink, spectacle and swagger they sought their prey and, as Jenny Uglow observes, 'The very poor, or the desperate, were first to be tempted'.[17] Literate others, further up the social ladder, enlisted in some cases, as an escape from the drudgery of their peacetime occupations. These patterns were replicated throughout the nineteenth century and are explored in chapter 1.

External threat from, as it was represented in Britain, a monstrous foreign regime, moved the status of the military to centre stage. The scale of national effort necessary to defeat the French was unprecedented. Caroline Nielsen states that, statistically, one in ten of the male population under 45 years of age, was engaged in some form of military service at home or abroad. She observes that the human cost was immense and fell mostly on the poor.[18]

The government initiated a programme of barrack building to accommodate the expanding numbers of soldiers. The old billeting system where soldiers were put up in inns and pubs was overwhelmed and a remedy was an urgent imperative.[19] Reactions, by some, to this development suggest a cordial relationship between the Army and the public. Uglow cites the radical John Thelwall, who argued that the barrack building programme was:

> [...] an alarming attempt to separate the soldiery from the mass of fellow citizens of whom they are a part; to whom they are allied; and whom it is their duty to protect in the full enjoyment of their liberty and happiness, and not to be made the instruments of their oppression and ruin.[20]

For some, the soldier was now a valued 'fellow citizen' and physically removing him from society could mean his easier use as an instrument of repression against a restive populace. There is an irony within this fear. The political reaction of the State was the diametric opposite of the *Laissez Faire* that underpinned the economic system of the period. Draconian laws were enacted against treason, combination, assembly and sedition and were part of Government repression to thwart any possibility of infectious revolutionary momentum. Habeus Corpus was suspended by Acts of Parliament in 1794 and two years after the war in 1817. A recurrent nightmare for the ruling elites was the radicalised soldier or veteran. In the political tensions after the Napoleonic Wars, Samuel Fielding, under oath to the Reverend Charles Ethelston, stated that he had attended a Hampden Club

17 Uglow, p. 31.
18 Caroline Nielsen, 'Continuing to Serve: Representations of the Elderly Veteran Soldier in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Men After War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 18–35 (p. 21).
19 James Douet, *British Barracks, 1600-1914* (Norwich: The Stationary Office, 1998), pp. 67–93.
20 Uglow, p. 35. There was another side to this desire to keep soldiers billeted in inns and pubs. They were places of political debate and if soldiers could be radicalised therein they could be useful to the radical agenda.

meeting on 3 January 1817 at Hayley Bridge near Manchester and had witnessed 'old disbanded soldiers, who were now supporting the aims of the Hampden Club by training raw recruits in military discipline'.[21]

Radicals who wished to expand the franchise were equated with the worst of the French revolutionaries. The regular Army was part of the array of enforcement options at the disposal of the ruling elite. Concentrating soldiers in barracks also removed them from possible persuasive Jacobin influences from radicals in cities and towns. The nervousness of local politicians combined with their access to military force, led to the infamous 'Peterloo massacre' in 1819. A combination of regular and local forces were ordered to attack a crowd who had assembled to listen to advocates of parliamentary reform.

The class from which the regular Army found most of its manpower in the 1790s and beyond were largely illiterate and therefore voiceless. As E. P. Thompson observed: 'The inarticulate, by definition, leave few records of their thoughts'.[22] As well as this, they were politically powerless, with a narrow franchise that excluded them from any participation in national or local political life and this extended to the soldiers. Some of the material from the Blaise archive, in the form of letters and application forms, makes possible, for the first time, a coherent expression from an otherwise 'unvoiced' late nineteenth century community. They reveal, in the main, a steadfast, uncritical loyalty to Queen and Country and a conservatism that ran counter to the aspirations of radicals at the beginning of the century. The material also shows a thematic parallel with the popularity of an idealised military who were defenders of the nation and later 'heroes' who were defenders of the empire.

With the pre-Trafalgar threat of invasion, men in uniform became fashionable. Volunteers, Yeomanry and Fencibles were amateur supplementary reserve forces organised for local home defence. Within this military array there was a hierarchy. Richard Holmes observed that serving in the militia in the first years of the war with France, excluded service abroad and made it an attractive alternative to the regular army. A change in the law made it possible to recruit directly from the militia after 1805.[23] The literate could be tempted by recruiting posters that promised adventure and glory in fashionable cavalry regiments. Uglow refers to these years as a time when 'volunteering was a game for the elite. Wealthy merchants, manufacturers and professionals as well as peers and gentry began to raise troops'.[24] Entrepreneurs also made fortunes from Government contracts to clothe, arm and supply naval and land forces at home and abroad. Like any fashion the

21 Jacqueline Riding, *Peterloo* (London: Apollo Books, 2018), p. 81.
22 Thompson, p. 59.
23 Richard Holmes, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001), p. 136.
24 Uglow, p. 37.

popularity of the military was transitory and temporary. It set a pattern however, that was repeated throughout the nineteenth century. This was a fact realised by successive generations of soldiers. A Corporal in the 15th Hussars, the regiment involved in the Peterloo Massacre recalled:

> No beings on earth are subjected like the military to the whims and caprices of their countrymen. On ordinary occasions they are looked upon as little better than wastrils[sic], useless and a burthen to the nation; their room more acceptable than their company….in cases of emergency and dread of civil outrages, they are petted from the soles of their feet upwards; and all ideas of the "invasion of ancient privileges" vanish.[25]

British victory at Trafalgar changed the political and strategic climate as the threat of invasion evaporated. The feeling of an armed nation united to defend its liberties remained. Trafalgar left the Reserve Army to parade safely at home, whilst the Regular Army fought overseas. The defended liberties in question though, were exclusive to the ruling elites. Radicals saw the Army as an agent of repression. In a meeting in 1819 to call for the repeal of the Corn Laws, the radical Henry Hunt observed to the crowd that they were 'Starvation' Laws, 'passed at the point of the bayonet by the late hard-hearted parliament'.[26]

The Politics of Charitable Provision

The long established administration of local charity that had served English rural society in the eighteenth century was found to be inadequate when faced with the unprecedented numbers of urban poor in the early years of the nineteenth century. There was no expectation that the State should intervene on a national level for their relief. Private philanthropy adapted to the new pressures and as David Owen observed: '...the nineteenth century saw the charitable organisation come to full, indeed almost rankly luxuriant, bloom….Gradually the view spread first among reformers and then more generally, that an ignorant, illiterate working-class was incompatible with the well-being of the nation'.[27]

The speed of population growth in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries overwhelmed the parochially based poor law, that had its origins in the pre-industrial sixteenth century. The poor continued to be separated into 'deserving' and 'undeserving' categories. A constant theme throughout the century was the widespread poverty among unpensioned veterans. Their plight was portrayed in art and literature and drama and they were used as an accusatory motif directed at official indifference and 'red tapeism'. The records kept by Walter Paul confirm the official pension rejections based on regulatory preconditions, but also reveal his diligent persistence

25 'A Chelsea Pensioner', *Jottings From My Sabretache* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), pp. 106–131 (pp. 127–128). The author of this volume was William Dawes who retired as a Troop Sergeant-Major in 1828.
26 Riding, p. 146.
27 David Owen, *English Philanthropy, 1660-1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 92–93.

on the veterans behalf. The newly created Union Workhouses became refuges of last resort and some veterans were among their inmate population.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was an array of self-help organisations in Bristol that reflected the *zeitgeist* of the time. However, on the radical left, there was a parallel development that found its expression in 'altruism'. Thomas Dixon refers to 'the great moral awakening in later Victorian Britain of which the espousal of 'Altruism'...was just one symptom'.[28] The radical tenets of this form of charity called for a new relationship between the state and the individual. In every respect this new form of philanthropy ran counter to CIMVAB's 'Establishment' ethos save for the alleviation of poverty.

Martin Gorsky's work on charity and society in nineteenth-century Bristol, up to 1870, makes no mention of veterans and to some extent my thesis extends the scope of existing scholarship to the end of the century and beyond. Dixon's work on altruism concentrates on the left wing radical philosophy behind the movement, but does not include reference to the political and religious conservatism behind veterans associations. Further research might reveal how many left-wing veterans, from pre-1860 campaigns, were members of self-help organisations who preferred altruism and collectivism to the mainstream philanthropy of the CIMVAB.

Within the working class there was a gradated hierarchy with literate and skilled artisans and craftsmen at the top and unskilled labourers at the other end.[29] Below them was the mass of the unemployed poor. In later chapters the archive material from Blaise Castle provides a detailed record of the organisation and workings of a private philanthropical association in Bristol. Essentially Victorian in character, it was part of a spectrum of self-help organisations and trade unions in Bristol in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The recipients of their charity were their members. The press reportage of parades and demonstrations in Bristol in the 1890s showed a civic pride in their endeavours. The 'monster procession' on Whit Sunday in May 1896 was headed by the Mayor in his carriage.[30] Though the goals of the parading organisations may have been the same – that of protecting and supporting their membership, their political and cultural foundations were divergent.

Radical Objectives, Conservative Philanthropy and Popular Imperialism

28 Thomas Dixon, *The Invention of Altruism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 230.
29 This class of worker described as 'The Labour Aristocracy' is discussed at length by E. J. Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld Goldbacks, 1968), pp. 272–303.
30 'Oddfellows A.M.C.', *Bristol Mercury*, 25 May 1896, p. 6. The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association were in the procession and were centred around a captured Russian field-piece on a cart. Also in the procession were The Foresters, The Oddfellows, The Druids, The Buffaloes, The Shepherds and The Hearts of Oak.

The agitation on behalf of Crimea and Indian Mutiny veterans at the beginning of the 1890s promoted the radical objective of a shilling per day, paid by the state for every such veteran. This objective was never realised. Instead, the agitation led to Crimea and Indian Mutiny Associations established along the lines of conservative private philanthropy. The idea that the state should interfere in the work of private charity was viewed as undesirable and rejected. The shilling per day remained on paper as a remnant of the original goals of the CIMVAB, but was overshadowed by other, more immediate, imperatives regarding veterans' welfare. The noble common soldier of the 1850s resurfaced as the valiant old soldier, safe, loyal and respectable, but let down by an ungrateful, complacent public. This accusatory dynamic was easily exploited to generate funds in order to 'rescue' idealised veterans from poverty and destitution. The 1912 commemorative publication, the journal and year-books of the CIMVAB reflect the focus on an established patriotic narrative. Significant by their absence are any references to the work of Robert Pedley of Leeds and the Bristol radical Robert Gray Tovey. Despite the fact that Pedley had addressed the Bristol veterans on his progress at the beginning of the 1890s and Tovey had been a committee members at the outset of the association's establishment, their radicalism appears to have excluded them from mention.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century also saw the growing popularity of imperialism and veterans of the pre-1860 campaigns became part of the presentation reinforcing this agenda. The public mood became increasingly militarised and this extended to Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. In popular entertainment and commemorative parades they enjoyed adulation from a public whose ambivalence towards the military was beginning to tilt to the positive. By the end of the 1890s, on the eve of the Second South African War, Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans were part of an array of imperialist motifs endorsing the 'rightness' of the British Empire.

There were uncomfortable parallels between the military experiences of the Crimean War and those of the 2nd South African War. Veterans from both wars combined in acts of remembrance and were part of a developing narrative that suggested the trans-generational inheritance of martial qualities. The common soldier of the 2nd South African War was idealised in the same fashion as that of the Crimean War. 'The Absent Minded Beggar' presented in literature and art, reassured the jingoistic public that the Empire was in safe hands. The 'Junior Veterans' established for those who had participated in post-1860 campaigns, still faced the uncertainties and poverty familiar to the mid-century veterans. Veterans still inhabited the Union Workhouses, though the advancing age of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans, meant that they were a rapidly decreasing population. It was their continuing residence in such places that was behind Lord Roberts's 'Veterans Relief Fund' set up in 1908. This time public gratitude for veterans became the central thrust behind the campaign. The following year Old Age Pensions were introduced by the Liberal Government. They were by no

means universal and there were restrictions and conditions that echoed the disqualifications that precluded many veterans from receiving military pensions. The principle, however, was established that the State would intervene to assist the deserving poor, providing they were respectable. Those on the right deplored this as costly and bureaucratic government interference in the private lives of citizens.

When the Great War broke out in August 1914, the remaining handful of CIMVAB were deployed in the campaign to encourage enlistment. This time 'duty' was their clarion call. As discussed in detail in chapter 6, they deployed a banner that declared 'We have done our duty. Come and do yours'. This was a continuation of the trans-generational military theme. Some veterans sons had participated in the 2nd South African War and now men of fighting age were needed for the war against Germany. The introduction of conscription in early 1916 showed the failure of the recruitment campaigns of 1914–15. The vast size of British and Imperial armed forces presented unique problems for the post-war governments. From a traumatised and polarised society emerged The British Legion to look after veterans affairs and interests. But just as the CIMVAB had represented the 'Establishment' in their underlying political and Anglican tenets, the British Legion was seen, by some on the left, to do the same.

An Overview of Existing Critical Work on Veterans

This thesis builds upon a small but growing field of veteran studies spanning history, literary and cultural representation. Kate McLoughlin explores their place in British literature from 1790 to the present in her book *Veteran Poetics*. I use McLoughlin's work to situate my investigation of shifting perceptions of veterans over time, which had a clear impact on the ways in which CIMVAB members were treated and on how they chose to present themselves.

The appendix at the end of McLoughlin's work, entitled 'The Veteran in National Life and Culture', is a *tour de force* of the tortuous course of the veteran across three centuries, buffeted by politics and economics and changing artistic representations. The broad brushstrokes of this part of her work provide a backdrop for the detailed focus of my thesis. The status of the veteran was malleable and his representation in art and literature was fashioned by the prevailing political, economic and cultural *zeitgeist*. McLoughlin analyses the interaction between the veteran and the society from which he comes, considering the extent to which unique experiences of combat isolated him from the civilian world. She explores the variety of reactions to veterancy across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the 'doublethink delinquent/hero perception' of veterans which I refer to in chapter 5. McLoughlin also refers to the asymmetry of charitable provision for

veterans in the nineteenth century describing the support organisations as 'variously competent'.[31] My thesis provides a detailed account of an exemplar of this area of private philanthropy and the less successful progress of the Cardiff veterans.

Caroline Nielsen's 2013 chapter 'Continuing to Serve: Representations of the Elderly Veteran Soldier in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries' examines the beginnings of the troubled relationships between veterans who have been maimed in service and their entitlement to pensions. She draws a distinction between the 'returning soldier' and the veteran. Her 2014 thesis *The Chelsea Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* looks at out-pensioners and chronologically follows on from the work of Andrew Cormack's 2017 book *These Meritorious Objects of the Royal Bounty: The Chelsea Out-Pensioners in the Early Eighteenth Century.* Both examine the prevailing culture and administration relevant to old soldiers. My thesis extends this narrative into the mid and late nineteenth century and shows that recurring public ambivalence was further nuanced by the prevailing political undercurrents attendant before, during and after the Crimean War. Nielsen also refers to the enlistment of the veteran's children as an indication of the continuing dedication to their country's cause. I show, through the evidence in the archive, that this was as true at the end of the nineteenth century as it was at the beginning.

The public suspicion of fraudulent beggars posing as crippled veterans is also covered by Nielsen. These 'mawnds' or 'moans' made a dishonest living by exploiting public sympathy during and after the Napoleonic Wars. My thesis shows that this type of deception continued throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth and that begging, even by genuine veterans, was seen as unacceptable and reprehensible. Mendicancy, I maintain, affronted the idealized public image of the contented, respectable, reintegrated old soldier, even though, in some cases, the need was genuine.

Nielsen observes that before the end of the Napoleonic Wars the idealized veteran had transformed public perceptions of soldiers. The veteran soldier was reluctant, but able, to relate his military experiences, had a strong sense of loyal duty to his country and was, via his own sons, a recruiter for the future service for the nation. She states that these positives did not lead to widespread agitation for veterans rights or lead to a 'proto-veterans movement'.[32] By the end of the century, I show that they were, in a changed and changing society, part of a combination of factors and forces that led to the establishment of Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations. Rachel Bates' 2015 study *Curating the Crimea: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict* is concerned with the material legacy of the Crimean War and the ways in which the war impinged on high and

31 McLoughlin, p.260.
32 Nielsen, 'Continuing to Serve', p. 28.

low art and culture when it was over. She explores the Charge of the Light Brigade in detail and the impact it had on British society in words and pictures thereafter. Her 2014 essay entitled 'Negotiating a "Tangled Web of Pride and Shame": A Crimean Case Study' compares the Charge of the Light Brigade in October 1854 with the failed assault on the Redan in 1855. Public reactions and legacies differed significantly. She concludes with an observation that the ordinary soldier became 'a prop to wider causes, in particular to bourgeois attempts to promote a more competent view of soldiering'.[33] These works directly relate to my account of the background developments that led to the establishment of Crimean War Veterans Associations in the 1890s and the crucial role played by the publicised poverty of the 'celebrity veterans' of the Light Brigade.

Royal involvement with the Crimean Army of the East is analysed in Bates' *All Touched My Hand: Queenly Sentiment and Royal Prerogative*, an article published in 2015. She explores the creation of a special relationship with the Army during the Crimean War, that led to the Queen personally and uniquely handing Crimea medals to the parade on Horseguards in May 1855. Queen Victoria was visceral in her regard for, what she perceived to be, *her* soldiers. This regard continued throughout her reign and extended to veterans. For the CIMVAB its apotheosis was their unique invitation to Windsor in 1898.

Simon Parkes' work entitled *Home from the Wars: The Romantic Revenant-Veteran of the 1790s*, focuses on this particular time when perceptions of the returning soldiers and existing veterans changed the stereotype to a more positive persona. There is no doubt that the negative stereotype of the British soldier was giving way to a more sympathetic regard just before the Crimean War. Holly Furneaux investigates and analyses aspects of the Crimean soldiers persona and changing perceptions of him in literature and art. Furneaux refers to *The Times*' observation that he was not the 'savage, murderous, ravaging, and destroying creature' of popular imagination presented as outdated.[34] In *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch and Masculinity in The Crimean War* the compassionate humanity and domesticity of soldiers is explored and concepts of masculinity analysed. This analysis directly links to my account of the growing public sympathy for the Crimean veterans in the 1890s. Late Victorian society looked back with pride at their achievements mingled with shame at their neglect. Lara Kriegel's article of 2016 entitled 'Living Links to History, or, Victorian Veterans in the Twentieth-Century World' looks at the way in which the Crimean soldier's persona was portrayed half a century after the war. The veteran focused thoughts on 'Remembrance' before 1914 and was presented as a personification of noble qualities.

33 Rachel Bates, 'Negotiating a "Tangled Web of Pride and Shame": A Crimean Case Study', *Museum and Society*, 13. 4 (2015), 503–517 (p. 517).
34 Holly Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 7.

Picturesque veterans embodied ‘Duty’ and ‘Want’ and the former was exploited at the outbreak of the Great War to stimulate recruitment. They were living relics from red-coat wars in an age of the machine-gun and barbed-wire.

Collectively these works provide a detailed background narrative to my thesis. I provide a mid and late nineteenth century continuation of their accounts of the variable and varying relationship between the public, the Army and the veteran.

Explanation of the Shape of the Thesis

Chapter 1 sets out the relationship between the soldier and society preceding the Crimean War. As far back as the seventeenth century and the 1635 poem by Francis Quarles, the ‘Soldier slighted’ becomes a recurring motif in these relationships. By the beginning of 1854 perceptions of the common soldier were changing and these were accelerated by the Crimean War. When the war was over, and after the Indian Mutiny, middle-class interest waned. It would reawaken in the 1890s with the goodwill towards the soldier-heroes rekindled to honour the veterans of those conflicts.

In chapter 2, I explain why the poverty of some of the veterans from the famous Light Brigade created a scandal in 1890. I describe the Government’s response to public pressure. Poems by Tennyson written in 1854 and Kipling in 1890 provided the inspiration and impetus for reminding the public and alleviating the veterans distress. The furore over the poor Light Brigade veterans expanded to include all Crimean, and later Indian Mutiny veterans. The objective of the activists was a radical one – for one shilling per day for all Crimean veterans. The work of the Leeds activist Robert Pedley to establish a national organisation for Crimean veterans, led him to address some of them in Bristol. The wider focus of this chapter narrows to the creation and establishment of the CIMVAB. Though Pedley’s objective failed the CIMVAB was founded in 1892. It was a private philanthropic charity and part of the landscape of other self-help organisations in Bristol.

Chapter 3 begins with a review of the Blaise archive’s content and significance. From this treasure trove of material, it has been possible for a detailed examination of the establishment and workings of the organisation to be made. The backgrounds and characters of the two main administrators are explored and their political and civic standing. They were patriotic, imperialist, ‘Establishment’ figures and managed to achieve national recognition for the CIMVAB. The Headquarters in Orchard Street is described and how it reinforces the underlying ethos of the organisation. The members were respectable, dignified old soldiers and sailors who adhered to self-help values and were still loyal patriots for Queen, Country and Empire. Similar organisations in other towns and cities in the country suggest parallel developments at the same time and with same

ideas. The 1905 memorial letter also points to a lead taken by CIMVAB at a national level. Though reported as successful, the objective of one shilling per day for Crimean veterans was never reached.

Chapter 4 focuses on the unique compilation of social narratives found in the application forms and the differentiation between the deserving and undeserving poor. The former showing heroic efforts at self-sufficiency, but some slowly succumbing to abysmal poverty, the latter headed for their just desserts. The forms also show the spectrum of material backgrounds recorded and the predominance of successful veterans. Though this was not widely publicized, they were instrumental in the charitable provision for their less successful comrades. The weighted meaning of 'destitution' is discussed and the clear distance between the veterans reactions to the much loathed 'destitution clause' and actuarial precision demanded by the Chelsea Commissioners before considering 'Special Campaign Pensions'.

Also examined is the gap between the idealized contented old veteran of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century and the real poverty of late nineteenth century veterans. Public realisation of the tarnished concept provided an impetus for better treatment of the aging veterans. Variations in material circumstances determined the type of membership with some on the periphery, resigning or leaving the city. This chapter also looks at significant members who lived outside Bristol and their contributions to the organisation.

The difficulties of establishing a Crimean veterans association in Cardiff are explored. From the outset Cardiff had different objectives and methods, a fragmentation of effort and lack of agreement regarding the title of the veterans organisation. Added to these was the observation from one newspaper that the veterans were seen too little.

Chapter 5 concentrates on the presentation of the military and the veterans in the 1890s. In an increasingly jingoistic decade, the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veteran became a motif encapsulating remembrance, military qualities and loyal service. Though there was public ambivalence regarding serving soldiers, the idealised veteran was positively presented in popular culture. Public sympathy was such that fraudulent 'street-campaigners' could make a living by their pretences. Guards of Honour composed of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans were seen to lend a patriotic cache to grand occasions like Royal visits. CIMVAB's Royal inspection at Windsor was a unique event and further reinforced the convergence of respectability, loyalty, imperialism and Royal endorsement of the Bristol men. The dynamics of remembrance are explored at the end of the chapter.

The political and social climate at the turn of the century and the uncomfortable parallels between the Crimean War and the 2nd South African War are found in chapter 6. The theme of inherited military qualities is revisited, as the sons of CIMVAB members participated in the war.

Lord Roberts Lucknow Dinner in 1907 and the establishment of the 'Junior Veterans' in Bristol allow a comparison of progress with depressing conclusions. The popular idealisation of the British soldier as 'The Absent Minded Beggar' points to a shift away from earlier public ambivalence before and after the Boer War. The change in attitude towards the relationship between the State and the individual is referenced by Lord Roberts's Veterans Relief Fund and, almost at the same time, the beginnings of Old Age Pensions in 1909. The 1912 Commemorative publication reveals how the administrators of the CIMVAB wanted to be perceived and again follows a definite Establishment narrative reinforced by references to their sponsors and supporters.

When the Great War started in 1914 the CIMVAB's surviving members were deployed to assist recruitment, reminding the public of their past devotion to 'duty'. By the end of the Great War there were so few veterans left and national trauma so profound, that the extinction of the CIMVAB was acknowledged in the most modest terms.

The thesis ends with a conclusion that focuses on the twentieth and twenty-first century and the characteristics of modern veterans organisations. The two world wars transformed the relationship between civilian and serviceman and their collective expectations of Government. The end of conscription brought a return to old ambivalences sharpened by post-war conflicts. The 'Military Covenant' and the contradictory sentiments expressed by some for the Army, show a resonance with previous centuries. The *Guardian* newspaper in August 2019 headlined that the Army was targeting teenagers from the most deprived areas of the northern cities to fill its vacancies and thus continue a long history of recruiters enticing the poor.[35] Homeless and begging veterans are still to be seen on the streets of Britain's towns and cities. A high proportion of those who become homeless or imprisoned, are veterans from the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. Reports and statistics gathered by Kings College London, confirm the continuing crisis among the veterans community of the twenty-first century.[36]

35 Dan Sabbagh, 'Army Targets Poorer Under-18s to Fill Ranks', *Guardian*, 22 August 2019, p. 1, p. 2 and p. 8.
36 See Kings Centre for Military Health Research, https://www.kcl.ac.uk/kcmhr/publications/reports/index [accessed 20/11/2020].

Chapter 1

Defenders of the Nation or a Necessary Evil?

The 2018 BBC Reith Lectures were delivered by Margaret Macmillan who explored 'The Mark of Cain: War and Society'. She highlighted the contradictory ambiguities and paradoxes attached to the theme. For some war is attractive and glamorous, but also repulsive, ugly and evil. It calls into question the relationship between the individual and the State and this extends to the soldier acting on its behalf. This relationship changed in the eighteenth century with the American and French Revolutions and the emergence of the 'citizen soldier'. The obligation of soldier to the State, and vice versa, was redefined with conscription sharpening and challenging concepts of citizenship.[1] Since its establishment in the late seventeenth century, the status of a standing Army in England (and later Britain) has been viewed by some as a necessary evil. This view though, was held by those who feared the existence of the standing army and were reluctant to fund its maintenance. Richard Holmes, refers to the early history of the British Army as 'born of paradox, forged in adversity, often betrayed by the government it obeyed and usually poorly understood by the nation it served'.[2] From this unpromising combination the veteran emerged.

Civilian to Soldier to Veteran, Unnatural Transformations

Military and naval veterans, by definition, are different from civilians. The nature of their experiences, when serving soldiers or sailors, separates them from the common round of civilian life. In the nineteenth century imperial duty expanded the serviceman's horizons. Some had global perspectives far beyond the domestic parochial parameters of most of the civilian population. On active service his life could end violently and painfully or his body suffer disfigurement or catastrophic, crippling injury. On enlistment and attestation, the recruit swore allegiance to the Sovereign and entered a different world defined and restricted by the Mutiny Act and military law. He was also governed by civilian law. The recruit surrendered his former identity, was uniformed and armed. He learned a new military vocabulary and had a regimental number and rank. He was required to obey orders regardless of his own instincts and feelings. On campaign he had to make the most of whatever circumstances he found himself in. David French cites the view held by some senior regimental officers, that the soldier's regiment became his new family and that his loyalty to

1 Margaret Macmillan, 'The Mark of Cain: War and Humanity', *War and Society*, BBC Reith Lectures, BBC Radio4, 30 June 2018.
2 Richard Holmes, p. xv.

it produced *esprit de corps*.[3] In the Empire, he was part of the means of controlling the subject peoples and maintaining Imperial rule.

At home the soldier's lot was not an attractive one. Hours of military drill could further dilute any vestige of civilian individuality. Also there was the monotonous rotation of dwelling in barracks and garrison towns and the social tensions with some civilians that went with it. If called out 'in aid of civil power' the soldier, as discussed in the introduction, could be used against the civilian population.

Until 1916 the British Army found its manpower from voluntary enlistment rather than conscription. This difference set it apart from the society it served. In times of economic prosperity the soldiers pay and conditions compared badly with other sectors of the labour market. Therefore, the ranks of the Army were mostly dependant on recruits from lower social classes. Their officers however, came from a landed élite.[4]

The Duke of Wellington's famously observed that British soldiers were 'the scum of the earth'.[5] His opinion was shaped by class and experience. He was of the Irish Landed Gentry but his opinion was the source of the myth that this was a popular view universally accepted. Uglow points to the contrast between the conscript army of the French, calling on every class and the volunteer British army. Poverty and desperation drove many to enlist.[6]

Respectable middle and upper classes might despise the red-coat but further down the social scale more sympathetic attitudes were held, though they seldom found a means of expression. As the nineteenth century progressed this dynamic began subtly to change. Substantiating this view poses a problem. It relies on circumstantial evidence and the meagre quantities of written material of those who came from a largely illiterate class. In the early 1850s their positive sentiments eventually combined with literate, middle-class interest, and the 'scum of the earth' were transformed into noble, patriotic heroes.

War with Russia in 1854–56, was crucial in the establishment idea of the working-class soldier as hero. What had hitherto been an undercurrent became a clarion call. The British soldier *was* a human being to be cherished and valued. The overwhelming public enthusiasm and goodwill for soldiers and sailors, was reported and suggests a pre-existing general admiration for them.

Though the middle class focus eventually drifted away from the soldier-hero in the decades following the Crimean War, the ground had been prepared for a resurgence of feeling at the end of

3 David French, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army & the British People, c.1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 1.
4 Gwynn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977), p. 44.
5 Colin Brown, *The Scum of the Earth: What Happened to the Real British Heroes of Waterloo?* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2015), pp. 10–11. Facsimile of letter from Wellington to Lord Bathurst 2 July 1813.
6 Uglow, pp. 31–33.

the nineteenth century. Part of this phenomenon manifested itself in the creation and popularity of Crimea and Indian Mutiny veterans associations.

Pre-Crimean War Treatment of the British Soldier

There were class-influenced perceptions of the common soldier. The cheering crowds of 1854 suggest public support and positive feelings for the men as they travelled to the embarkation ports. Hew Strachan has analysed the composition of the Army in the relatively narrow time bracket between 1830 and 1854. Between those years he shows there were changes in the demographic profile of the Army's rank and file. These were prompted by shifting negative political, social and economic situations like highland clearances in Scotland and the potato famine in Ireland. Through this narrative are a number of constants. First is the fluctuating attitudes of the middle classes with regard to the Army. Second is the failure to recruit enough men for the regular Army to meet commitments at home and abroad. Third is the reluctance of governments to spend more than the bare minimum on the Army.

Strachan points to the shift in the backgrounds of recruits away from the rural to the urban.[7] With this trend came a decline in the physical condition and fitness of the applicants. The work routines of a farm labourer made him better suited for the rigours of campaigning than someone from the slums of a large city. Associated with recruiting were negatives of deception and intoxication. The former related to the bounty money paid to the recruit. Once attested, all of it and more would be paid back for 'necessaries' and meant the recruit would often start his military career in debt. The use of drink to soften any reluctance to enlist was a questionable practice and did little to advance the public standing of the Army.

Strachan describes the lives and prospects of the soldier at home and abroad. In the basic provision of food, shelter and clothing the Army sometimes failed to deliver. He describes the 'free for all' regarding rations that meant regular supplies of quality food could not be comprehensively guaranteed. Barrack accommodation was of poor quality, overcrowded, insanitary and inadequate. Though there were some attempts to rectify matters, government penny-pinching inhibited any real, widespread improvement.

The government's reluctance to spend money on the Army was extended to the paying of pensions to veterans. Poor living conditions and drink accelerated the physical decline of long-

7 Hew Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830–54* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), p. 53.

serving soldiers.[8] Their premature incapacity led to an increasing number of discharges and consequent pressure on the pensions budget. A board established in 1829, under Secretary at War, Hardinge, focused on disabilities that warranted a pension. It came up with a formula that established long service and good conduct as the prerequisites for reward. An infantry soldier with twenty-one years' service (twenty-four years for the cavalry) would receive a shilling per day pension or ten pence if he had requested discharge himself. Four years later these arrangements were altered by Sir John Hobhouse. The discharged soldier now received six pence per day after twenty-one years' service. Despite variations determined by wounds and/or rank, the sum of six pence per day guaranteed pauperdom.

The Soldier and the Veteran Slighted

This shoddy treatment added to a depressing range of negative perceptions of the Army. The United Services Magazine in 1836 published an essay entitled 'The Army As It Is, and As It Ought To Be'. The writer criticised the system which relied on harsh punishment to control the miscreant soldier and had no encouragement for the good one. It was observed that there was not a solitary proposition to increase the veteran's pension and 'make him more comfortable in his old age'. Even the 1% of discharged soldiers entitled to a medal for long service and good conduct and the gratuity that went with it, did not receive their medal on discharge. It was sent to his parish to be presented to him by the Beadle, 'like alms from the poor box'.[9] The writer suggested that the character of the soldier needed to be raised so that the 'degradation of the lash' would actually mean degradation. He implied that, at the time of writing, the individual soldier was so debased he felt no shame in being flogged. If recruitment was improved then the Army would move away from the idle and dissolute material that it now possessed. Suggestions regarding a scheme to attract better recruits followed. When discharged, the former soldier ought to enjoy a pension based on the length of service and good conduct. There should be a sliding scale of reduction of pension entitlement directly linked to infringements. These were usually recorded in the Regimental Defaulters Book. Non-Commissioned Officers and private soldiers who had distinguished themselves, should have a premium of pension according to merit. The final part of the essay dealt with the political structures that opposed the soldier and the veteran. The soldier should be protected by parliament.

8 In soldiers' discharge papers later in the nineteenth century the nature of the causes of invalidity were nuanced by reference to 'vice and intemperance'.
9 Fusil, 'The Army As It Is, and As It Ought To Be', *United Services Magazine* (London: Henry Colburn, 1836), pp. 252–53.

If the State retained, what Macmillan termed 'the maintenance of a monopoly of force', then its soldiers should be valued.[10] They were the guarantors and instruments of this monopoly. For some though, the soldier represented a latent threat to the holders of power. For others, they were the repressive force behind the inequalities and struggles for political reform. The writer of the 1836 essay continued:

> Leave him not to the caprice of a civilian Secretary at War and his clerks, who will render his old age desolate and impoverished, that they gain a fleeting popularity from an ungrateful people, who look on him with the cold, malignant eye of jealousy and hate [...]
> […] what man who can do otherwise, will enter a profession looked upon with odium and contempt by the rest of his family? with the prospect before him of a broken constitution and premature old age acquired in the service of an ungrateful country who doles out to him with niggard hand and apathetic heart the miserable means of existence at a time of life when he might look with the rest of his family to social comforts and enjoyments? Oh, no; for they legislate for themselves and the soldier, and starve him that they might be enriched in a life of ease and old age of luxury.

Here there is a contrast expressed between the comfortable self-serving bureaucracy and the hard labour and deprivations endured by soldiers. It pointed to an emerging sentiment, that the class whose labours created the wealth, including the soldiers and sailors who protected it, should have some part in the political process. Those prepared to suffer and, if need be, die for their country should not be cast aside at the termination of their service. The essay was signed 'Fusil' and included in this poem: 'When war's declared and danger's nigh, "God and the soldier" is the people's cry.| When war is done, and all things righted,| God's forgot, and the soldier slighted'.[11] 'Fusil' pointed to a transitory popularity based on self-serving pragmatism which in various forms was a recurring theme throughout most of the nineteenth century. Its sentiments were echoed in Kipling's poem 'Tommy,' published in 1892, and this further reinforces the view that the mid-Victorian middle-class popularity of the Army was a departure from the norm. Kipling combines the two central ideas of general disapproval of the soldier as a background narrative in peacetime, and his short term popularity in time of war:

> For it's Tommy this, an'Tommy that, an'|'Chuck him out, the brute!'| But it's 'Saviour of 'is country' when the guns begin to shoot ;| An' it's Tommy this, an' Tommy that, an'| anything you please ;| An' Tommy ain't a bloomin' fool – you bet that Tommy sees![12]

10 Margaret Macmillan, 'The Mark of Cain', *War and Society,* BBC Reith Lectures, BBC Radio4, 28 July 2018.
11 Fusil, 'The small verse has its origins in the seventeenth century and the work of Francis Quarles (1592-1644). Pre-dating the Civil War, it first appeared in a collection of works entitled 'Emblems' in 1635 when it read : 'Our God and souldiers we a like adore/Ev'n at the brink of danger: not before:/After deliverance, both alike required;/Our God's forgotten, and our souldiers slighted'.
12 Rudyard Kipling, *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses,* centenary edition (London: Methuen, 1892; repr. 1992), p. 9.

The last two lines resonate with the earlier assertion that the soldier was not a machine. He was perfectly aware of the transient and superficial status he either enjoyed, or more often endured, depending on shifting public perceptions of threat. The 'ungrateful country' reluctantly doling out 'the miserable means of existence' with a 'niggard' hand' and 'apathetic heart' constitute unedifying constants in the relationship between the soldier and society in the nineteenth century. Added to this, the visible impoverishment of long-serving former soldiers did nothing to encourage recruits.

The deplorable six pence per day pension was undone in 1847 when the 1829 amounts were restored. This restoration of the amount and other adjustments to the relationship between time served and pension entitlements, improved matters. These were attempts to attract, what Strachan terms, 'the elusive better class of recruit'. He also observes that the press expressed views on military service that concentrated on the negatives – 'disease, death in foreign climes and the lash'. By the time of the war with Russia, a 'Limited Enlistment Act' had been in operation for seven years. During the debates that preceded the act, the old Peninsular and Waterloo veteran Sir Hussey Vivian, expressed the view:

> If you desire to effect such a great moral change in the Army, if you hope to preserve discipline & to get rid of a mode of punishment by the power of which it has in a great degree been hitherto maintained – you must take means to better the condition of the soldiers so that a class of men of a superior description in point of character may be induced to enter your ranks you must limit the period of his service – & secure to him an adequate maintenance in his old age.[13]

Strachan details the failure of the 1847 act and other acts which followed. They did not attract 'a better class' of recruit and the Army continued to enlist the poor and the desperate as their raw material. He makes passing reference to 'the growing popularity of the soldier throughout the nineteenth century, which is particularly apparent from the mid-point...' This trend he attributes to the introduction of police forces removing the need for military action 'in aid of civil power'. Colonial service also removed soldiers and sent them far away and this elicited sympathy from the public at home.[14]

From a wider perspective, Richard Holmes explores the composition and reputation of the Army from the beginning of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth century. Like Strachan he refers to the chronic lack of recruits sufficient to replace wastage and fulfil commitments. In some instances the pressures created by this predicament led to measures being adopted that guaranteed the lowly class of those enlisting.

Some judges offered the choice to criminals and offenders, of military service as an alternative to prison. This ensured a downward direction for the reputation and moral standing of

13 Strachan, pp. 71–74.
14 Strachan, pp. 50–105.

the Army. Holmes also refers to an article in the London journal *Spy* from 1700 summing up the low opinion often held of the soldiery. It stated that the soldier 'is generally beloved by two sorts of Companion, in whores and lice; for both these Vermin are great admirers of a Scarlet Coat...'[15]

Motives for Enlistment

The degradation of the lash, drunkenness, the trickery and deceptions deployed to gull and gather recruits, regardless of their character and suitability, Holmes explores with numerous examples. It was in a Recruiting Sergeant's pecuniary interest to get as many men as possible. There were financial rewards related to getting men. 'Bringers', usually pub landlords, were paid. The recruiting party would receive a share of the money based on their success. With such inducements, any means, fair or foul, would be deployed to get young men to enlist. From some of the accounts, he points to an 'anti-military prejudice' and that reflects 'a wider animus against soldiers especially in peacetime'.[16]

Holmes balances the dismal story of recruits driven to the Army, by what one senior officer described as 'the compulsion of destitution', with some contrasting evidence. The thieves, drunks, blackguards and desperate, were actually a minority in the service. As early as the 1720s an alternative to the negative soldier stereotype was being considered. For example, he cites Daniel Defoe, who wrote of 'a kind of Poverty and Distress necessary to bring a poor man to take up Arms' qualifying this narrative of desperation with the assertion that 'the poorest of men may have Principles of Honour and Justice in them.'

John Rumsby explores the nature of the recruits and their treatment in the early Victorian army. He points to an instruction from General Sir John Burgoyne, who raised the 16th Light Dragoons in 1759, to his officers regarding the men:

> It may be depended on that mechanical valour will always be surpassed by national spirit and personal attachment. Admitting then, that English soldiers are to be treated as thinking beings, the reason will immediately appear of getting insight into the character of each particular man.

Rumsby challenges the myth that the early Victorian period saw soldiers treated as 'soulless creatures'.[17] Many knew and understood their personal rights as well as their duties.

That the ordinary soldier had feelings above and beyond craven brutishness was an emerging realisation.

15 Holmes, p. 144.
16 Ibid.
17 John Rumsby, 'Making Choices: Constructing a Career in the Ranks of the Early Victorian Army', *Victorians at War: New Perspectives*, ed. by Ian Beckett, Special edition, 16 (The Society for Army Historical Research, 2007), 23–33.

Some recruits, who later fought in the Crimea, were attracted to a military career as an alternative to the tedium of civilian life. George Loy Smith for example, in the spring of 1833, saw a cavalry detachment with their mounted band, halt in the market-place opposite the druggist shop where he was an apprentice. His love of adventure drove him to enlist and take his chances. He was literate and neither poor nor desperate.[18] Timothy Gowing enlisted into the 7th Fusiliers because he saw it as one of the smartest regiments in the British Army. He was literate and from a comfortable background. In January 1854 he became a soldier, served in the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny and rose to the rank of Sergeant Major.[19] Rifleman John Fisher, a committee member of the Bristol veterans, followed his father, a Waterloo veteran from the 7th Hussars, into the service.[20]

These examples resonate with the eventual membership of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association in Bristol in the 1890s, most of whom were literate men who made careers in the service.

The New Heroes in the Army of the East

As Britain prepared for war in February 1854, the *Illustrated London News* published an article entitled 'The Army'. The concluding paragraph stated:

> The day has gone by when the private was regarded as a mere machine, and expected to yield implicit obedience without possessing reasoning faculties whereby to estimate his position. We have given him schoolmasters and libraries, and held out inducement for cultivating knowledge; and the more enlightened he becomes the more apt will he be in drawing comparisons between his own case and that of civilian artisans born in the same grade. In time of danger his value is acknowledged; but wherefore is he not equivalently rewarded? Make his condition more desirable : ensure him sufficient support when – from wounds, climate, and long and faithful service – he becomes incapacitated from fighting his country's battle, and the difficulty now experienced in recruiting would then cease to exist.[21]

This quotation is surprising for a number of reasons. It precedes the declaration of war the following month and articulates a troubled relationship between the Army and Society that needed amendment. The soldier was not a machine, he was a sentient, enlightened human being. He possessed reason and feelings. It also points to an existing question regarding the treatment of the veteran that pre-dated the Crimean War and simmered for the rest of the century and beyond. The opening five words could be seen as a motif expressing the spirit of the age. The old ways of thinking were past and new ideas were to the fore.

18 George Loy Smith, *A Victorian RSM* (Winchester: Royal Hussars Museum, 1987), p. 7.
19 Timothy Gowing, *A Soldier's Experience* (Nottingham: Foreman and Sons, 1901), pp. 3–10.
20 Glenn Fisher, 'Rifleman John Fisher', *The War Correspondent*, 29 (2011), 10–17.
21 'The Army', *Illustrated London News*, 18 February 1854, p. 146.

From the start of the year the *Illustrated London News* had pointed to this new perspective. They published a letter about the plight of deceased soldiers' female orphans. The letter referred to the lack of provision for the widows and orphans of those who had died in service. It observed 'that a country like England, that owes so much of her exalted position to the exertions of her army' should look after their bereft families.[22] *The Times* also took up the cause of military families in February but linked it with the new found favour of the common soldier in popular perceptions:

> Freely and heartily – come life, come death - are the men to follow their colours, but it is from their very zeal in the public service, and their total forgetfulness of other interests, that we draw the strongest argument in favour of their wives and children.[23]

At the end of February the *Illustrated London News* featured a piece regarding the unfairness of non-commissioned officers losing their good conduct badges on promotion. The author stressed the vital role non-commissioned officers played in the functioning of the army and how the existing arrangement was financially prejudiced against them.[24] That the private soldier and the non-commissioned officer should be positively and sympathetically described in a middle-class illustrated paper, pointed to a novel and developing change in the reportage of the Army and its rankers.

Elements within a changing Victorian society began to question the nature of the lives and treatment of its defenders by seeing them as individuals who composed the whole rather than an ill-defined threatening mass. There was also a growing trend of questioning the inherited power and influence of the aristocracy. These developments were part of a social and cultural repositioning that was to characterise the mid-Victorian age. Markovits suggests that the Crimean War was the 'mid-wife' to this new age.[25] Extending the metaphor, the Representation of the People Act 1832, broadening the franchise into the middle-classes and curbing aristocratic influence, was the point of conception. Though this event pre-dated the accession of Queen Victoria, its consequences began to develop and grow into the new monarch's reign. At this period the politics caught up with the economics behind the flourishing industrial might of Britain. That great cities should be under-represented by an eighteenth century political system that favoured the traditional land-owning aristocracy, was a circumstance that demanded reform.

The following decade saw the failure of attempts further to expand the franchise by the Chartists. It would be another four decades before some of their objectives were realised. With regard to the Army, the Chartists believed that those willing to fight for their country should be fully enfranchised members of it. The renegotiation of the military covenant between soldier and State

---

22 'Soldiers Female Orphans', *Illustrated London News*, 21 January 1854, p. 61.
23 C. Dereli, *A War Culture in Action: A Study of the Literature of the Crimean Period* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003), p. 26.
24 'The Non-Commissioned Officers of the British Army', *Illustrated London News*, 25 February 1854, p. 175.
25 Markovits, p. 1.

was part of a broader debate. This was set to redefine the relationship between citizen and society.[26] Set against the industrial and agricultural unrest in the decades after Waterloo, this radicalism alarmed the emerging middle-classes. Chartist meetings and marches drew huge crowds.[27] There was a nervousness that things could get out of hand if the crowd became a mob.

The unfolding events in the Crimea provoked a popular public response. There was a convergence of sentiments from different classes for different reasons. Lower down the social scale was the thrill and pathos of a departing army drawn from their own kind. This excitement was shared by the middle-classes with their new found concern for the lot of the common soldier. Added to this was the growing disdain for the system that enabled rich young men to buy their authority over the common soldiers.[28] When the campaign stalled it stirred additional pressures for change. Descriptions of the plight of ordinary soldiers created, for the first time, a scandal at home. Widely reported suffering intensified public sympathy for the plight of the soldiery and the demand for accountability from those in charge.

An adequate and reliable postal system was established between the Crimea and home.[29] The increasing publication of detailed letters from common soldiers, fuelled the sense of outrage. Dereli observes that these letters were not written to the press but made available to them by the families of the correspondents. In this respect therefore, there was a democratization of the reportage with the letters providing a panoramic overview of experiences across ranks.[30]

*The Time*s, in particular, under John Delane, shaped public response, while at the same time seeking to present itself as reflecting the voice of 'public opinion'. With this novel dynamic came the identification of private soldiers as 'fellow countrymen' who 'must hunger and thirst, expose themselves to the pest, suffer dreadful wounds, and die in our cause...'[31] The incompetence of those in charge was extrapolated to those in government. The *Evening Mail*, for example, pointed to some troublesome reflections caused by the war: 'The first of them is that this war is managed, and this nation to some extent governed by men whose experience is not that of the present age, but that of the past'.[32]

---

26 In the decades after the Napoleonic Wars, Army pensioners occupied both sides of the line between violent political radicalism on the one hand and the forces employed to suppress them on the other. The former involved at one time in training civilians to march and drill and the latter as a supplement to forces deployed top keep civil order. See F. C. Mather, 'Army Pensioners and the Maintenance of Civil Order in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research,* 36 (1958), 110–124.
27 The Chartist meeting on Kennington Common was one of the first crowds to be photographed in England.
28 Markovits, p. 213.
29 Peter B. Boyden, *Tommy Atkins' Letters Home: The History of the British Army Postal Service from 1795* (London: National Army Museum, 1990), pp. 8–12.
30 Dereli, pp. 44–50.
31 'How We Testify Sympathy with Suffering Soldiers', *The Times,* variously reprinted, eg. *Elgin and Morayshire Advertiser*, 20 October 1854, p. 4.
32 'Postscript', *Evening Mail,* 29 December 1854, p. 4.

The stimulus to sustain these shifting trends came from developments in methods of mass communication. Middle- and working-class aspirations for a redefinition of the political, social and cultural dynamic of the previous century were expressed and promulgated on an unprecedented scale. Advances in electric telegraphy enabled the dissemination of news to be achieved in days rather than weeks and this, with the absence of any censorship, created an entirely new kind of journalism. The work of William H. Russell, *The Times* correspondent, and the quality and focus of his descriptive writing was a significant innovation. As well as description Russell deployed criticism and this extended to accountability. It was easy to apportion plaudits and credit when expectations were realised but quite another matter when those responsible for reverses and suffering were called to account. Ulrich Keller mentions the brief spat between *The Times* and the *Illustrated London News* at the beginning of January 1855. Ingram, the radical editor of the latter, chose to criticise the attacks on the competence of Raglan in *The Times* the previous month. He declared that: 'the blatant bullies of the press...bellow in vain. They do not represent the sentiments of the people'.

By the time the Aberdeen Government fell in February, the two publications were in accord. Keller suggests that this convergence of view led to a brief conviction by the liberal middle class 'that the Crimean disaster provided an opportunity for sweeping the British nobility out of its traditional positions of power'.[33] The *Illustrated London News* of 27 January 1855 was explicit in its attack on the existing 'bad and unworkable system'. The purchase system was criticised because it led to military absurdities like 'subaltern and superior officers, ignorant of their profession, having no love for it, and destitute of all merit but that of personal courage – in which the private soldiers are their equals, if not their superiors…'[34]

In the spring of 1855 the Administrative Reform Association was established under the chairmanship of Robert Morley a wealthy hosiery manufacturer. It was an organised pressure group that used the Crimean War as a focus to advance their agenda at the expense of the aristocracy. It was supported by ambitious politicians and rich subscribers like the Rothchilds and Courtauld. From literary circles, Dickens and Thackeray were sympathetic members. Open competition for the Civil Service was also one of the objectives of the Administrative Reform Association. The organisation 'wished to illustrate the contempt of businessmen for aristocratic bungling and the bitterness felt by the middle classes over aristocratic privilege'.[35] The *Illustrated London News* reported the inaugural meeting in May 1855 and directly linked the Crimean difficulties with the

33 Ulrich Keller, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 97.
34 'The Re-Assembling of Parliament', *Illustrated London News*, 27 January 1855, p. 73.
35 Olive Anderson, 'The Janus Face of Mid-Nineteenth Century English Radicalism: The Administrative Reform Association of 1855', *Victorian Studies*, 8.3 (1965), 231–242.

need for a thorough reform of the machinery of government. It declared 'Disasters in the conduct of the present war were attributable to the inefficient and practically-irresponsible management of the various departments of state'.[36] The paper's coverage of the war would have a dual function. The first would be to reinforce its political stance and by so doing, fulfil the second, that of recording the experiences of its heroes, the common soldiers.

The Soldiers' War Becomes the People's War

Improvements in printing enabled for the first time, engravings portraying the lives and circumstances of a campaigning army, to be published in illustrated papers. The choice of subjects depicted expanded and reflected a preference for narrative illustrations showing how the Army functioned.

These pictures, together with the letters and reports in the national and local press, did much to foster the impression of unity between the public at home and their Army and Navy abroad. Growing literacy within the 'other ranks' started to give voice to a hitherto largely voiceless community. National and provincial newspapers' willingness to publish their letters drew the middle-class readership closer to the lives and experiences of the correspondents. This further reinforced the contemporary idea of 'modernity' as a characteristic of the war. Some argue that the dissolving of the division between private correspondence and published reports in the press, led to a feeling of participation in the war by readers at home.[37]

The term 'People's War' was used to describe this phenomenon. The soldiers' letters also helped to undermine the earlier negative stereotype. The style and content of the correspondence was honest, emotional and personal and not written with a view to publication. These letters, when circulated in newspapers, elicited an empathetic response from the domestic readers. Whereas there was little description of the trauma of battle, there was a great deal of detail on the miseries of surviving in the Crimean winter. Readers wrote in and gave advice and, more practically, many knitted gloves and socks for the soldiers in the trenches before Sebastopol. By the close of 1854 *The Times* made its position emphatically clear: '…we echo the opinion of almost every experienced soldier or well informed gentleman when we say that the noblest army of England ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetence, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference...'[38]

36 'Administrative Reform', *Illustrated London News*, 12 May 1855, p. 3.
37 Markovits, pp. 59–61.
38 'Condition of the Army of the East', *The Times*, 23 December 1854, p. 9.

The experiences of the soldiers, related in their letters from the Crimea, however, was predominantly exploited for middle-class consumption. The suffering of the noble hero-soldier was primarily of interest if it could be deployed to further a political narrative. Domestically the conditions and experiences of the classes, from which the Army found the bulk of its manpower, did not receive the same attention or interest.

In the Crimea, not everyone approved of reporters and named officers' letters and opinions appearing in the papers. Hugh Drummond, an officer in the Scots Fusilier Guards, wrote home to his father :

> How this army hates and despises the Government and Press! That rogue, the 'Times,' thinks he has got us on his side – we flatter ourselves we are above riding with a lying rogue like him. They ought to stop it. It lowers us in the eyes of our allies; and breeds discontent.[39]

Aristocratic and reactionary, Drummond exemplified the resentment felt by those whose social and political supremacy appeared to be under question. The Guards regiments were Household troops and were officered by an aristocratic, social elite. That they were part of The Army of the East at all pointed to the serious lack of men realised as war with Russia loomed early in 1854.[40] The ranking system within the three Guards regiments put them a step above officers of the line. Their wealth and backgrounds set them apart from the rest of the Army. This being so, it is unsurprising that they were unsympathetic to anything that criticised or disturbed the status quo. In a letter to his father in March 1855, Drummond referred to some of the trends he disapproved of: 'If they mean to throw the officering of the army into the Bourgeiosie and non-commissioned officers, they will ruin the army; that confidence and subordination which now exists will cease; or, at all events be very shaken'.[41]

Re-Fashioning Stereotypes

The movement in popular perceptions of the Army from negative to positive, characterised the replacement of the old comic military stereotype of the foppish, aristocratic officer with that of the brave private soldier.[42] On 12 October 1854, *The Times* asserted that the soldiers and sailors of the nation serving in the East were not the 'savage, murderous, ravaging, and destroying creatures they are sometimes imagined'.[43] The reports of the pitched battles further enhanced the rising stock and

39 H. F. D., *Letters from the Crimea* (London: Norris & Son, 1855), p. 137.
40 After receiving wounded Guardsmen at Buckingham Palace in February 1855 the Queen wrote to the King of the Belgians, 'We could not have avoided sending the Guards; it would have been their ruin had they not gone...'. Arthur Beson and Reginald Viscount Esher Brett, *The Letters of Queen Victoria,* (London: John Murray, 1908), p. 111.
41 H. F. D., p. 152.
42 Furneaux, p. 6, footnote 17.
43 'London', *The Times,* 12 October 1854, p. 6.

status of the common soldier. Along with the reportage of the fighting and conditions, the national and provincial papers published casualty lists which included the names and regiments of the killed and wounded. After the pitched battles were over, these lists transmuted into sad processions of those who had died from disease. This dissemination of information was unprecedented and further emphasised the appreciation that the Army was composed of individuals with names and identities and this drew them emotionally closer to the readership.

Raglan's despatches were also published. His aristocratic, detached hauteur elicited criticism from *The Times*. Though brave, diligent, charming and hardworking, Raglan presided over a failing system that exposed the results of previous imprudent economies and systemic absurdities. These were the legacies of the post Napoleonic War period. Raglan appeared hopelessly anachronistic and was an easy scapegoat for the campaign's failures. The sang-foid and coolness he displayed at Waterloo, were out of place in the Crimea and made him open to the charge that he did not care about his soldiers. At a time when the campaign was being reported and described in detail, his succinct, restrained despatches irritated the Government and Crown. With Lords Lucan and Cardigan, Raglan's troubles fed into the narrative of a declining, incompetent aristocracy. *The Times* presented the dire situation in the Crimea and opined that 'the Army was the plaything of our aristocracy'.[44]

The quality of men sent out to replace losses through action and disease, also compounded the problems before Sebastopol. The new Infantry recruits received the minimum of training and had no experience of campaigning. Physically they were not as good as the men they replaced and were contemptuously received by the old sweats. Many of the new boys died quickly or sickened despite their adequate uniforms and better food.[45] Even when the weather improved in the summer, there were greater numbers stricken with fever.[46] This phenomenon ensured a constant flow of sick and wounded men invalided home throughout 1855 and the reporting of this traffic in the press. The lists of names of those who had died in the Crimea continued to be published and kept the war, albeit negatively, in the public eye. Lists of names however, exerted a power beyond mere numbers and statistics. They combined humanity and identity. Kate McLoughlin refers to the '*taliation nominatim*' that conveys a sense of multitude.[47] This sharpened public appreciation of the human cost of the war.

The Crimean Experience: Commerce and Care

44 John Sweetman, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1993), p. 277.
45 H. F. D., p. 114.
46 Phillip Warner, *Fields of War* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977), pp. 160–62.
47 Kate McLoughlin, *Authoring War: The Literary Representation of War from Iliad to Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 64–68.

As well as invalided soldiers coming home, there was an unprecedented two-way exchange of private material and people between the Seat of War and the home country. Flowers, drawings, photographs, trophies of war, hampers of food, books and newspapers, shiploads of supplies sent out by patriotic funds and well-wishers, a team of civilian nurses, sanitary commissioners, hundreds of navvies, middle-class tourists, chefs, artists, officers wives, a Creole herbalist entrepreneur, a pioneer photographer – these marked out the war as an entirely new phenomenon. This exchange established what Furneaux describes as 'communities of feeling' made possible by the interaction between the military and civilian spheres through the new communications network.[48]

At home the war provided a commercial opportunity for what could now be termed 'merchandising'. The convergence of public interest, stimulated by the press, and commercially available war-related material, supplied a ready market for those who could pay.

By the end of 1854 there were reports of fund-raising balls, concerts and subscriptions in aid of The Sick and Wounded Fund and The Patriotic Fund set up by *The Times* for the widows and orphans of soldiers, sailors and marines. This was a shocking development because it came as a result of the failure of the War Office adequately to discharge its responsibilities. It was an example of a civilian middle-class initiative to circumvent the red tape of the authorities and intervene in the interests of the heroic, suffering soldiers and their dependents. These funds were the result of a significant development in British civilians' sense of responsibility for their soldiers.

When invalids were sent home from the Crimea and Scutari, the Guards were transported to their own hospitals in London but the majority, the line, were sent to Brompton Hospital and Fort Pitt near Chatham. The lack of organization for the line on arrival in the United Kingdom, prolonged the suffering of the invalids and was widely reported in the press. The Queen and Prince Albert visited them on three occasions, taking particular interest in survivors from 'The Balaclava Charge'. She wrote about them in her journal in the most positive terms.

With her Guards, on alternate days in the third week of February 1855, the Queen saw wounded men from the Grenadiers, Coldstream and Scots Fusilier Guards in the Marble Hall in Buckingham Palace. The Queen was aware of the bleak economic prospects facing maimed and disabled veterans and expressed her frustration regarding the restrictive scope of what a monarch might do for her discharged sick and wounded soldiers. She might help a fraction of those discharged by finding employment but her position as constitutional monarch precluded her from any significant intervention. After seeing the Coldstream on 22 February she wrote:

> I cannot say how touched and impressed I have been by the sight of these noble, brave and sadly wounded men and <u>how</u> anxious I feel to be of use to them and to try and get

48 Furneaux, p. 13.

> some employment for those who are maimed for life. Those who are discharged will receive very small pensions but not sufficient to live upon.[49]

The Queen's interest and concern manifested itself in other ways. On Royal instructions groups of wounded medal recipients were photographed and sketched. Some were found employment at royal residences, others were appointed Yeomen of the Guard.[50] The Queen personally distributed the new Crimean medals on Horse Guards Parade on 18 May 1855 and the ceremony was reported in detail in the national and provincial newspapers. For the first time the sovereign handed campaign medals to her soldiers, sailors and marines. There was physical contact between the monarch and subject. The event produced a plethora of engravings and paintings.

This radical departure from existing royal protocols was not accidental but a deliberate effort to create a new dynamic between Sovereign and subject.[51] The Queen's reaction on seeing the Crimean wounded was visceral. She was acutely aware of her rôle as a Queen, a woman and a mother and the contrast between the domestic experiences of women and the campaign experiences of her soldiers. She wrote in her journal: 'The sight of such fine, powerful frames laid low and prostrate with wounds and sickness on beds of suffering, or maimed in the prime of life, is indescribably touching to us women, who were born to suffer and can bear pain more easily [...]'.[52] The Queen was successful in establishing herself as a monarch who was literally and emotionally in touch with her Army and her subjects. The numerous press reports, photographs and illustrations, the establishment of the Crimean Medal and later the Victoria Cross, the laying of the foundation stone of Netley Military Hospital in 1859, all reinforced this popular ideal.

Queen Victoria and *Her* Soldiers

Bates sees a convergence of public interest in the soldier's welfare and the leading role of the monarchy in its expression. She suggests that Queen Victoria recognised an opportunity for Royal sympathy and authority to work as a powerful distant force on behalf of her soldiers. This, together with public opinion, constituted what Bates cites as 'imagined communities' between the Queen and her people. Royal interest led to the impression that the distance between monarch and commoner was narrowing. It also distanced the Queen from the aristocrats deemed responsible for the debacle in the Crimea.[53]

---

49 Royal Archives (RA), Queen Victoria's Journal RA/QVJ/VIC/MAIN 1855, 22 February 1855, p. 119.
50 I expand this further with Glenn Fisher, 'Queen Victoria's Heroes: Parts 1 & 2', *The War Correspondent*, 29.4 (2012), 16–21, and 30.1 (2012), 16–25.
51 See Rachel Bates, '"All Touched My Hand": Queenly Sentiment and Royal Prerogative', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 20 (2015), [1–25].
52 RA, *Queen Victoria's Journal*, RA/QVJ/VIC/MAIN, 3 March 1855, p. 144.
53 Rachel Bates, '"All Touched My Hand"' [no pagination].

The Queen entertained some of her wounded Guardsmen at Buckingham Palace.[54] She visited ordinary soldiers in hospital and had some of them photographed.[55] She personally handed out Crimea medals. Though her hand was gloved, there was a symbolic mysticism surrounding contact between Sovereign and soldier. Longford describes this as preserving 'her own magical balance on the point of the military pyramid'.[56] The Queen was influential in the establishment of the Victoria Cross awarded for valour regardless of rank.

Yet these innovations camouflaged her background conservatism. There was constitutional tension between herself and the Government over Royal influence and the Army. The Queen had no wish to disturb the structure of the body politic that reinforced her supremacy. Aristocratic army officers were part of that dynamic. It would be 1871 before the Purchase System was finally abolished.[57] On the other hand the Queen was a compassionate human being and this explains her visceral expressions of sympathy for her broken common soldiers.[58] These emotions were both publicly exhibited and of private and personal significance as the Queen recorded in her journal. To a limited extent she was able to help some of the maimed soldiers she encountered. Apart from finding some employment, she was also involved in the provision of prosthetic limbs.[59] These interventions further exposed the lack of immediate, adequate provision by the War Office. Red tape and a cumbersome bureaucracy guaranteed a slow response to the pressing needs of growing numbers of invalided veterans.

Constitutional detachment enabled the Queen to see no contradiction in her interests in the welfare of her soldiers and the military edifice that allowed gentlemen of means, regardless of talent, to purchase control over them.[60]

For the middle-class, public paintings, engravings, cartoons and photographs provided visual representations that expressed a political message. Illustrations of the lives and experiences of the private soldier on campaign, depicted in various art forms, reinforce the narrative of a shifting political, social and cultural dynamic. Lalumia writes of how the new feeling for the soldiery informed visual representations of the war'.[61] The subject matter of the artists' works also pointed to

54 The Guards were 'Household' troops. They were the Queen's personal bodyguard. Their devotion to her was paramount and duties set them apart from the Infantry of the Line.
55 There are numerous group photographs of named and numbered Crimean wounded Guardsmen in the Royal Collection and a number of these were recipients of assistance from the Queen after their discharges.
56 Elizabeth Longford, *Victoria* (London: Abacus, 2000), p. 267.
57 Anthony Bruce, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660–1871* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1980).
58 Rachel Bates, *Curating the Crimean War: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2015), pp. 104–105.
59 In many of the discharge documents of maimed soldiers seen by Queen Victoria, there are references to her involvement in the provision of prosthetic limbs.
60 Sir George Douglas and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, *Panmure Papers* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908), pp. 392–3, Prince Albert's letter to Panmure discusses the relationship between gentlemen officers and the men.
61 Lalumia, p. 75.

this new emphasis. The rising middle-class, who would be the purchasers of the artists' works, wanted their new heroes to occupy the centre ground formerly occupied by the heroic aristocrat.[62] Other artists, like George Houseman Thomas and Jerry Barrett produced paintings along the same lines – the Queen in direct contact with her soldiers. At Royal behest, Thomas also made some accomplished sketches of named, wounded Guardsmen.

Barrett's painting of 'The Queen's First Visit to Her Wounded Soldiers' follows the same pattern. A combination of entrepreneurial skill and a nose for popular tastes led to Barrett's painting being made into a print by Thomas Agnew and Sons and so ensured wider dissemination. On the other side of this coin was the Queen's instruction to have her likeness by James Sant, painted out, in a portrayal of Lord Cardigan relating the battle of Balaclava to the Royal party. The Queen is said to have insisted on the alteration on learning of details about the notorious private life of Lord Cardigan.[63]

That there would be serious social and economic consequences for the discharged, invalided soldier became a growing realisation. For veterans there might have been grounds for guarded optimism, given the prevailing sympathetic public mood. But this did not mean a guaranteed improvement in the material relationship between the veteran and the State. The Poor Law remained as it was, as did the Union Workhouses. The distance between public sympathy and legislative reform was vast.

The pity of war and its tragic effect on the soldier can be seen in Sir Joseph Noel Paton's 'Home! Return from the Crimea,' completed in 1856.[64] Ruskin described the painting as: 'A most pathetic and precious picture, easily understood and entirely right as far as feeling is concerned'. The focus, pathos and symbolism were clear.[65] Apart from relief on the faces of his loved ones, there is the implied prospect of inevitable hardship and a bleak future for the amputee and his family.

The use of satire and satirical cartoons to criticise the conduct of the war and some of the absurdities generated by it, was innovative in scale and regularity. A famous *Punch* cartoon by John Leech, features two scarecrow-dressed soldiers in the falling snow, who converse about the coming receipt of a medal and one observes that 'maybe one of these days we'll have a coat to stick it on'.[66] The standing figure wears a bearskin but the rest of his clothing is in rags. He rests on his

62 Sir John Gilbert's painting of the Queen receiving some of her wounded Guardsmen in the Marble Hall at Buckingham Palace is described by Lalumia. The Queen is part of the Royal party and in profile. She faces the detailed portraits of her ordinary soldiers in their greatcoats who occupy half the composition.
63 Saul David, *The Homicidal Earl* (London: Little Brown and Company, 1997), illustration and note between pp. 176–7.
64 The painting depicts a bearded Guards corporal, who is an amputee, with his stricken family about him.
65 Hilary Guise, *Great Victorian Engravings* (London: Astragal Books, 1980), p. 58 and p. 145.
66 'Balaklava', *Punch*, 17 February 1855, p. 64.

musket. They are stoical and long-suffering and the unspoken moral is that they have been let down. Lalumia quotes a damning poem entitled 'Balaclava' by Tom Taylor which includes these lines:

To die for very lack of clothes and food,
Of shelter, bedding, medicine, and fire;
While six miles off lay, piled up many a rood
All we did so require!

This guilt lies at your door. You wear no crown-
But what is She who wears it unto *you*?
You raise up ministers and pluck them down;
What *you* will, they must do.

If Aristocracy' s cold shadow fall
Across the soldier's path, to you is given
The might to rend away that ancient pall
And let in light of Heaven ![67]

In *Punch* the poem and the cartoon were on consecutive pages and this reinforced the impact of the implied criticism. The use of the word 'you' suggested 'the electorate' and pointed to a new awareness of middle-class political power since the Reform Act of the 1830s. This point is reiterated in the last lines of the poem:

I was the People's soldier. In their name
I stood against the Czar in battle's hour,
If I, not he, be baffled, rest the shame
With *you*, that have the power![68]

These and other images proved to be the most politically damaging. Keller refers to an image of an amputee at Haslar Hospital. The image was used as 'an effective tool to further middle-class demands for reform'.[69] The text that preceded it was published in the previous week and attacked the failing aristocratic officer corps. Oddly the identity of the subject was not revealed or reported.[70] Conspicuous by their absence are portrait images of the leaders.

Lalumia observes that the illustrated papers had become a vehicle for the expression of middle-class grievances and that 'the swing to subject matter featuring the soldiery, and its inherent link to a topical political controversy, in a large part explains the popularity of this organ of mid-Victorian culture'.[71]

Featured in *Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper* after the war, was an engraving, adapted from a painting by Thomas William Wood, of Private Thomas Walker sewing a quilt. The weekly paper was produced first in 1854 and cost 1d. It was smaller in volume and used cheaper, thinner paper

67 'Balaklava', *Punch*, 17 February 1855, p. 67
68 Ibid.
69 Keller, p. 98.
70 Other details in the engraving show that this man belonged to the 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers and is 1913 private John Porter from Kirkham, Lancashire. He had his left leg amputated after a cannon shot wound at the Alma.
71 Lalumia, pp. 66–67.

than the *Illustrated London News*. Its engravers were competent rather than exceptional. The low price though suggests accessibility for a wider readership. Furneaux explores the various interpretations that are provoked by the image of a recovering wounded soldier creatively employing his convalescent time. The sober, industrious soldier making himself useful, would fit into the sympathetic portrayals that composed the middle-class narrative. She also points to the propaganda aspect of the image seen by some as 'designed to allay public concerns over hospital conditions for soldiers'.[72] Hitherto such concerns were seldom expressed. During the war though, they pointed to a revision of attitudes regarding the welfare of the soldier.

As well as artistic genres, the relatively new science of photography was deployed during the war. Roger Fenton took hundreds of images of individuals, groups and scenes. Within this range there were, for the first time, portrayals of ordinary soldiers.

For the Victorian public Fenton's images were dazzling by their sheer innovation. Despite this, his collection of photographs was not a commercial success, proving too expensive even for the deepening pockets of the middle class.[73]

On their return home, wearing their medals, the photographed soldiers were part of the process of celebration, heroization and accusation. If Fenton did not capture the horror of war in the Crimea, the work of photographers Cundall and Howlett, in London, certainly did. On Royal commission, they photographed the invalids visited by the Queen and Prince Albert at Chatham and Fort Pitt. The men's images were taken as individuals, pairs and groups and their names and wounds suffered attached to their photographs.

As well as the wounded, Cundall and Howlett photographed individuals and groups of named soldiers in rude health. Lalumia suggests that the publication of photographs entitled 'Crimean Heroes' or 'Crimean Braves' was driven by the public desire to find something positive about the war and the suffering that went with it. The publication was an expanded version of work commissioned by the Queen, and 'aimed at the commercial market'.[74] Still sporting their Crimean beards and whiskers and some wearing their medals, they were a mixture of the exotic and the ordinary. The fact that they were other ranks, or non-commissioned officers, added to the novelty. Accurate engravings, based on some of the photographs, appeared in the *Illustrated London News*, further disseminating the coverage of the subjects. Their images were a physical manifestation of a political reality. They were useful tools exploited to emphasise the decline of old ways, power

72 Furneaux, pp. 183–184.
73 Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the Crimean War* (London: Secker &Warburg, 1954), p. 2.
74 Lalumia, p. 127.

structures and ideas and the rising tide of new middle-class confidence. Like any tool, once it has served its purpose, it can be discarded.

The Exemplary Thomas Dawson

Debates regarding the Army through the press were stimulated in 1855 by the setting up, in parliament, of the Roebuck Select Committee of Enquiry. Their focus was on the Army before Sebastopol. Dereli links the dual objectives of the process. First to air the perceived grievances relating to the administration of the Army and second to examine the aristocratic monopoly of senior positions in the service.[75]

Among the witnesses called before the committee was a Sergeant Thomas Dawson from the Grenadier Guards. Through close questioning he related his experiences. The press reported the process. The *Punch* cartoon of 'The Queen's Visit to the Crimean Imbeciles', mentioned in the accompanying text 'the rigours of cross examination by Mr Roebuck's Select Committee'. It lampooned Dr Andrew Smith who was responsible for the medical services in the Crimea and Dr Menzies at Scutari. The gradual unfolding of a shocking narrative of suffering and mismanagement fed the growing sense of middle-class unease regarding the leadership of the Army.

Dawson exemplified the convergence of the political and cultural forces at work to press for change. He was reported, interviewed, inspected, paraded, photographed and his image engraved and later painted. He was a man from humble origins but the war had transformed him into a celebrity.

His left arm amputated after Inkerman, he had been in the group of invalided Grenadier Guardsmen seen by the Queen at Buckingham Palace in February. He was portrayed in the painting of the scene. In March Dawson was the only non-commissioned officer to appear before the Roebuck Committee and his widely reported evidence was damning. He described his diet of raw vegetables, gritty, sour bread, no porter beer, raw green coffee beans and an agonising journey in one of the new ambulances, following the shattering of his arm. Loyally he said he could not find fault with the Commissariat except for the green coffee beans.[76]

In May he was photographed with his daughter at his knee. The *Illustrated Times* organised the photographs to be taken by John Mayall. One was in turn copied and modified into a wood engraving and appeared in the paper. The Queen first saw the photograph when she was visiting The Polytechnic Institution and was pleased to purchase it. Some papers reported that:

75 Dereli, pp. 100–106.
76 'The Army Before Sebastopol', *Globe*, 13 March 1855, p. 3.

> […] the subject being an artistic design representing a soldier who had lost an arm at the battle of Inkerman, and whose child – a little girl of some six or seven years of age – is looking up into his face with an expression of grief at her father's misfortune. The picture conveys the portrait of Sergeant Dawson, who, it may be remembered, was promoted for his bravery at the battle of the Alma.[77]

An engraving based on the photograph, was published in the paper, but went a step further. There is a woman, his wife, behind Dawson with her arm around his shoulder. Her downcast eyes suggest compassion and sympathy. The child is looking at his coat and her hand clutches part of it. Visible on this coat is the Crimea Medal with its clasps. In both photograph and engraving Dawson's eyes show the trauma of suffering bravely born.[78] The ordinary working-class soldier's celebrity reflected middle-class values of family, duty and patriotism. The reportage in the *Illustrated Times* described him as a 'dilapidated hero' with 'battered shoulders'. It mentioned how disappointed he was to leave the field at Inkerman before victory was assured and how proud he was to have served his country. The piece also mentioned Queen Victoria obtaining a copy of the photograph.[79] The addition of Dawson's wife, even though she was absent when the photograph was taken, suggests a deliberate manipulation of the image in order to reinforce the sympathetic narrative.

Dawson exemplified the political and cultural exploitation of the hero-soldier by the middle-classes as a means of emphasising their ascendancy. The hero-soldier provided a rich cultural and artistic motif that endured long after the war. The works of Lady Butler in the 1870s exemplified this process.[80]

Dormant Goodwill and the Novelty of Remembrance

When the war was over and following the Indian Mutiny, middle-class enthusiasms gradually cooled and waned in the years that followed. In the short term, no war meant no reportage in the press and consequently no focus for public attention.

A reviewer of a book describing the conditions before Sebastopol and published in May 1855, stated: 'The incident that robs London of reason to-day is forgotten a week hence; the sufferings of the army in the Crimea are, for the purposes of excitement, a thing of the past'.[81] This was reinforced by Florence Nightingale's view, in April 1856, that 'in 6 months all these sufferings will be forgotten'.[82]

77 'Polytechnic Institution', *Morning Post*, 16 May 1855, p. 5.
78 Lalumia, Image 44. See 'A Convalescent from Inkerman', *Illustrated Times*, 1855.
79 'Sergeant Dawson', *Illustrated Times*, 9 June 1855, p. 5.
80 Paul Usherwood and Jenny Spencer-Smith, *Lady Butler Battle Artist 1846-1933* (London: Alan Sutton, 1987).
81 Sweetman, *War and Administration*, pp. 128–133.
82 Lynn McDonald, *Florence Nightingale and The Crimean War* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), p. 248.

The transient attention span of the literate public had its origins in the the mid-nineteenth century. Public expressions of sympathy for the hero-soldier, though, were genuine at the time. These were expressed and disseminated as long as the war was reported. But the reviewers assertion that the reported suffering was for the 'purposes of excitement' suggests a questionable shallowness of public sentiment. Press reportage drew out goodness and compassion in people and gave a focus and lead for its expression. Russell's writings released what A. L. Berridge describes as 'a tsunami of goodwill' and put a human face on the British soldier so that the British public could never again 'unsee' them.[83]

Press stimulation and manipulation of compassionate sentiments did not invalidate them. The various funds set up during the war for the benefit of soldiers and the reaction of the public to the sick and wounded did not evaporate as soon as the war was over. It could be argued that, lacking focus, the regard expressed gradually became dormant.

How the conflicts were remembered and memorialised immediately afterwards demands scrutiny. When peace was declared the illustrated papers were full of depictions of celebrations. Absent were representations of the aristocracy who were significant during the conflict. There were new heroes and heroines who continued the innovative trends that characterised the war.

For the first time women were memorialised. Two in particular are remembered as 'nurses' though neither would accurately fit that description. Florence Nightingale and Mary Seacole achieved celebrity for the compassion they showed to the men regardless of rank. The former was a formidable reforming medical administrator, the latter a determined, Creole herbalist and entrepreneur. Mary Poovey sees Florence Nightingale's work in the Crimea, and afterwards, as part of 'the expansion of middle-class hegemony' and the 'gradual centralization of the British state'.[84]

Bates refers to the iconic 'Lady with the Lamp' as the 'war's sole redeemer' in public perception.[85] Her exemplary status leading to reverence that was almost hagiographical.[86]
Press reportage regarding Mary Seacole immediately after the war was sympathetic but it would be the twenty first century before a statue of her was erected in London.

The Crimean memorial at Waterloo Place in central London commemorates the three Guards regiments with the figures of three Guardsmen. The metal for these representations came from melted down Russian ordnance captured when Sebastopol fell. There was no national

83 A. L. Berridge, 'Off the Chart: The Crimean War in British Public Consciousness', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies of the Long Nineteenth Century*, 20 (2015), [1–23].
84 Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Virago Press, 1988), p. 195.
85 Rachel Bates, *War: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2015), p. 191.
86 Ibid., pp. 156–158.

memorial but across the country it was left to civic authorities to decide whether or not to raise a monument.

The large number of captured Russian guns were a convenient and inexpensive option for many towns and cities. Some, like Tralee and Cheltenham, used the pieces to surmount memorials that bore the names of those lost. Others, like Bristol, displayed only the guns with plaques on their carriages related to their origin. The display of captured guns had biblical nuances. The transformation of weaponry into objects for children to clamber over, echoed the beating of swords into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks.[87]

From the Monarch to the lowest in Victorian society, the hitherto reviled stereotype of the Redcoat was transformed to the soldier-hero. Between the two extremes, the creative community of literary and artistic talent strove to reinforce this perception. The innovative nature of the Crimean War singled it out from other conflicts and became a factor in the idealised retrospective references that led to the establishment of the veterans associations of the 1890s.

Figure 1: H. F. Tarring, *One of the Guns of Brandon Hill Guns in the 1930s*, February 1929, photograph, reproduced courtesy of Geoffrey Tarring

87 Isiah 2. 4.

Chapter 2

The Establishment of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations

A combination of factors in the early 1890s saw the expansion of a limited campaign on behalf of a few hundred celebrated veterans, transformed into a national movement. This transformation included the Bristol veterans. It is traced and expounded here for the first time. The historiography for this chapter relies on local and national press reportage to inform the narrative. The publication of letters and reports surrounding the unfolding debate led to a widespread awareness of the problems faced by veterans and the endeavours of those who laboured on their behalf.

These efforts led to growing pressure on the War Office for special treatment for the veterans of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny. The original scandal centred around the condition of some of the Light Brigade veterans. Though lauded and lionized in verse, some of the idealized heroes were found to be in a state of desperate poverty. The widely publicised campaign to alleviate their plight eventually expanded to agitation on behalf of all those who had served in the Crimea, to receive a special pension. Impassioned activists, a supportive Press and public and the organisation of veterans into associations, became the main characteristics of the phenomenon. Inhibiting and opposing them was the slow, fastidious bureaucracy, based on law and Royal Warrant, of the Chelsea Commissioners and their paymasters the Treasury.

As the decade progressed, calls for national military pensions reform and radical objectives of the early activists faded. They were supplanted by the veterans' immediate needs being met by the administration of local philanthropy.

Who Cares for the Army?

Public enthusiasm for its forces fluctuated in the years after the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny. These fluctuations influenced the lives of soldiers and veterans. Edward Spiers sees the six years that covered the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny and the invasion scare of 1859 as 'a pivotal period in the relations between the Army and society'.[1] He focuses on the issues of the purchase of commissions, the education of officers, the health of the Army and the popularity of the Volunteer movement in the 1860s. He relates a dismal narrative of a faltering impetus for reform defeated by regulations, inertia and parsimony.

1 Edward Spiers, *The Army and Society 1815–1914* (London: Longmans, 1980), pp. 145–162.

There was a Commission of Inquiry in 1857–58, into the sanitary state of the Army. The reformers, led by Florence Nightingale and Sidney Herbert, supplied the Commission with a horror story supported by statistics.

The Army at home was blighted with venereal disease and lived in squalid accommodation little better than the urban slums familiar to many rankers. There was a brief period between 1859 and 1861 when Herbert was Secretary of State for War, when it appeared that the reformers might prevail. Overworked and ailing, Herbert eventually lost the battle with the Treasury for the continued funding of barrack improvements. Spiers also observes that the health of the Army no longer enjoyed the attention from the press. With the end of the invasion scare of 1859, economy rather than military expenditure became the familiar default sentiment. This further reinforces the contention that for the soldier-hero of 1854–59, middle-class interest was a passing aberration, briefly central to their political ambitions. By the beginning of the 1860s there was a return to the pre-Crimean mixture of apathy, contempt and hostility. Sidney Herbert's death in 1861 added to the fading of reformist momentum. The position of the soldier as wartime hero and peacetime burden, or menace, as expressed in verse over two centuries (discussed in the previous chapter) returned as a norm. God may not have been forgot but certainly the soldier was slighted.

The Volunteer Movement and the Army

The Army, always short of men, had further competition from the amateur Volunteer movement. Supported by *The Times*, especially during 1859, the Volunteers became a *cause celebre*. Spiers observes that in accepting the creation of Rifle Volunteer units, the Derby administration satisfied the clamour in the press. Also the Rifle Volunteers had to fund their own uniforms and facilities and so cost the State nothing. Additionally it had the potential to be of use as a reserve force.[2] Though the social composition of the Volunteers changed, with middle-class members being replaced by upper working-class enthusiasts and artisans, in some quarters, its success was seen as an opportunity to reduce the size, and therefore the expense, of the standing Army. Like an echo of the appreciation that the soldier was a human being just before the Crimean War, was the abolition of flogging in 1868. Arthur Otway, who proposed the motion in the Commons, reminded the House that:

> […] the British soldier had been a model of valour and discipline and yet he was subjected to the same degradation as a cowardly garotter or convicted felon. Parliament had recently admitted the fathers and brothers of the nation's soldiers within the pale of the Constitution; let them do one more thing – let them endeavour to elevate the soldier

2 Ibid., p. 165.

> rather than degrade him; let them make him feel that he was an armed citizen of a free country.[3]

Apart from the humanitarian aspect of this reform, Otway's words show how much the status of the soldier, for the middle classes, had slipped back to the pre-1850s negatives.

Post-Crimean Conflicting Perspectives on the Army

The reforms of Cardwell restructured the Army and Reserve forces in order to rationalise the balance between resources and commitments. Shortfalls in recruiting targets led to a lowering of standards. The Army continued to draw its recruits from the urban slums even though the old, discredited recruiting practices were abolished. Alan Ramsay Skelley's study of the Victorian army at home examines the problem of recruitment and devotes a section to 'The Image of the Army'. He identifies how public regard for the soldier was a critical factor in the success or failure of recruitment. In broad terms, he cites the traditional mistrust of the standing army as significant and claims that: 'During the nineteenth century suspicion of and disregard for the army was widespread throughout all levels of society'.

The sources of this unpopularity, he claims, were a preference for the Navy as the main defenders of the country, the practice of billeting troops on inn-keepers and members of the public for want of sufficient barrack space and the dishonest trickery and fraud of Recruiting Sergeants.

These and 'the repelling conditions of military service convinced many ordinary men that the army was the dustbin of the nation'. Whereas the press had been the champion of the private soldier and his plight in the Crimea, Skelley observes that afterwards, the press encouraged negative attitudes towards the army. Local papers tended to ignore the regular army and only published stories that showed the service in a bad light like 'the destitution of a pensioner or the capture of a deserter'. He quotes John Holms writing in the *Nineteenth Century*, in 1878, in an article entitled 'Our Army and the People'. Holms observed: 'The Army appears to be the only institution in the kingdom which is outside of the people. They know nothing of it, take no interest in it, and express no opinion of it'.

Skelley reinforces his point with two examples of the extreme reactions of parents to sons enlisting in 1877. John Fraser's father used the word 'disgrace' and declared he would prefer to see him out of work for the rest of his life and even more extreme, '...he would rather see me in my grave'. William Robertson's mother reminded him that there were plenty of opportunities for

3 'Mr. Otway', 'Mutiny Bill – Committee', *House Of Commons Hansard*, vol. 191, 26 March 1868, cc. 321–6 (cc. 321–232) https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1868-03-26/debates/1a3c28e9-b353-40d8-9d90-fb6e9e1f56b7/MutinyBill%E2%80%94Committee [accessed 20/11/2020].

literate young men and that the Army 'was a refuge for all idle people...I shall name it to no one for I am ashamed to think of it. I would rather bury you than see you in a red coat'.[4]

Spiers provides a contrasting positive narrative. He describes the last quarter of the nineteenth century, with its succession of small colonial wars, as one where there was unprecedented interest in the role of the Army. Press reportage of their campaigns, histories, biographies and articles fed an 'apparently insatiable market for romantic and idealistic accounts of martial adventure in distant parts of the Empire'.[5] He rightly points out some of the paradoxes behind this phenomenon. The public enjoyed the pageantry and spectacle of the Army but had little interest in the lives of its soldiers or its training and reform. Spiers sums up this contradiction with a quote from a foreign observer, Theodore von Sosnosky: 'How this blind glorification and worship of the Army continues to coexist with the contemptuous dislike felt towards members of it, must remain a problem in the national psychology'.[6] It was the convergence of a number of factors that led to the embrace of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans in sympathetic public perceptions of the military.

The Status and Condition of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans in the 1890s

Most veterans of the Crimean War and The Indian Mutiny were born in the first half of the 1830s. Therefore they were either in, or approaching, their 60s in the 1890s. The most common description of the trade or occupation of recruits before and during the two campaigns was that of 'labourer' – that is to say – an unskilled individual whose physical strength is for hire. Constitutions ruined or impaired by campaigning inevitably impinged on the ability of some to continue physical work. With no means to function economically, the prospects and options faced by such men were bleak. The last refuge of the destitute was the Union Workhouse, or in Scotland, the Poorhouse. These places were made deliberately unwelcoming in order to deter the feckless or undeserving poor from exploiting their provision. Going to the Workhouse was stigmatised with shame and degradation and, in some cases, abuse. In one report the paupers were recorded as being 'in a state of slavish fear in the house'.[7]

To be entitled to a pension on discharge from the Army relied on two main conditions: a wound or physical disability contracted during military service which rendered the sufferer 'unfit for further service' and was not the result of vice or intemperance. The other condition was length

4 Alan Ramsay Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home* (Montreal: Croom Helm Ltd, 1977), pp. 243–247.
5 Spiers, p. 206.
6 Ibid.
7 'Inquiry into the Alleged Abuses at the Andover Union Poor House', *Hampshire Advertiser*, 6 September 1845, p. 5.

of service. A soldier of good character with good conduct badges to his name and over 21 years service could be discharged 'free to pension'. The administration of Army pensions was conducted by The Royal Hospital Chelsea, under regulations laid down by Royal Warrant.

A tiny number of pension recipients were 'in-pensioners' who resided in the Royal Hospital. The majority however, were 'out-pensioners'. These men received their money via the Post Office in the pension districts where they lived.

Even for those veterans with a small pension, the prospects of employment for some, were discouraging and continued to be so into the 1890s.[8] Apart from the wounded and the long-serving, the majority were discharged without pension. Within the 'wounded' category some were on temporary pensions and others on very small permanent pensions.

British army campaigns in India, Afghanistan and Africa following the end of the Indian Mutiny in 1859 and into the last quarter of the century meant that the participants in these conflicts were still relatively young in the 1890s. The ageing population of veterans who had participated in campaigns before 1860 however, became the focus of growing concerns about their condition and fate. These concerns were sharpened by the celebrity of some of the impoverished veterans like the 'Noble 600'.

Celebrity and Neglect: The Veterans of the Light Brigade

The destruction of the Light Cavalry Brigade at the Battle of Balaclava on 25 October 1854 had unforeseen repercussions. Notwithstanding the obvious military considerations that the loss of this part of the Cavalry Division had on the Army, there was a psychological reaction. The destruction became the focus of analysis. Apart from Russian shot and shell, military ineptitude was complicit in its demise. The quest for culpability for the disaster saw the Commanding Officer of the Cavalry Division, Lord Lucan, recalled. Mixed with the horror of a charge into a cross-fire of musket and artillery fire, was a profound admiration for the manner in which the Light Brigade obeyed its orders. Obedience, *sang froid*, manliness, discipline, courage, noble devotion to duty in the face of seemingly suicidal instructions, these qualities emerged from the wreckage of the Brigade as a counter-point to the incompetence that sent them to their destruction.

The Poet Laureate, Alfred Lord Tennyson, inspired by William Russell's report in the Times, captured the public imagination with his narrative poem 'The Charge of the Light Brigade'. Written in December 1854 it was first published in the Examiner on 9 December.[9] The last few lines of the final stanza asks 'when can their glory fade?' and exhorts the reader to 'Honour the Light Brigade',

8 Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army 1868–1902* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 146–147.
9 'The Charge of the Light Brigade', *Political Examiner*, 9 December 1854, p. 780.

The descriptions of the Brigade thereafter as the '600' or 'The Noble 600' became essential epithets in any reference to the event and survivors.[10]

Light Brigade Veterans and the Workhouse Scandal

In the years following the end of the war, the press regularly reported the annual dinners held by officer survivors of the charge. The year 1875 saw the twenty-first anniversary of the Charge of the Light Brigade and a Balaclava celebration was organized at Alexandra Palace in London. The *Illustrated London News* contained extensive reportage and engravings of the survivors.[11] Attending were some men who had received the Balaclava clasp but had not participated in either Cavalry actions. Two years later 'The Balaclava Commemoration Society' (BCS) was formed with its membership eventually restricted to participants.

'The Light Brigade' and 'The Noble 600' however, needed little publicity. Since the publication of Tennyson's poem it had become a popular piece to be recited at entertainments. Provincial papers regularly reported recitations.[12] With the establishment of the BCS, annual dinners were to be held each year in October on the anniversary of the battle. At some of these dinners, the celebrated thespian, William Pennington, who had ridden in the charge with the 11th Hussars, delivered his recitation of Tennyson's poem. The society was not a charity and members were expected to pay a sum of five shillings toward the cost of the annual dinner.[13]

Preparations for the dinner to be held in October 1890 revealed the circumstances and condition of some of the veterans that grew into a national scandal. The previous year there had been press comment regarding the poor circumstances of some of the Light Brigade survivors. In January 1890 the *Westmorland Gazette* drew readers' attention to the poverty of these veterans and the disgrace that some of them were in the workhouse. The report quoted an address to the survivors of the charge allegedly by Lord Cardigan the day after the battle:

> My men, you have done a glorious deed. England will be proud of you, and grateful to you. If you live to get home, be sure you will be provided for. Not one of you fine fellows will ever have to seek refuge in the workhouse.[14]

An earlier version of this quotation appeared in the radical *Reynolds Newspaper* in August 1883. In an article drawing attention to the plight of a Light Brigade veteran named John Richardson, the following quotation, attributed to Lord Cardigan, was published: 'Men and brave soldiers, if you

10 Rachel Bates, 'Negotiating a Tangled Web of Pride and Shame', *Museum and Society*, 13. 4 (2015), 503–517.
11 'Balaclava Banquet', *Illustrated London News*, 25 October 1875, pp. 417–443.
12 'Budget of Facts', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15 September 1860, p. 6, 'Bluejacket in Liverpool', *Bristol Mercury*, 26 September 1863, 'Broadmead Rooms', *Western Daily Press*, 16 November 1864.
13 William M. Lummis and Kenneth G. Wynn, 'Appendix III, rule 7', *Honour the Light Brigade*, (London: Hayward, 1973), p. 312.
14 'Here and There', *Westmorland Gazette*, 11 January 1890.

live to get home, you will be provided for after this blunder'.[15] It is a modest, less fulsome commitment with none of the detail or force of the later version. The later, conveniently relevant, quotation was referred to in future reports of the pensions campaign.[16] The *Gloucester Citizen* in April 1890 used it and mentioned 'shameful neglect of Balaclava heroes by the War Office and the British public'. The paper observed that the Light Brigade veterans 'ought to have jealously cherished the promise of Lord Cardigan and insisted on its being carried out fully'.[17] The provenance of Cardigan's 'promise' however, is suspect, with no contemporary sources from the Crimean War ever mentioning it. The *Pall Mall,* in April 1890, used the quotation, but Lieutenant Wightman, formerly of the 17th Lancers, stated that with regard to Cardigan's words 'I wasn't there to hear them'.[18]

During the course of the previous year other provincial papers reported the deaths of impoverished Light Brigade veterans. The *Edinburgh Evening News* on 2 July drew attention to James Whitehead, who had died 'totally unprovided for in his old age, and never received a pension'.[19]

The *Yorkshire Post* on 14 October 1889 advertised for a subscription to assist northern Light Brigade veterans, who, through poverty, would not be able to attend a commemorative dinner for them at Hulme Town Hall.[20] The BCS could not hold its annual dinner due to lack of funds. At a meeting on 5 October 1889 the BCS committee had resolved to rescind a rule in the constitution that forbade the asking for assistance from the general public.[21] A distasteful and shameful connection was beginning to emerge between the 'noble veteran' and poverty leading to the humiliation of the workhouse and paupers grave.

The Deserving and Undeserving Poor

The New Poor Law Act of 1834 had ended most 'outdoor relief'. Under the new arrangements, to receive any assistance from the parish, the destitute individual would have to go into a Union Workhouse. They were so called because they catered for the poor of a number of parishes whose combined rate-payers funded the establishment. There was an ambiguity regarding their function.

15 'Another Court Job', *Reynold's Newspaper*, 19 August 1883, p. 4.
16 See Laurence Flood, 'England's Heroes and the Balaclava Charge: Letter to the Editor', *Manchester Courier*, 21 May 1890, p. 3.
17 'Topics of the Day', *Gloucester Citizen*, 16 April 1890, p. 3.
18 'All That was Left of Six Hundred', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 April 1890, p. 7.
19 'Notes on Current Topics', *Yorkshire Post*, 14 October 1889, p. 4.
20 Ibid.
21 'All That was Left of Six Hundred', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 April 1890, p. 7.

Were they places of sanctuary or punishment? In most cases the latter was the predominant imperative. With regard to the undeserving poor:

> […] who from idle, disorderly, or thriftless habits, have reduced themselves to merited indigence and disgrace, your workhouse should be for such, a place wholesome restriction and discipline....[as to] convince such individuals of the propriety of providing the means of their own support by their own industry elsewhere.[22]

These places were severe, regardless of the distinction between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' poor. The inmate was subject to strict regulation. There was Christianity, corruption, correction and cruelty. The shame associated with going to the Workhouse, was amplified by the necessity that compelled celebrated former soldiers to go there. The elevation of the veterans above the ordinary 'deserving poor' created its own mythology. Wounded soldiers who were discharged during or after the war, of 'indifferent' or 'bad' character became idealised 'noble heroes' by merely participating in and surviving the conflict. The myth was extended further with the portrayal of the soldier as a defender of hearth and home. The political, religious and strategic details of the causes and purpose of the war, were ignored.

Spasmodic Public Gratitude

In the first weeks of 1890 provincial papers reported the work of the *Manchester Sporting Chronicle*. This paper published a list of Light Brigade veterans and their poverty, giving their names, regiments and circumstances. For a number of years in that city the 'Hulme Fund' had raised money to support local Light Brigade veterans through entertainments and subscription.[23]

The *Shields Daily Gazette* wrote critically of the 'English Regard for Heroism'. The report referred to the modest sums raised to support the brother of Grace Darling and then turned its attention to the plight of many of the Light Brigade veterans. It concluded that:

> The English way is to feel a spasm of gratitude and enthusiasm and then let the heroes and heroines fare as they may, Tennyson in his poem had written of the charge at which 'all the world wondered' yet the veterans of the charge are permitted to drift to the workhouse or else starve.[24]

On the same day the *Northern Echo*, in a strongly pacifist piece, examined the dynamic of war and soldiering. The soldier was willing to be shot at in quarrels of which he was mostly ignorant for pay that was below that of a day labourer and 'with the poorhouse in prospect'. Again Tennyson's poem was quoted with: 'When can their glory fade!' The report concluded with its own question 'When

22 *Reports of the Sub-Committee Appointed by the Committee of Management of the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, for the Revision of Their Workhouse* (London: Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden Committee of Management, 1831), and see Ruth Richardson, *Dickens and the Workhouse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 219.
23 'Local News', *Manchester Times*, 4 January 1890, p. 7.
24 'The English Regard for Heroism', *Shields Daily Gazette*, 8 January 1890, p. 3.

shall their stomachs be filled, or their sufferings, and the sufferings of those dependent on them, be atoned for'.[25]

Widening the Perspective Beyond 'The Noble 600'

The *Leeds Times* for 11 January 1890, drew readers attention to impoverished veterans and used the Manchester list in its reportage.[26] A week later on 18 January 1890, the same paper featured a reflective article entitled 'On our worn out soldiers and how we treat them', which broadened the issue with reference to all who had participated in the Crimean War. It concluded with the sentence: 'England is guilty of a great crime towards these men'.[27] In the following weeks more letters appeared in northern and Scottish papers with details of the circumstances endured by other veterans, some of whom were in the workhouse or forced to sell their medals to survive. The *Peterhead Sentinel* described the 'ignoble trade' in medals and observed 'it is a sad expedient to which our old soldiers are sometimes driven either by poverty or dissipation'.[28]

Initially the Dundee newspapers, more than any other local press, was active in the publication of correspondence related to the plight of Crimean veterans. One letter in particular referred to what was to become the heart of the matter. Peter McLelland wrote that regardless of the political party in government, the Chelsea Hospital Commissioners were always in office and that no Liberals or radicals were ever likely to get a seat on that board.[29]

At a meeting in Dundee in March 1890 some fifty Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans assembled under the chairmanship of Mr Duncan McRae. A member of the True Britons Lodge of Good Templars, a fruiterer and former sergeant in the 3rd Foot, (The Buffs), Duncan McRae had been active in helping veterans in Dundee in the 1870s. He had been president of the Old Soldiers Union. This organisation was established in 1871 and as a form of Temperance/Friendly Society, helped defray the funeral costs of deceased veterans.[30] It also held 'Penny Readings', concerts and festivals to raise funds. Most of those whose families were assisted were deceased Waterloo veterans. The Old Soldiers Union activities were reported in the Dundee papers until July 1878 when the organisation dissolved due a decline in membership and consequent lack of funds.[31] Six

25 'When Shall Their Glory Fade!', *Northern Echo*, 8 January 1890, p. 2.
26 'Back From the Jaws of Death to Find the Gratitude of Their Country Dispensed in Workhouses', *Leeds Times*, 11 January 1890, p. 8.
27 'Tatler on Our Worn Out Soldiers and How We Treat Them', *Leeds Times*, 18 January 1890, p. 4.
28 'Tuesday February 4th 1890', *Peterhead Sentinel and General Advertiser for Buchan District*, 4 February 1890, p. 4.
29 'People's Opinions: How Our Old Soldiers are Treated', *Dundee Perth Forfar and Fife People's Journal*, 15 February 1890, p. 3.
30 'Dundee Old Soldiers Union Friendly Society', National Records of Scotland, FS4/1255/1-9.
31 'Dundee Old Soldiers Union Friendly Society', National Records of Scotland, FS4/1255/10.

years later, in July 1884, again under McRae's initiative, the Old Soldiers Union re-formed. McRae was elected President and Robert Martin, of Lochee, elected Vice President.

The initial objective of those working for the interests the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans in 1890 was to obtain a pension from the State, via the Chelsea Commissioners, for veterans of the two campaigns who were discharged without pension. The Dundee veterans would be in the vanguard and if they could 'spread the agitation through the whole of Britain their success would be assured'.[32] It was also suggested that the Member of Parliament for Dundee, Mr Edmund Robertson, should raise the matter with the Secretary for War, Mr Edward Stanhope.[33] Nine days later at another meeting it was resolved to try and achieve a pension of one shilling per day and also obtain an increase in pension for those veterans who were in receipt of a sum less than that. These were radical objectives.

The Power of Two Poems

At the same time the woes of some of the Light Brigade veterans, under the auspices of the BCS, became a parallel source of national shame. Just as Tennyson's poem had captivated the nation from 1854 onwards, Kipling's poem 'The Last of the Light Brigade', written in April 1890, condemned that nation for its indifference. The *Pall Mall Gazette* had, on 15 April 1890, published an appeal by Lieutenant Wightman and Mr James Herbert of the BCS Committee. Wightman and Herbert were veterans with troubled pasts.[34] The former, after showing much promise, ruined by an imprudent decision and the latter deserting after a set-back that saw him reduced to the ranks from Sergeant. The text of the appeal appeared in some provincial English and Scottish newspapers. Ten days later, again in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, they reported back that they had received the sum of £24.

The distance between the noble heroes of the Light Brigade, immortalised in Tennyson's poem and Kipling's 'twenty broken troopers' on their way to the workhouse via 'the master singer's' residence, was a vast one. Rather than using Tennyson's name Kipling termed him the 'master singer'. The poem is full of contrasts with reference to the rhetoric of honour and glory of

32 'Dundee Old Soldier's Grievances', *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 20 March 1890, p. 3.
33 Edmund Robertson 1845–1911: Scottish barrister and Liberal MP for Dundee 1885–1905, served under Gladstone, Lord Rosebury and Campbell Bannerman, created 1st Baron Lochee of Gowrie, Perth, 1908. See Matthew H. C. G., 'Stanhope, Edward', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26245 [accessed 20/11/2020].
34 Private James Wightman was a former 17th Lancer and the central figure in R. Caton Woodville's painting of the Charge of the Light Brigade. He was commissioned from the ranks into the Military Train in 1865 but was later compelled to resign following near bankruptcy as a result of a fraud. See The National Archives, (hereafter TNA), WO31/1442, Commander in Chief's Memoranda, Correspondence, December 1868. 1460 private James Herbert, formerly of the 4th Light Dragoons and deserter. See TNA, WO12/661, Muster Roll and Pay Lists 4th Light Dragoons, 1856–57.

Tennyson's poem. The poor, hungry but proud veterans are on their way to the workhouse despite being immortalized by Tennyson's poem. On the way there they call on him to ask if he would continue his poem and observe:

> You wrote o' the Light Brigade sir. Here's all that isn't dead.
> An' it's all come true what you wrote, sir, regardin' the mouth of hell;
> For we're all of us nigh to the workhouse, an' we thought we'd come n' tell.
> The old soldiers did not want food but they wanted it to be known :
> 'We think that someone has blundered, an' couldn't you tell 'em how?
> You wrote we were heroes once sir. Please write we are starving now.

The resonances with Tennyson's poem are found in the vocabulary with descriptions of 'want' being keener than 'Russian sabres'; 'the mouth of hell' and 'someone had blundered'. The last two stanzas deliver condemnatory and accusatory barbs directed at the nation. Kipling wrote that Tennyson takes up his pen on the old soldiers' behalf:

> Till the fatted souls of the English were scourged with a thing called Shame.
> O thirty million English that babble of England's might,
> Behold there are twenty heroes who lack their food to-night ;
> Our children's children are lisping to "honour the charge they made -"
> And we leave to the streets and the workhouse the charge of the Light Brigade.[35]

The censure of the poem is directed at the public not at the government. To their shame, Kipling suggests, it was the public who had failed the veterans. There was the inherent contradiction between the realities of poverty endured by some of the survivors of The Charge and their idealised collective identity expressed in Tennyson's verse. The play on words with regard to 'the charge of the Light Brigade' also added to the shaming emphasis that concluded the work.

Kipling wasn't the first to use poetry to draw attention to the injustices and deprivations suffered by the Light Brigade veterans. *Punch*, a week before Kipling's poem had been published, featured a poem entitled 'The Last of the Charge of the Light Brigade'. In a parody of Tennyson's poem it included the lines 'workhouse to the right of them, workhouse to the left of them, workhouse in front of them!'.[36] When this copy was disseminated across the United Kingdom, it provoked indignant comment. The *Nottingham Evening Post* 26 April 1890 mentioned 'niggardly patriotism'.[37]

The poems were instrumental in stirring a reaction. With the agreement of Herbert and Wightman, a powerful committee was formed in London, calling itself the 'Light Brigade Relief Committee' (LBRC). Among its members were Lord Tennyson, the Marquis of Hartington, Viscount Wolseley, the Earl of Airlie and the Secretary for War, Edward Stanhope. Monies raised would be paid into the Light Brigade Relief Fund (LBRF). The inclusion of Tennyson, the 'master-

35 M. M. Kaye *Rudyard Kipling: The Complete Verse* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1990), pp. 163–164.
36 'The Last Charge of the Light Brigade', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 23 April 1890, p. 2.
37 'Niggardly Patriotism', *Nottingham Evening Post*, 26 April 1890, p. 4.

singer' of Kipling's poem, provided a living link between the celebrated poem and the developing debate concerning the treatment of old soldiers.

According to the report in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 7 May 1890, Herbert and Wightman had been 'advised that they were not going to work in the wisest manner'. They had £40 in the bank and had collected £200. The establishment of the LBRC composed of prominent military and political figures had several consequences. They could use their prestige to generate and endorse publicity and therefore greater sums through donation. They could also establish the link between private charity and the righting of a perceived national shame, and deflect attention away from the government and the state to provide a remedy. There was an innate conservatism within this private philanthropy that softened the initial radical objectives of national military pension reform. The debate regarding whether the State should 'interfere' in a wide range of economic and social activities had emerged in the previous decade.[38] The radical connections of altruism with anti-imperialism, secularism, non-conformity and collectivism, put them outside the establishment response to the veterans controversy.

The press had been instrumental in publicizing the poverty of the veterans, it now became the main agency of alerting the public to the events and venues where their money could be donated. In London and most of the industrial cities, cultural activities like benefit fêtes and concerts, as well as Edison phonographic recordings and subscriptions, were instigated. These were advertised with the specific goal of raising money for the Light Brigade veterans from a sympathetic public at home and in the colonies. Before the end of May 1890 the LBRC had set up a sub-committee. Their purpose was to investigate the circumstances of the various applicants.[39] Before the end of May the LBRF had reached £2000.[40] Their activities and its sub-committee, continued until they were wound up in April 1891. By then they had received a total of £6753 1s 4d. In a letter written to the *Morning Post* and published on 6 April 1891 the LBRC gave an account of its work.

The 'Charge' of the Light Brigade

Initially it had been thought that about 20 Light Brigade veterans were destitute but they had received about 100 applications for relief. Within this total, a small number were destitute but a greater number were described as 'in distress'. Therefore the committee had decided not to restrict its activities exclusively to those in extreme poverty but to broaden its charity to provide relief to

38 Dixon, pp. 226–243.
39 'The Light Brigade Relief Fund', *London Evening Standard*, 20 May 1890, p. 3.
40 'The Evening News', *Edinburgh Evening News*, 22 May 1890, p. 2.

others. Applicants were divided into classes according to their relative poverty with due regard to their age, character and necessities. The research for this had involved the War Office, parish officials, various charitable organizations as well as Light Brigade veterans 'holding good positions'. As a result of enquiries made, the LBRF divided into two portions. Half of the money collected was expended on grants paid either to the veterans themselves or to 'responsible persons' like ministers and County Court judges, who had consented to take charge of the money and pay it out in instalments. They adopted a system of classification as follows: £15 limit to those veterans in receipt of government pensions and allowances of over a shilling per day; £30 limit to those who were in poverty but not precluded by age or infirmity from earning a living; £60 for unpensioned men who seemed disabled from employment owing to ill health or age. The remaining total was to be handed over to the commissioners of the Patriotic Fund 'to dispose of it according to an actuarial calculation' in payments of a few shillings per week to the oldest and most destitute of Light Brigade survivors. Finally the letter referred to those Light Brigade veterans who were classed as 'hopeless'. These men, because of drunkenness or other vices, were in the workhouse and it was considered useless to take them out from there. Therefore small amounts of money would be made available for occasional luxuries. The report revealed the underlying philosophy of the committee, that charitable relief had to be specifically targeted and appropriate to the needs of the recipient. It also recognized the reality at odds with the idealisation of the veterans. Some of the 'Noble 600' were ignoble drunks and wastrels better left in the Workhouse.

The Government's Response

The Government response to the growing pressure for special treatment for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans was measured. Their perspective was expressed in a letter in the month following the creation of the LBRC, by Stanhope, to the editor of the *West Kent Advertiser* and republished in some provincial papers including the *Manchester Courier* on 26 June 1890. Stanhope desired to remove some misapprehensions in regard to Balaclava veterans. He wrote that the Government had considered whether it would be justified in providing special pensions to the Balaclava survivors. The difficulties of drawing a line between them and other Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans who had also served and suffered were insuperable. He observed that in many cases the veterans were disqualified from pensions due to misconduct or insufficient service. It was therefore impossible to expect the taxpayer to provide funds for their support. Furthermore considerable numbers of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans did not come within the strict limits of the regulations. These regulations were framed under Acts of Parliament and it was not within his power to disregard them. Stanhope concluded that it was only proper that these cases should be met by private effort.

In the case of the Balaclava survivors this was already being done. A committee had been set up which included the Duke of Cambridge, Lord Hartington, Lord Wolseley, Sir Ralph Thompson and himself, to organize the collection of funds. He concluded:

> I do not think it can with any justice be contended that the present Government, any more than its predecessors, have been unmindful of the wants of old soldiers; but we have all been bound by regulations which we could not, in justice to the taxpayer, ask the House of Commons to relax.[41]

The First Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations

In Dundee at the end of April 1890, the veterans put themselves on a permanent basis. The 'Association of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans in Dundee' was established by McRae (Chairman) and William Martin (Secretary). They resolved to send a circular to all Members of Parliament regarding the provision of a pension to all unpensioned veterans who through age or infirmity or both, could no longer work. In order to provide evidence of the level of need, Robert Martin requested letters to be sent to him regarding the circumstances of needy old Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. If they achieved their aim they would:

> […] meet with the cordial approval of all classes; conduce to voluntary enlistment a better class of men; wipe out a national reproach and cheer the declining years of a rapidly decreasing band who had fought and bled to maintain the honour and prestige of their country.[42]

In August Duncan McRae and Thomas Evans stepped down and were eventually replaced by William Martin and Peter McLelland.[43] Throughout the year the press maintained the pressure by publishing harrowing letters and reporting cases of the poverty and penury of the old soldiers. In January, for example, the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* published the story of James Gorman VC who had died in a 'miserable, dark and dirty place'. They reported his valour during the Crimean War that had won him the Victoria Cross. He had been severely wounded. The report pointed out that he had left a widow and several children totally unprovided for and that the room where he died was a top garret where the roof was in a very bad condition.[44] The dynamic of the patriotic, brave and noble soldiers descending, as veterans, into penury in dilapidated hovels or the workhouse became the effective mechanism to elicit public sympathy. The Press also publicised the political support of local civic leaders and Members of Parliament who were beginning to represent the veterans' cause in the Commons.

41 'Mr Stanhope and the Light Brigade', *Manchester Courier*, 26 June 1890, p. 8.
42 'The Claims of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Dundee Courier*, 30 April 1890, p. 4.
43 'Crimean and Indian Veterans', *Dundee Advertiser*, 12 August 1890, p. 6.
44 'Sad Death of a Crimean and Indian Hero', *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 1 January 1890, p. 2.

The Aberdeen Association meeting in June, referred to the March 1874 precedent of the Royal Warrant which awarded all Peninsular and Waterloo veterans a pension. Those who were of fighting age in 1815 were mostly born in the 1790s. This was the first signing of a Royal Warrant by the new Secretary of State for War in the Disraeli government, Gathorne Hardy. The government's provision, it was revealed at the time, helped some 400 veterans who were in want of relief.[45] Throughout the previous year there had been a regular procession of obituaries in the provincial press as the aged veterans of the Napoleonic Wars died. There were disturbing accounts of the poverty of some and their efforts to survive. At the beginning of the year *Punch* had predicted that 'Begging letters will appear in the newspapers on behalf of Trafalgar and Waterloo veterans allowed by this great and grateful country to die in poverty and the workhouse'.[46] The *Falkirk Herald* of 15 February 1873, published a poem which combined the description of poverty endured by the veteran and the ingratitude of the people and the indifference of the state. It was signed 'J. K.' and ended with the line: 'Then why so little of thine ample store | Dost thou oh Britain! on thy veteran pour?'.[47]

There is a parallel between the dynamic which led to the Royal Warrant of March 1874 for aged Peninsular and Waterloo veterans, and the growing campaign in 1890 for veterans of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. The idealised poor veteran-hero had been shamefully neglected by the ungrateful and indifferent state and society. They allowed such men, defenders of Britain's honour and prestige, to end their days in the workhouse. Apart from the outcome, the major difference in the 1890s, was the organization of some veterans into local associations and the numbers involved. The 1874 Royal Warrant brought succour to a very limited and diminishing number of ancient veterans. This provision, though popular, was little more than gesture politics. Whereas the Peninsular and Waterloo veterans were counted in hundreds in 1874, the number of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans in 1890 went into thousands.

Expanding the Agitation

A combination of press coverage and 'evangelical' activity by the leaders of the Scottish Associations and local interest led to other associations being established in Scotland and the north of England. In Dundee, as the year's end approached, the local Members of Parliament met their constituents including the organizers of the city's veterans. During the meeting the subject of the agitation on behalf of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans was discussed. The meeting stated:

45 'General News', *Bradford Observer,* 22 April 1874, p. 4.
46 'Our Prospects', *Morning Post*, 8 January 1873, p. 7.
47 'Original Poetry', *Falkirk Herald,* 15 February 1873, p. 4.

> If they could get Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen and large English towns such as Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham to act along with them, they should be able to bring before the government exactly what they wanted [...] with regard to the veterans interests ... to them in Dundee belonged the credit of starting the agitation and to their MP's was due the credit of leading in this matter in parliament.[48]

At the beginning of 1891 the provincial papers disseminated a letter written by Thomas Evans of the Dundee association, to the *Dundee Courier* entitled 'Our Old Soldiers'. Evans, himself a Crimean veteran, exhorted the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Association to do something to alleviate the immediate distress suffered by impoverished, unpensioned veterans. He drew attention to the men who had fought 'so nobly' on Alma's heights. He reminded them of the 'fearful' battle of Inkerman and the 'dreadful suffering' in the winter of 1854–55. Contrasting with these extreme war experiences was the daily penury and despair of veteran Edward Patterson. This man had served in the 42nd Highlanders (The Black Watch), but now had been driven to attempt suicide through poverty and lack of work. Evans called for the establishment of an Old Soldiers Union, funded by subscription, to address immediately the pressing needs of such veterans. He signed himself 'Thos. D. Evans, Messenger, Union Bank of Scotland, late Band of the 95th regt.'.[49] The letter appeared in Leeds, Liverpool and Belfast papers.

Robert Pedley and the National Campaign

In Leeds, Mr Robert Pedley, a mineral water manufacturer from Cheshire, established a veterans association in July 1891. As well as energetically promoting their cause in the press, he enlisted the support of local politicians, members of Parliament and philanthropic gentlemen. Pedley appreciated the value of evidence and was fastidious in the collection of research that demonstrated the levels of poverty and hardship endured by veterans. He also criticised the delay and prevarication by Stanhope, the Secretary of State for War, in response to questions put to him by the Dundee MPs.[50]

Even before the publication of Stanhope's letter in June 1890, there had been some correspondents writing in the provincial papers, advocating the agitation for pensions for all veterans of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny.[51] Major-General Alexander Elliot, who had been ADC to General James Scarlett in the Crimea, wrote to the *Morning Post* on 30 June suggesting that the Light Brigade appeal should be broadened to include all such veterans of the campaign.[52]

48 'The City Members and Their Constituents', *Dundee Advertiser,* 3 November 1890, p. 3.
49 'Our Old Soldiers', *Dundee Courier,* 25 February 1891, p. 2.
50 'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Leeds Mercury,* 9 July 1891, p. 8.
51 'The Light Brigade', *Glasgow Herald,* 20 May 1890, p. 9 and 'Our London Correspondence', *Liverpool Mercury,* 24 May 1890, p. 5.
52 'The Survivors of Balaclava', *Morning Post,* 30 June 1890, p. 2.

Questions in the House

The pressure on the government persisted through the activities of the Dundee Members of Parliament, Edmund Robertson and John Leng in the House of Commons. These members supported the local agitation and asked questions about Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans relief to Stanhope. There were false glimmers of success for their cause in the summer of 1891. In a debate on Army Estimates 1891–92, Robertson addressed Stanhope on the matter. He acknowledged that many of the veterans had no legal or moral claim to a pension if they were outside the regulatory parameters for entitlement. However he suggested that the War Office consider a 'compassionate allowance' subject to all reasonable restrictions. He referred to public support and added that there were potential benefits regarding recruitment. Robertson added: 'How can young men be tempted to enter the Army when they know – when they see before them – men who served the country well in the past, now ending their days in poverty and destitution, without the smallest State assistance'.[53]

Robertson also revealed that extensive research into the circumstances and backgrounds of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans had been undertaken in Dundee by Mr Martin. He added that similar research had been carried out in other towns by associations specifically formed for that purpose.

Stanhope countered these arguments by referring to the question of process and selection. How far, and to what extent, would it be possible to identify the deserving veteran? The cost of applying a universal pension to all unpensioned or low pensioned Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans would amount to £1,000,000. Therefore the War Office would only deal with those in extreme hardship and consider about 100 'really deserving' cases per year. Others in the debate supported Robertson and referred to the rightness of his cause. Some mentioned the Patriotic Fund and increasing the grant from the government to the Society for the Relief of Deserving Discharged Soldiers.[54]

As well as reporting agitation in Parliament, the provincial press regularly reported harrowing examples of veterans in the workhouse or on the verge of economic collapse. Maurice

53 'Army Estimates 1891-2', *Hansard,* 25 June 1891 *http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1891/jun/25/supply-army* [accessed 20/11/2020]/
54 Ibid., p. 45.

White, for example, had enlisted in 1846 into the 13th Light Dragoons. He was one of the Light Brigade.[55]

He was discharged in Leeds after 26 years service with 6 Good Conduct Badges and the silver medal for Long Service and Good Conduct. White was in receipt of a pension of 1/3d per day. He worked as a labourer until his health began to fail. White received some help from The Discharged Soldiers Friendly Society until 1889–90 when funds from this source dried up leaving him with 1/3d per day to live on. His circumstances were dire. With an ailing wife and half his weekly money going on rent the paper stated 'His needs and plight are immediate'. Even though White had not actually participated in the Charge of the Light Brigade, his cause was elevated by membership of it. It added weight to the injustice. Membership of the Brigade carried a cachet which added to the status of 'deserving' poor. Like Cardigan's 'promise', it would have been disadvantageous to the cause of the veterans' pensions to split hairs regarding inaccuracies of fact.

Petitions and Evidence of Suffering

Stanhope had hoped to defer an immediate response to the pressure, but by the end of July 1891 he answered Robertson's urgent enquiries. In that month, a petition with 5000 names from the people of Dundee was delivered by Robertson on behalf of the veterans. A similar petition from Aberdeen had also been delivered.[56] Stanhope informed Edmund Robertson that he would look into a limited number of strong claims, with the Chelsea Hospital Commissioners acting as umpires, in deciding cases, rather than deciding each case himself.[57] At Stanhope's request lists of cases to be reviewed were supplied by the organizers of the various Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations.

Lists were sent from Leeds, Manchester, Dundee, The Vale of Levan and Aberdeen. Pedley wrote to the *Leeds Mercury* and his letter was published on 18 August 1891. He wrote that he had supplied the Secretary of State with the lists but had received a letter from the Lords Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital. They informed him that they were only authorised to consider the giving of pensions to a limited number of unpensioned survivors of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny campaigns of good character, who hold medals, and who were discharged after not less than fourteen years service at their own request, or on reduction.[58] The final requirement was that they had to be reduced to destitution through old age, sickness or other circumstances. The letter

55 The press presented him as a survivor of the Charge, but it would appear he was not a participant. See Lummis and Wynn, p. 237.
56 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Morning Post,* 17 July 1891, p. 2.
57 'Relief of Veterans', *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent,* 29 July 1891, p. 5.
58 This refers to the contraction of the Army after a campaign or war.

concluded with reference to the lists they had been sent: ‘These cases referred to, therefore, have no claim’.

Here the Commissioners were plainly stating a truth that, within the parameters of the then present regulations, any applicant who had not satisfied the existing prerequisites of either a wound or sufficient time served would not be considered. The variations relating to unpensioned applicants were so prescriptive they would only apply to a narrow band of veterans and this would be further restricted by the terms relating to destitution.

Moral Outrage for a Shilling a Day

Pedley focused his wrath on Stanhope and in the same report in the *Leeds Mercury* he was unequivocal in his condemnation. He wrote, referring to the brave old defenders of our country ‘[who] are starving and dying’, that ‘the Secretary of State is doing everything in his power to prevent any allowance being made to them’. Pedley’s strategy was to exert moral pressure on the War Office by collecting and publicising nationally, the tragic stories of the veterans via the provincial press. The narrative power of individual biographies was multiplied by the press and added to the pressure on the War Office. Public opinion, fashioned by this intelligence, would bring opprobrium on the opposition. Also, he encouraged veterans to petition their MPs so that their cause would be supported and promoted in the Commons. With Jacobin echoes of the storming of the Bastille, Pedley posed the rhetorical question: ‘Will the people now assist us to storm the citadel of the War Office and obtain for these men a shilling a day?’

Between the summer and the end of the year 1891 the matter festered. Correspondence between an applicant, Allan Smith, formerly of the Royal Artillery, who appeared to fit the new restrictions and the Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of Chelsea Hospital was published in the *Dundee, Perth, Forfar and Fife’s People's Journal*, 7 November 1891. The exchange revealed a fastidious adherence to the letter of the law and a complete disregard for its spirit. Smith pointed out that the existing restrictions would disqualify any claimant. He observed that any soldier who had served fourteen years would receive a deferred pension (in his case 4d per day) and would therefore not satisfy the prerequisite of destitution. The Chelsea Commissioners replied reminding Smith of the restrictions concluding with: ‘He has therefore no claim’. This letter’s content became the default reply to Smith's further correspondence.[59]

National Association?

59 ‘How the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans are Treated by the War Office’, *Dundee, Perth, Forfar and Fife’s People’s Journal*, 7 November 1891, p. 3.

The end of 1891 saw the formal establishment of the Leeds and Glasgow Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations. The collaboration between the various associations had been demonstrated in a joint letter published at the beginning of July 1891 setting out their cause and requesting the organisation of petitions to parliament from 'every town and village throughout the country and public meetings held to stir up enthusiasm'. The letter concluded with the exhortation :

> Confident in the justice of our cause, we appeal to our fellow countrymen of all ranks and stations in life to aid us in securing that no veteran soldier who has fought for his country in his youth shall be allowed to starve in his old age.

It was signed R. Pedley, Leeds; Harry S. Mackay, Aberdeen; Donald McVean, Vale of Leven and William Martin, Dundee.[60] Pedley's name headed the list and the word 'Association' was in the singular.

Robert Pedley, the leading activist in Leeds was especially busy in 1892. In February he went on a 12 day mission to London to consult with the Dundee MPs Edmund Robertson and John Leng. The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* for 24 February 1892 reported his activities. In its report it quoted the words of General Havelock addressing Indian Mutiny veterans: 'Your labours, your privations, your sufferings and your valour will not be forgotten by a grateful country'.[61] The irony of this quotation resonated with the alleged 'promise' of Lord Cardigan that no Light Brigade survivor would ever have to go into the workhouse. The report also suggested how other Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations related to the structure of the 'movement' in the country as a whole.[62] To Pedley the new associations were branches of the main one whose 'headquarters' was in Leeds with himself as the 'president'.

There was short-lived celebration in March 1892 when it seemed that progress towards broadening the potential base of recipients for pensions had been achieved. The number in receipt of special pensions awarded by the Chelsea Commissioners was revealed to be pitifully small. In the Commons, Mr John Leng pointed out to Stanhope that to date 39 had been granted. He asked if the 14 years service restriction was maintained, would Stanhope grant 61 other pensions to sick and infirm soldiers before the end of the financial year the following month. Stanhope's reply was that he hoped the promise would be fulfilled by the end of the financial year 'but if the restriction [the 14 year service condition] is maintained by the Treasury I should have difficulty in doing so'.[63] The

60 'Crimean and Indian Veterans', *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 1 July 1891, p. 3.
61 This was actually part of a General Order issued by Havelock after the action at Bithoor during the Indian Mutiny on 17 August 1857 and reported in the Edinburgh Evening Courant and other papers. See 'General Havelock's Latest Victory', *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 17 October 1857, p. 3.
62 'Pensions for Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1892, p. 5.
63 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans: Commons Chamber Questions', *House of Commons Hansard*, vol 2 (8 March 1892) https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1892-03-08/debates/1dbb9026-e67c-44c8-9e69- [accessed 20/11/2020].

following week Octavius Morgan, the member for Battersea, asked Mr St John Brodrick, the Financial Secretary to the War Office, a direct question regarding the reduction in the length of service qualifying for a pension so as to benefit many men who served in the Crimea and Indian Mutiny. He received this reply:

> In view of the small number of Crimean and Indian Mutiny soldiers eligible for pensions under the rule requiring 14 years service, it has been decided to reduce the qualifying service to 10 years under certain conditions as to good conduct. The Chelsea Commissioners have already taken steps to see the concession is brought into operation before the close of the financial year.[64]

The following day the *Yorkshire Evening Post* published a letter from H. T. De La Bere, the Deputy Accountant General of the Army, to Mr John Leng, the Dundee MP. He wrote that in response to Mr Leng's letter of 3 March forwarding a petition from the inhabitants of Barnsley in the interests of the unpensioned Crimean and Indian Mutiny soldiers, the Secretary of State 'has now made arrangements for admitting men of 10 years service to the benefit of the scheme for granting pensions to a limited number of men who served before 1860'.

The article then referred to the work of Robert Pedley. His work could not be too highly esteemed:

> […] he has interviewed MPs, pleaded with Mr Stanhope, obtained subscriptions, organized branches and devoted night and day to clerical labours besides bearing all the expenses of the agitation out of his own pocket. Every penny of the subscriptions he has received has gone for the immediate relief of veterans. Mr Pedley can only be recompensed by their thanks.[65]

The *Leeds Mercury* gave a résumé of Pedley's work and described him as an 'indefatigable promoter' who was 'unceasing in his efforts' and 'it is mainly owing to his persistence that the concession had been granted'.[66]

Within a week the triumph of the 'movement' evaporated. What was not known at the time was that the Chelsea Commissioners had attached the same restrictions to the new 10 years service applicants as existed with the 14 years men. That is to say, they had to produce a certificate of destitution, counter-signed by three responsible, respectable persons – a magistrate, a clergyman and a police superintendent, before a claim would be considered. It later transpired that with regard to the police, if the applicant was not personally known by them they would not sign his certificate of destitution.

Pedley wrote to the *Leeds Mercury* and his correspondence was published on 21 March. He pointed out the familiar criticism of the infamous destitution clause. It penalised the hard-working thrifty veteran and rewarded the drunken, profligate and improvident. Further, whereas he had

64 'Military Pensions: Commons Chamber Questions', *House of Commons Hansard,* Vol. 2 (14 March 1892), cc. 736–7. https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1892-03-08/debates/1dbb9026-e67c-44c8-9e69- [accessed 20/11/2020].
65 'Yorkshire Echoes', *Yorkshire Evening Post,* 15 March 1892, p. 3.
66 'Politics and Society', *Leeds Mercury,* 16 March 1892, p. 5.

previously focussed his wrath on Stanhope, this time he held the Chelsea Commissioners to be culpable. He wrote:

> A most liberal promise is made in the House of Commons and then the Chelsea people place such condition upon the application papers that the least possible number of men can receive the grant. The promise was either intended to be given to all the men, or was so worded with the deliberate intention of misleading or hoodwinking the public. Once more we must take to the war-path and by public meetings, letters and petitions place the facts before the British people.[67]

In the following months Pedley proceeded south. He spoke to veterans in Barnsley, Sheffield, and Birmingham.[68] In the reportage of the Birmingham meeting, the *Western Daily Press* published Pedley's letter in which he mentioned that he hoped to meet the Bristol veterans on the following Saturday [21 May]. He signed himself as 'President of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Pensions Movement'.

'This Great and Noble Work': Pedley in Bristol

Pedley met 30 Bristol veterans at the White Lion in the Haymarket, Bristol, at 8 o'clock on Saturday 21 May 1892. Among those present were Anthony Wilder, a survivor of the Charge of the Light Brigade and Isaac Brooks, a survivor of the Charge of the Heavy Brigade. The personal details of the assembled veterans were taken and a resolution passed to call a public meeting.[69] A few days later the *Western Daily Press* published a letter by Pedley.

He repeated the details of the campaign and condemned governments both Liberal and Tory and their reluctance to redress a grievance or institute a reform until compelled by public opinion. Pedley condemned the dilatoriness of the government in dealing with the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. The question of the expense of providing for the veterans was covered and reference made to various possible sources of money. In chivalric language Pedley ended his letter with an appeal 'who will help us? Volunteers are wanted to assist in this great and noble work'.

Later Pedley was back in Yorkshire and continued his agitation. By the end of June the *Yorkshire Gazette* published his letter in which he declared that his work with respect to obtaining any more pensions was at an end 'so far as this government is concerned'.[70]

In a wide ranging *tour de force* Pedley departed from his usual practice of restricting his remarks to the tenets of the cause. This time he referred to the enfeebled state of the Army, the

67 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Leeds Mercury*, 21 March 1892, p. 7.
68 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 23 May 1892, p. 3, 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association', *Leeds Mercury*, 12 May 1892, p. 7, and 'Meeting of Army Veterans in Sheffield', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 14 May 1892, p. 5.
69 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 23 May 1892, p. 5.
70 'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans' Pensions Movement', *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25 June 1892, p. 5.

misapplication, by the Liberal government, of the money that rightfully belonged to the veterans. He blamed the Liberals for the abandonment of General Gordon in the Sudan and the difficulties experienced in the Transvaal. His letter ended with a look towards the forthcoming General Election and an exhortation to keep the Tory government in office in order that they may wipe out the disgrace brought about by former Liberal governments. Once again he signed himself off as President of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Pension Movement.[71]

The wisdom of the politicization of the cause by the movement's 'leader' became questionable when the Liberals under Gladstone formed a minority government in August. Also his criticism of the Liberals ignored the fact that his staunchest allies in parliament were the Dundee Liberal MPs Edmund Robertson and John Leng. Both had been steadfast in their prosecution of the veterans cause.

Reportage of the activities of the 'movement' diminished throughout the rest of the summer and into the autumn. Towards the end of the year Pedley again travelled south to Bristol. On 8 November 1892 the *Western Daily Press* published the following letter :

> Sir, I hope in the course of a day or two to be in Bristol for the purpose of organising a demonstration in favour of granting pensions for the whole of the veterans who fought in these terrible campaigns. There is a large number of such men in Bristol and district.

There followed an account of the battle of Inkerman and the amputation of Sir Thomas Trowbridge's legs. Pedley recounted the story of the courage of Thomas Taylor as he was sent to summon the surgeon through a hail of fire. The letter continued and referred to Havelock's famous promise during the Indian Mutiny which referred to 'a grateful country'. Pedley noted that a grateful country had forgotten all the valour and the privations of men who had made the name of England glorious. Many of them were in our workhouses; many others had found paupers' graves. He posed the question:

> [...] can it be believed that Englishmen will continue to allow such deeds of bravery as I have just related to pass unrewarded? Tom Taylor is without a pension of any kind. He was recommended for the Victoria Cross by Major Bennett of the 7th Royal Fusiliers. That honour would have carried with it a pension of the magnificent sum of 4d per day; but this even was too much for a 'grateful country', and Tom Taylor was only allowed to wear the Distinguished Conduct Medal,but not one single penny in pension [72]...In many large towns subscription lists have been opened to relieve the distress which the old champions of England's glory are today suffering... my object in visiting Bristol is to enlist the sympathy of your people...Letters may be addressed to me, care of the Reverend Joseph Wain, Mission House, Montague Street, Bristol, a deeply interested friend of the old soldier. A meeting of veterans will be duly advertised in your paper; and I trust we shall be able to arrange a free dinner to every old veteran in Bristol and district.[73]

---

71 Ibid.
72 P. E. Abbott, *Recipients of the Distinguished Conduct Medal 1855-1909* (Polstead: Hayward, 1987), p. 29.
73 'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans' Pension Movement', *Western Daily Press*, 8 November 1892, p. 7.

Later, during the visit, Pedley delivered a lecture at the Unitarian Lewins Mead Domestic Mission entitled 'Heroes and How We Treat'. The local press reported his words. He referred to the interest shown in the welfare of the veterans by Joseph Wain and reminded his audience of the 'movement's' aims and objectives. Pedley stated that he had always stood out out against local subscriptions for local veterans. These subscriptions could not be guaranteed and he preferred going to the War Office to get the veterans' just rights. He drew attention to the preferential treatment enjoyed by the German Legion. They did not participate in the Crimean campaign yet they had been favoured with land in South Africa. Pedley also pointed out that there was a large amount of money in the Patriotic Fund. He was also disappointed that Bristol had not yet sent a petition to parliament. During his visit to the city, Pedley had also visited the workhouse and visited the old soldiers there. He reported that he had received every kindness from the Master of the workhouse and had been promised facilities for making the acquaintance of the old soldiers in the institution.[74]
Pedley's visit and orations, his dislike of 'local subscriptions' and his radical objectives were understandable within the parameters of a national movement. Initially the Bristol veterans fell into line with his aspirations.

The Beginnings of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol

On Saturday 10 December the Reverend Joseph Kettlestring Wain presided at a meeting held in the Mission House, Montague Street, Bristol to formalise the establishment of 'The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol'. Elected as Secretary was Mr R. G. Tovey, late of the 4th Regiment.[75] He was part of what was described as the 'local committee'.[76] The content of the report suggested that the committee had previously met and clearly they accepted the dynamic that they were a branch of the 'movement' with its headquarters in Leeds and with Pedley as President.

At the behest of the committee, Tovey had written to the MP Mr Charles Townsend and had received a reply dated 7 December. Townsend stated that he was going to write to the Secretary of State for War. In the meantime he requested details of the numbers of veterans living in Bristol 'who come under the same condition as yourself with reference to clause 3' [the destitution clause].

He also wanted to know their circumstances. Townsend wrote that he would act as soon as he received a reply. Tovey suggested that they wait until they had received the Secretary of State's

74 'How We Treat Our Veterans', *Bristol Mercury*, 18 November 1892, p. 8.
75 Robert Gray Tovey (1833–1895) was Crimean veteran. A Bristolian, he had radical connections with The Bristol Socialist Society and the Labour League. He was a councillor for the St Paul's ward from 1887 to 1891. See 'Bristol Town Council, 1835-2000', *Bristol Historical Resource*
http://humanities.uwe.ac.uk/bhr/Main/abstract_politics/Politics%203.htm [accessed 20/11/2020].
76 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans' Pensions Movement', *Western Daily Press*, 12 December 1892, p. 7.

reply before communicating with other local MPs. The destitution clause was roundly condemned and it was observed that the details of the condition of Bristol veterans were not yet available to answer Mr Townsend's question. In correspondence the following spring, Townsend suggested the affiliation of the Bristol branch and the Bradford branch and to issue an appeal in the same manner that had been done in Yorkshire.[77]

Other Associations

In Scotland in December 1892, William Martin, the secretary of the Dundee veterans wrote his account of the movement since its inception in 1890. He mentioned the 'yeoman service to the cause' by Pedley in Leeds.[78] From his account it is clear that the Dundee activists did not see themselves as a 'branch' of Pedley's Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association. Furthermore developments in Sheffield in February 1893 indicated a change in the direction of the veterans organization there.

Headed by a Sheffield Volunteer Engineers band, 150 men paraded in the town and marched to the Cutlers Hall. The local press reported the establishment of the 'Sheffield, Hallamshire and Rotherham Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association' whose objective was to provide relief for deserving veterans. As they marched behind the band several old soldiers were seen to be clad in the dress of the Sheffield Workhouse. Their appearance drew indignant expressions from the large crowd. The reportage claimed that the association was one of the first of its kind in England.[79] The character of the new association was described in a report later when it was revealed that it was a charity dependent on 'the sympathy and assistance of wealthy citizens'. The report observed 'in these days of many charitable institutions, all of them appealing to the public for support, it is difficult for a newcomer to find adequate encouragement' and that the veterans association 'should not have too much difficulty carrying out its beneficent work'.[80] The new association, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel J. E. Bingham, had departed from the status of a component of a national moral pressure group, whose aim was to obtain a pension from the state. With pressing local needs to be addressed, it had turned to private charitable subscription. The Mayor of Barnsley had addressed the veterans in the Cutlers Hall and said that he hoped the meeting would be the inauguration of a scheme which would prevent any man who had fought for his country ending his days in a workhouse. It was also speculated that other districts might emulate Sheffield's example.

77 'The Talk of Bristol', *Bristol Mercury,* 6 March 1893, p. 8.
78 'Pensions for Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Dundee People's Journal,* 24 December 1892, p. 6.
79 'Crimean and Indian Veterans: Parade and Dinner at Sheffield', *Sheffield Independent,* 15 February 1893, p. 6.
80 'Men and Times', *Sheffield Independent,* 16 February 1893, p. 5.

Pedley's Booklet

In March 1893 the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* reported the publication of a 103 page booklet by Pedley, written in January, giving his account of the work of the movement. The booklet was entitled 'The Crimean and Indian Veterans' Pension Question' and was published by John D. Hunter and Sons of Armley, Leeds. Pedley appears to have re-titled the movement to 'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans' Pension Movement'. Below this title is the single word 'Object' followed by 'To Obtain One Shilling per day for every Old Soldier who fought in the Crimea or Indian Mutiny'.

In correspondence published later in the year, Pedley signed himself as 'Founder of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Pension Movement'. In the opening pages of his booklet there is a list of 100 patrons.

Analysis of the list of names reveals unsurprisingly a bias towards Yorkshire, especially Leeds and Sheffield. Birmingham and its surrounding towns were well represented. The Reverend J. Wain was the only patron from Bristol and there were other small and single numbers for Dundee, London, Glasgow and Cheltenham. The geographic pattern of patrons reflects the travels of Pedley in his attempt to rouse the nation, but does not suggest a national response. Whole areas of the country appear to have been unresponsive. Significantly absent from the list is William Martin the leading Dundee activist. This omission further emphasised the independence of the Dundee Association from Pedley's model of one Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association with branches of it in the major towns and cities of the country. Also of note on the list of patrons, is the name of Lieutenant Colonel J. E. Bingham of Sheffield. This officer was a leading exponent of the move by Sheffield veterans to create an association based on private subscription in the month following Pedley's published account.

In Norwich in 1893 there was the first dinner for Norfolk veterans organized by Captain A. W. M. Atthill. This was the start of annual dinners provided by public subscription and was eventually to lead to the creation of the Royal Norfolk Veterans in 1898. There was no one from Norfolk on Pedley's list of patrons.

Charity not Radicalism

At a meeting on Saturday 18 March 1893 in the Mission House, Montague Street, Bristol, presided over by J. Wain, some 50 veterans assembled and a resolution passed. It was resolved 'to support the agitation now taking place throughout the country to obtain for every veteran who fought during

the Crimean War or Indian Mutiny a pension of one shilling per day'. A second resolution, passed during the meeting, made it quite clear that the State should grant the pensions.

The new Secretary of State for War, Henry Campbell Bannerman, replaced Stanhope, in fielding the regular enquiries, especially from the Dundee MPs Leng and Robertson, regarding the unpensioned veterans and the infamous 'destitution clause'. As in the previous year there was the faint glimmer of a softening of the official resistance to the the extra expense involved in expanding the numbers eligible to receive a pension. In response to a question from John Leng, Campbell Bannerman said that the number of additional pensions to be distributed was under consideration and that the Chelsea Hospital Commissioners 'would apply a humane interpretation of the general instructions to each case'.[81] Even more encouraging, in the summer, Campbell Bannerman announced, in answer to a question from Colonel Keynes Slaney, that another £5000 was to be made available during the financial year for special pensions for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. This would allow the Chelsea Commissioners to deal with the most urgent applications.[82]

These optimistic expectations however, were to transform into disappointment and frustration.

Pedley wrote to the press in July relating the progress of the promised provision. He declared that not a single pension had been granted since Campbell Bannerman's statement back in March. The hope of hundreds of destitute veterans becoming new pensioners had not materialised. Pedley had written to the Dundee MP John Leng about the matter. In a reply from him, he had been informed of various restrictions which dissipated the much heralded, but illusory, generosity suggested earlier in the year.[83] The truth was that the Chelsea Commissioners had increased the numbers of compassionate allowances but in their own time and according to their resources allowed from the Treasury for the financial year.

The urgency attendant on the suffering of pauper veterans created its own imperative. The associations that were formed could not wait for the realisation of the radical objective that the state should provide a universal pension for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. Consequently practical charity became their predominant characteristic. Destitute veterans still went to the workhouse or ground out a miserable existence because of their poverty.

Self-Help Identities and Noble Endeavour

81 'Imperial Parliament, Petitions, Pensions to Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 24 March 1893, p. 3.
82 'Imperial Parliament, Grants to Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 2 June 1893, p. 3.
83 'Correspondence, Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 8 July 1893, p. 3.

In August 1893 the Bristol Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association participated in a procession organized by the Ancient Order of Foresters.[84] In this procession headed by a military band, there were numerous temperance, self-help and mutual societies represented like the Oddfellows, Druids and Hearts of Oak.[85]

In the same month they received and consecrated their banner. As well as the title of the association there were other names – Punjaub, China, Kaffir, Sikh War, Persia, Crimea, Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman, Sebastopol, Indian Mutiny, Cawnpore, Lucknow and Delhi. In his address to the veterans following the consecration, the Reverend J. Wain stated that he hoped the banner would arouse sympathy and interest and gain for them what they wanted. Deploying knightly language he said they were 'banded together for a crusade against injustice, cruelty and neglect' and asked from the British Government 'due recognition'. He added that the banner was 'consecrated to noble endeavour and high purpose and lawful agitation and divine right'.[86]

At the end of January 1894 the Bristol veterans held a special meeting at the Mission House in Montague Street with the Reverend Wain in the chair. It was decided to reorganise the association and a committee of nine members was appointed to undertake the process. There were to be officers with defined duties, regular general and committee meetings and lectures that were to be instructive and entertaining. Robert Gray Tovey, a Radical, was to perform secretarial duties regarding pensions. The report revealed that there were 150 members who had served in campaigns before 1860, and that some were now destitute and others in the workhouse. This category of veteran 'qualified under the present regulations to receive the compassionate campaign pension'. The report concluded with the publication of a response from the War Office to an enquiry regarding such a pension. The applicant was informed that all the funds allocated for such pensions for 1894 had been used up and that he should wait until January 1895 and renew his application. The association noted that this would be very hard for the veteran especially in the light of a valid claim being made.[87]

The Emergence of the Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol

84 The Ancient Order of Foresters was one of the largest national friendly societies. It urged its members practice benevolence by acts of kindness to those in necessity. See Gorsky, p. 15.
85 For a description and illustration from an eye witness see W. H. Bow, *The Diary of a Bristolian, 1893* (Bristol: Engart Press, 1986), pp. 116–7.
86 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Bristol Mercury*, 7 August 1893, p. 5.
'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 29 January 1894, p. 3.

Just over a month later, at Frogmore Street, a meeting of the veterans resolved to form a club whose raison d'être was 'for friendly union amongst the war veterans of Bristol'. A president, treasurer and secretary and a committee were elected from the veterans.[88]

In a report dated 19 March 1894 and headed 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association (Bristol Branch)' the newspaper published details of the election of officers. The significant difference to the veterans committee was the rank and social standing of the members. The president was Colonel Sir E. S. Hill, vice-presidents included Sir George Edwards. The Reverend J. Wain was treasurer and Mr Virtue was described as 'Secretary of the Pension Movement'.[89]

At a ceremony in April 1894 the veterans presented the Reverend Wain with a silver medal. In his acceptance speech the Reverend recalled the creation of the organisation and repeated the central shilling per day objective, but made no reference to Pedley and his visits to the city and his call to create a national movement. Alderman James Fuller Eberle, a stalwart of the city council, made a positive speech regarding the veterans and hoped they would 'prove an association for the good'.[90]

From the reportage it is clear that there were parallel developments throughout 1894. On the one hand there was the club in Frogmore Street for the socialising of veterans, on the other there was an association with a radical national political objective.

Developments between April 1894 and the end of the year saw the emergence of the final version of the organisation. The reorganisation occurred in October with the amalgamation of the club and the association. The press reported that at a meeting in Frogmore Street a more spacious room had been opened for the veterans and it was decided to drop the term 'club' for the veterans and combine with the association. The new association had 21 Honorary members who paid from 5/- annually and 152 veterans who mostly paid 1d per week or 1/- per quarter. The subscriptions would meet expenses and allow the association to help veterans apply for pensions and allow special grants in cases of extreme poverty and to prevent the disgrace of a paupers funeral for deceased members. The same report mentioned the unforeseen development that 'many well to do pensioners and others have joined solely for the purpose of helping their less prosperous comrades'.[91]

Grass-roots philanthropy from veterans of the wars before 1860 had fashioned the final version of the organisation which was to last until the end of the Great War. The radical national

88 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 5 March 1894, p. 5.
89 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association (Bristol Branch)', *Western Daily Press*, 19 March 1894, p. 5.
90 'Bristol War Veterans Association', *Western Daily Press*, 28 April 1894, p. 5.
91 'Veterans', *Bristol Mercury*, 30 October 1894, p. 8.

agenda of a 1/- per day for every veteran of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny was to fade as meeting local need became the dominant imperative.

Chapter 3

The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol

The Significance of the Blaise Archive

The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol was one of the most successful in the country in the 1890s and beyond. Its exemplary work was reported in the local, provincial and national press. Needy members were assisted throughout its existence. It was the only such organisation to be invited to Windsor to be inspected by Queen Victoria and enjoyed the patronage of Royalty and the highest military and civilian echelons. Though there were other Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations, very little of their related archive material has survived. The previously unstudied material, discovered at Blaise, allows a unique insight into the establishment of Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations, giving evidence for, and new understanding of, their structure and nature. The archive allows consideration of the significance of a permanent base for members and the functioning of the organisation. It also reveals the background values and norms that were essential prerequisites for the CIMVAB to flourish. Imperialism, loyal patriotism, muscular Christianity and self-help, expressed through private philanthropy, were driving forces behind the organisation. These, rather than radical altruism, characterised the CIMVAB's political and moral framework.

In what follows, I examine how far the Orchard Street base reflected the ethos and values of the organisation and the extent to which these qualities were shared by other organisations. I consider the leadership and their individual and collective aims and objectives.

The association's documents include completed application forms with details regarding the members material condition. These inform newly detailed insights into post-military and naval occupations of Victorian veterans and the extent and experiences of poverty or destitution.

Some veterans resigned. Others were rejected or expelled, and the archive content will provide explanations. The importance to the organisation of 'respectability' and 'reputation' will be analysed in the context of ideologies of self-help, and the casting of poverty in moral terms.

Most of the primary sources referenced, originate from the archive discovered at Blaise Castle Museum stores in 2012. It is composed of the administrative, clerical, financial, social, ephemeral, illustrative and photographic records of the association from 1894 to 1920. The archive comprises a hand written journal, a collection of application forms, mostly completed in 1895, a book of newspaper cuttings, Christmas luncheon cards, receipts, bank books and account books, an extensive collection of correspondence, a variety of year books up to the 20th anniversary volume of

the association in 1912, a book of postcards of the CIMVAB, a number of inventories related to the artefacts of the veterans room that was at 13 Orchard Street and various Crimean and Indian Mutiny related pamphlets, programmes, photographs and ephemera. The artefacts that were once in the 'Veterans Room', are located now in Queens Road together with a smaller collection of paintings, photographs, prints, accounts, receipts, veteran's letters and other correspondence.

The archive is of national significance. Together with the artefacts, it is the most complete assemblage of Victorian and early twentieth century records related to the Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations. These records have a significant place in the history of local philanthropy, domestic culture and popular imperialism.

The material also provides an insight into the social backgrounds of the membership. From the evidence, it is clear that the Bristol association was a leading force in the care of veterans and an example others followed when attempting to create their own organisations. That there were those who wished to create their own local associations like Bristol, is also indicative of the extent of goodwill towards the veterans across a broad spectrum of society. The expression of their aims and objectives were emblematic of the nobility of purpose that motivated them to such dedicated philanthropy. Philanthropy had a political as well as an ethical dimension and in what follows I will consider the politics of care for veterans.

The 'Right' Sort of Leadership

Referring to popular altruism in late Victorian Britain, Dixon describes the phenomenon as 'a great moral awakening'.[1] He refers specifically to the working classes of Manchester for this claim and the various dimensions behind it. These, he lists as economic, political and religious.

Dixon cites the economic downturn of the 1880s which exacerbated the already wretched conditions of the urban poor and the resultant condemnatory reportage by the popular press. He discusses the shifting juxtaposition of State involvement and voluntary associations as the principal agents of reform and philanthropy. There is a convergence here, with the establishment of the CIMVAB as a result of private philanthropy with no expectation of State support. Indeed interventions by the State were viewed by some on the right of politics as 'interference'.[2]

Though the humanitarian objectives of philanthropy and altruism were similar, the background political dynamics were polar opposites. The former was bound tightly to loyal, imperialist, Anglican values, the latter to a radical, anti-imperialist, non-conformist, socialist programme, that wanted to redefine the relationship between the State and the individual. These

1 Dixon, p. 230.
2 Ibid.

competing visions eventually crystallized to form the ideologies I discuss in chapter 6. Ultimately, from the extremes of right and left, emerged the Fascism and Communism of the twentieth century. The anti-establishment thrust of altruism, explored by Dixon, grated with the prevailing *zeitgeist* of nineteenth-century imperial Britain.

There were growing doubts regarding the excesses of 'Laissez-Faire' economics and emerging expectations that the State should act to alleviate distress. In the 1880s and beyond, as Dixon points out, social and moral campaigners agitated for State intervention, through legislative outcomes. A list of altruistic organisations drawn up by the Canadian philosopher Eliza Ritchie in 1890, included missionary societies and Christian associations.[3] In this respect the local missionary work done in Bristol, by the Reverend Joseph Wain, and the national agitation in the early 1890s, on behalf of Crimean veterans, for one shilling per day, fits into this developing narrative.

When the CIMVAB had been finally established in October 1894, the leadership was composed of the Chairman, the Unitarian Church minister, the Reverend Joseph Kettlestring Wain, Honorary Treasurer, the veteran and radical, Robert Gray Tovey and Honorary Secretary, Lieutenant George F. Cartwright. A year later only Joseph Wain remained from the original trio. At the beginning of 1895 the young Lieutenant Cartwright left Bristol for University. In April Walter Stuckey Paul was elected to replace him as Secretary. The ailing and aging Tovey was replaced in the same month by Councillor James Fuller Eberle.[4] Under the stewardship of these three men, the CIMVAB flourished.

Gentlemen Officers of the CIMVAB

The characters, backgrounds and pedigrees of Walter S. Paul and James Fuller Eberle exemplify the late nineteenth century ideal of the Victorian gentleman. An essential component of that concept was philanthropy expressed through compassion and a sense of fair play and decency.[5] It was these qualities, driven forward by dedicated industry, that characterised their work with the Bristol veterans. Both men followed a tradition of civic philanthropy in Bristol in the nineteenth century. Martin Gorsky refers to the combination of personal benevolence and a willingness to support

3 Dixon, pp. 230–237.
4 Robert Gray Tovey died in October 1895. For an obituary see, 'The Talk of Bristol', *Bristol Mercury,* 30 October 1895, p. 8.
5 See Lara Kriegel, 'The Strange Career of Fair Play, or Warfare and Gamesmanship in the Time of Victoria', *Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*, ed. by Juliet John (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 268–281 (p. 271). For an account of the interrelationship between the concept of fair play, the games ethic and warfare. In one sense Fuller Eberle and Walter Paul extended the narrative by being fair to those who had fought fairly for British Imperial interests. See also, Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (London: Yale University Press, 1981).
.

philanthropic causes in the career of John Kerle Haberfield, in Bristol, earlier in the century.[6] The qualities implicit in personal benevolence - compassion, humanity and integrity- would be deployed on a wider scale when exploited for philanthropic ends. There are similarities in his biographical profile and those of Fuller Eberle and Paul.

James Fuller Eberle was born in 1854 at Devonport and was the son of the Reverend J. A Eberle, a Moravian church minister. He was educated at Clifton College and adopted by his uncle who ran a coach building business in Bristol. As a young man he was a founder and honorary member of Clifton Rugby Football Club before embarking on a career in local politics as councillor for the St Augustine's ward in central Bristol in 1886. He was president of Fuller's Cricket Club and served on various committees including the docks committee and the city museum and art gallery and was a member of the Bristol Board of Guardians.[7] When the Great War started in 1914, Fuller Eberle was a member of the Bristol Citizens Recruiting Committee and later its Chairman. This combination of philanthropy and war recruitment was not coincidental. In what follows, I will consider the way in which support for Britain's wars and a commitment to philanthropy were, for Fuller Eberle, connected components of British gentlemanliness and decency. The 'rightness' of the cause, whether on behalf of needy individuals or a violated country like Belgium, were one and the same.

Walter Stuckey Paul, a banker's son, was born in Clifton, Bristol, in 1848 and was educated at Clifton College. In his youth he was a founder-member and player with Clifton Rugby Football Club and also played rugby for Gloucestershire.[8] He pursued a career in architecture and surveying and was an associate of the Royal Institute of British Architects and a Fellow of the Bristol Society of Architects. In the 1890s he became surveyor to the Society of Merchant Venturers. Paul was also a prominent Freemason and honorary member of the Foresters and Odd Fellows Societies and a Captain in the Gloucestershire Artillery Volunteers.[9] In this profile Paul could be viewed as an exemplar of the Christian philanthropist from a social elite. In the decade before the establishment of the CIMVAB, the Redland Park Chapel formed a 'Boys Brigade'. The ethos behind its organisation was to promote 'reverence, discipline, self-respect, and all that tends towards a true Christian manliness'.[10] This conceptual combination had its origins in the Crimean War. Louise Lee describes it as 'a physically active form of Christianity that was progressively associated with

6 Gorsky, p. 200
7 W. T. Pike, *Bristol in 1898: Contemporary Biographies* (Brighton: W. T. Pike and Co., 1898), p. 66.
8 Patrick Casey and Richard Hale, *For College Club and Country: A History of Clifton Rugby Football Club* (London: MX Publishing, 2009), p. 270.
9 Pike, p. 141.
10 Gorsky, p. 160.

militarism throughout the nineteenth century'.[11] A draft transcript of Paul's obituary in November 1925 from the *Bristol Times and Mirror* referred to his status as a Justice of the Peace in 1902 and that he was Chair of the Council when the first 'Lifeboat Saturday' was held in Bristol. Walter Paul was also on the committee of Bristol Zoo. The obituary added that he was a Deputy Commissioner in the Scout Movement and 'a firm believer in muscular Christianity and did all he could to instil a love of manly sport into these lads'.[12] From every perspective Paul exemplifies the combination of private qualities and political attitudes, that were the driving forces behind the patriotic imperial narrative. Both Paul's sons were killed in action in the Great War and the obituary suggested that 'he never really recovered from the grief of their loss'.[13]

Paul deployed the careful and precise calculations, characteristic of his profession, in his work with CIMVAB. It was thanks to his record keeping and fondness for statistics that detailed records of the association exist. Many of the administrative and financial records are professionally bound with the CIMVAB letters, gold blocked, on the covers indicating the desire to convey the seriousness and permanence of the organisation.

The Memorial Letter 1905: Exploiting Municipal Connections Nationally

Walter S. Paul marshalled considerable municipal influence on a national scale to bring pressure on the War Office regarding the increase of existing pensions to be adjusted to a shilling per day. In the journal for the end of 1905 and later published in the the 1912 commemorative volume he wrote:

> A Memorial Letter, addressed to the Secretary of State for War praying that some increase of pension might be granted to those veterans whose pensions were still less than one shilling a day was prepared by the officers of the association.
> The Lord Mayors, or Lord Provosts, of London, Edinburgh, York, Aberdeen, Belfast, Birmingham, Bristol, Cork, Dundee, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Perth; the High Sheriffs of 40 Counties, and the Mayors and Provosts of over 90 of the more important towns willingly gave their signatures, and in addition to these gentlemen (the representatives of 25 millions of the people) the Officials of all the veterans associations in the kingdom and a number of gentlemen interested in the Veterans added their names. The Memorial was forwarded by the association to the War Office and after due consideration the increase prayed for was granted.[14]

His account of the modest advance omits a number of details. By the time this progress was achieved over 90 of the original listed members of the CIMVAB in 1894, had passed away. The

11 Louise Lee, 'Deity in Dispatches: The Crimean Beginnings of Muscular Christianity', *Religion, Literature and Imagination* ed. by Mark Knight and Louise Lee (London: Continuum, 2009), pp. 57–74. See also, Donald Hall, *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
12 BVC, 'Transcript of Obituary of Walter Stuckey Paul, *Bristol Times and Mirror,* 26 November 1925.
13 Ibid.
14 BVC, 0223 TSH, 'Entry For End of 1905: Hand Written Journal of the C&IMVAB, 1892–1920 and BVC, 0254 TSH, 1912 Commemorative Volume, p. 32.

provision of the new reforming Liberal government, was by no means universal. There had been a delay between the delivery of his letter to the War Office and their official response. In that delay there had been a General Election and a change of government. H. O. Arnold Forster, the War Minister in the Balfour administration, was replaced by Richard Haldane in the Campbell Bannerman government. This and 'other unavoidable circumstances' would mean time would elapse before the matter was dealt with.[15]

In a letter addressed to Walter Paul from Colonel Sir Edward W. D. Ward KCB, Secretary to The Army Council, and published widely in local papers, the official response was promulgated.[16] The veteran applicant, on reaching 70 years of age and receiving less than a shilling per day, would be eligible for an increase to that amount. Restrictions still applied regarding 'bad characters' and some of Paul's applications on behalf of veterans were refused because of this. The qualifying 'necessitous' clause was retained. As in the 1890s the press initially welcomed this 'triumph' only later to report the dissipation of the apparent generosity. However the balance of Paul's successful applications against rejections shifted in the veterans' favour after 1905 though the numbers under consideration declined through natural wastage.[17]

Random Provision on a National Scale

What Walter Paul did not foresee, however, was the deluge of enquiries he received from all over the United Kingdom as a result of the lead he had taken in organizing the 'Memorial Letter' and its publication in the provincial press. A week after its publication, Paul wrote another letter, which was also published. He pointed out that the responses to his Memorial Letter revealed that there were only twenty Veterans Associations in the United Kingdom with their own club rooms or headquarters. From other letters he had received he stated that poverty and distress among veterans was extensive with many still ending their days in the workhouse. He added: '[…] on all sides appeals are made not merely for financial help but for information as to what steps should be taken to bring claims for pensions to the notice of the authorities'.

This observation is significant for a number of reasons. It suggests that there was a level of ignorance regarding procedures, on behalf of veterans, with the War Office. Also Walter Paul's expertise in these matters made him the first choice for advice for those new to the processes of helping veterans. Lastly, the neediness of old veterans persisted despite the establishment of Crimea

15 'No Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association in Hastings', *Hastings and St Leonards Observer,* 7 July 1906, p. 7.
16 'Veterans Pensions to be Increased', *Western Daily Press*, 29 June 1906, p. 8.
17 BVC, 0220 TSH, Walter Paul, Manuscript Record: Applications for Pensions Annual Lists.

and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The background *zeitgeist* between the end of the Boer War and the beginning of The Great War was increasingly militaristic.[18] The fate of veterans came into sharper public focus in this same period. By 1905 Paul had been working for the CIMVAB for over a decade and every year saw a reduction in their numbers through old age. His efforts on their behalf had been largely successful and therefore might be duplicated elsewhere for the benefit of an inevitably decreasing population. Paul concluded with an appeal of his own, calling for 'representative gentlemen' from every town in the kingdom to undertake the necessary administrative tasks essential to prosecute the claims in the cause of these 'too long neglected veterans'.[19] This letter reveals a structural problem between the existing local provision and the absence of a national coordinating body. Care of veterans would always be variable because it depended on the random geography of those with the necessary prerequisites to run organisations.

Figure 2: *13 Orchard Street*, photograph, Bristol Veterans Collection, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

18 Peter Reese, *Home-Coming Heroes: An Account of the Re-assimilation of British Military Personnel into Civilian Life* (London: Leo Cooper, 1992), pp. 71–72.
19 'Neglected Veterans', *Gloucester Chronicle*, 30 September 1905, p. 5.

If provision was random so was need. Hobsbawm eludes to a factor significant in the demography of pauperism, linked to old age, in the nineteenth century. In tight-knit, artisan communities, mostly in small towns and villages, the aged were assisted by family and neighbours. He adds that certain regions showed greater propensities to provide for their aged than others.[20] The geographic juxtaposition of provision and want did not always correspond. Large industrial cities were blighted by slums, housing the unskilled poor. They lacked the supportive communities mentioned above.

Alan Kidd points to the reluctance of working-class people to turn to poor relief or charity when times were hard.[21] He marshals evidence that mutual assistance and self-reliance existed within the ranks of the poor. Self-reliance was preferred to Public Relief especially after the reforms of 1834 that restricted its availability.[22] In poor neighbourhoods there was little surplus finance, from sympathetic acquaintances, to help those sinking into destitution. The CIMVAB's poorest members were supported and kept above the destitution that faced them in old age. The CIMVAB had their own surgeon. In the same manner as the Friendly Societies' doctors, they attended to the members medical needs without charge.

The Headquarters in Orchard Street

The association had its own 'headquarters' at 33 Frogmore Street, in the St Augustine's ward, but then moved in 1897, a short distance across the road to the permanent address at 13 Orchard Street in the heart of the city. The property, an eighteenth-century terraced town house, was rented from the Bristol Municipal Charities and Fuller Eberle's connections undoubtedly were useful in acquiring a building for the association rather than rooms as at Frogmore Street. Bristol Municipal Charities was founded in 1836. By the end of the century it possessed land in South Gloucestershire and an extensive property portfolio in Bristol. Within the city it owned alms-houses, workshops, offices, warehouses, schools and dwellings.[23]

As well as the rent, the association paid for the rates, services supplied and for the general maintenance of the headquarters building. The location of the house, was convenient, being a short walk to College Green and the Cathedral, also to the Tramway Centre and the People's Palace in Baldwin Street, the Hippodrome, the Colston Hall and the Unitarian Chapel in Lewins Mead.

20 Hobsbawm, p.311.
21 This is born out by some of the responses written on the CIMVAB application forms in 1895 as discussed in the next chapter.
22 Alan Kidd, *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999), p. 110.
23 Kevin Costello and Richard Burley, *Charity on Camera: A Photographic Survey of the City Properties of the Bristol Municipal Charities* (Derby: Breedon Books Publishing Company, 1997), pp. 106–108.

The photograph of 13 Orchard Street, shows the trappings of permanence, with the name of the association on a brass plate by the entrance and a gas lantern, bearing the association's title on the glazing, over the door.

There was no template or model for reference, regarding how the rooms were organised. With such a blank canvas, the selection of artefacts, illustrations, fittings and furniture reflect the preferences of the organisers. The result was an amalgamation of related themes and ambiences relevant to the life experiences of the membership. Part museum, part gentleman's club with functioning committee offices, these rooms made hospitality, administration, assembly and recreation possible. In September 1904, J. Goodenough Taylor wrote an account of a visit to Orchard Street that was published in the *Bristol Times and Mirror*. His writing expands further the evidence from photographs. Apart from the main room used by the members, there was upstairs a Committee Room and an Officers Room with a small library.

The scope of the displays and illustrations were reminders of episodes from conflicts familiar to the veterans. Their interests and comfort were paramount in the selection and emphasis of the material.

The Blaise archive provides invaluable documentary evidence regarding the varied provenances of the collection. One of the founder members, Anthony Wilder, survivor of the Charge of the Light Brigade, donated Russian helmets. Some items like the framed collections of medals were the property of Fuller Eberle who was a keen numismatist.[24]

Surviving photographs show tables and chairs where members could read newspapers and books, they could smoke and converse in convivial surroundings. This added to the reinforcement of sober 'respectability' sought by the leadership and paralled the wider emphasis on 'rational recreations' of Army reforms described by Skelley.[25] From letters and other evidence, there were occasions when some veterans turned up under the influence of alcohol and were dealt with severely. They ran counter to and undermined the ethos of the CIMVAB concerning the respectability and dignity of veterans and could have jeopardised public support vital for the organisation to thrive. For visitors there was an underlying theme regarding veterans and war, conveyed from within the rooms. Their humanity and individuality were entwined with sacrifice and suffering for the nation and its empire.

The trophies from the battlefields reconnected the veteran to their experience of war and steered the visitor, as I will go on to argue, to the humanity of the participants. Added to these were the ephemera from post-1860 campaigns. Collectively, these objects offered an insight into the

24 BVC, 2422 TET, Draft Letter from James Fuller Eberle to Lord Wraxall, 21 April. The letter bequeathed the Veterans Collection and his medal collection to the City of Bristol.
25 Skelley, pp. 162–165.

conditions of soldiering and further encouraged respect and sympathy for soldiers and veterans. The growing collection helped to place the veterans in the continuing national and imperial narrative. It also held resonances with the traffic of artefacts and souvenirs that occurred during the Crimean War.

Figure 3: *Inside 13 Orchard Street*, photograph, Bristol Veterans Collection, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

Forty five portrait studies of CIMVAB members were recently discovered in the Bristol Museum Art collection. These were painted by George Edmund Butler (1872–1936) RWA, around 1909, when he was resident in Bristol.[26] Each veteran wears his cap and medals and is skilfully and sympathetically portrayed. The portrait sketches, in oils, were part of his preparation for a larger work depicting the visit of King Edward VII to Bristol. These, together with the individual photographs of the veterans, underlined their individuality and humanity and promoted a sense of worth. This emphasis has a resonance with the interest in the common soldier, shown by the reading public, during the war, discussed earlier.

The Purpose of the CIMVAB

26 Bristol City Museums and Art Gallery record. See BVC, K6349, 5 Framed Wooden Panels Containing 45 Painted Portraits of Bristol Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veteran Soldiers and Sailors, by George Edmund Butler, c. 1909.

In a letter to newspaper editors, written in September 1905, Paul explained:

> It has been too much the custom to think and talk of the 'old soldiers' as men to be avoided; but I know where a well-founded association is established, the condition of these old men is vastly improved, drunkenness entirely disappears, habits of discipline return, the men turn out smart and clean on parade, however worn or threadbare their clothes, and are respected by their fellow citizens, they are proud of their medals, and with a proper pride in themselves, because they feel they belong to a recognized body of men, who (to quote the words of HRH the Duke of Connaught at the Edinburgh Review) have so splendidly upheld the honour of their Sovereign and their country. [27]

When he wrote this, the CIMVAB had been in its permanent headquarters for eight years and its membership had become a well-known and popular addition to the city's cultural and social fabric. Paul's reference to drunkenness was also a reminder regarding the prevailing values of the association. Self-respect, temperance and respectability were presented as the counterbalances to poverty and the insecurity, despair and degradation that went with it. The observation that old soldiers were men to be avoided points to the middle-class undercurrent of disapproval that re-emerged in the decades after the 1850s, and at odds with the pre-Crimean War sentiments.

On display, Lady Butler's *The Roll Call*, emphasised the suffering of anonymous soldiers.[28] Also the Cundall and Howlett photographs of Crimean wounded, are the antithesis of military glorification. They show named soldiers, in their hospital coats. They were amputees who had suffered dreadful wounds.[29] The portrait photographs of the Bristol veterans reflected the subject's condition. All were photographed wearing their medals and clasps or medal ribbons and their names were written in ink below their images with the regiments in which they served. Some have the dates of their deaths added in red ink.

These and other visual material extended the temporal narrative of soldier suffering, making a link to the veterans as a surviving part of that community who endured all to preserve, maintain and extend the dignity and power of the State. The further extrapolation is that society should value and support this community. The selection of homely artefacts, like pipes, snuff boxes and tobacco jars, emphasised the domestic lives of soldiers, drawing attention to wants and needs in common with civilians. Furneaux argues that mid-Victorian Britain was 'much more attached to presentations of the military man that showed his emotional life to be entirely compatible with the increasingly domesticated bourgeoise values of the period than to narratives that positioned war as an entirely transformative experience'.[30] The artefacts chosen to be displayed, suggest a late-Victorian continuation of the mid-Victorian sentiment that extended to the post 1860 campaigns.

---

27 'Neglected Veterans', *Gloucester Chronicle*, 30 September 1905, p. 5.
28 Usherwood and Spencer-Smith, pp. 57–59.
29 BVC, 0226 TSH, Photograph: Clement Brophy and BVC, 0227 TSH, Photograph: Thomas McKevery.
30 Furneaux, p. 152.

These, together with the veterans, provided a tangible 'living link' with the campaigns of the nineteenth century. Orchard Street communicated a variety of values – loyalty to the Crown and Empire, temperance, respectability and patriotic ardour regardless of suffering. The collection reinforced the idea of the suffering soldier becoming the noble veteran.[31]

After the Royal visits to the city by Queen Victoria in 1899 and King Edward VII in 1908, oil paintings featuring the monarch and the veterans also adorned the walls. These had a clear link to popular images of the Queen meeting Crimean soldiers in the war's immediate aftermath, discussed in chapter 1, and emphasised Royal approval and support for the veterans. The Headquarters also provided a place where patrons and other supporters could visit and inspect the membership. Visitors included Royalty, members of the aristocracy and senior civic, military and naval figures.[32] Orchard Street was a focus for the camaraderie of military society and a temporary narrowing of the distinction of class between the privileged visitors and the humble members. It was a place where the members could assemble prior to church parades and demonstrations and hold general meetings. When it was closed in 1920, the contents of the veterans rooms were removed to the Red Lodge and later to the basement of the City Museum. A draft letter from Fuller Eberle to Lord Wraxall, written in 1928, confirms that the entire collection was bequeathed to the City of Bristol. There were insufficient resources of finance, space and personnel to display the collection or indeed to catalogue it fully.

The CIMVAB and Self-Help Organisations in Bristol

Specially made for the association were emblems and shields bearing the battle honours of the two main campaigns. These were kept in Orchard Street and sometimes used on floats in public displays. The veterans participated in 'demonstrations' and processions of organisations where Fuller Eberle and Walter S. Paul were members, like the Lifeboats and Odd Fellows. These organisation were part of the array of self-help societies like 'The Sons of Temperance', 'The Druids', 'The Foresters' and 'The Hearts of Oak'.[33] They combined temperance, Christian fellowship and mutual self-help in the absence, or minimum, of intervention by the State. These qualities composed the guiding principles behind the veterans organisation, so it was entirely appropriate that they should process with their own kind.

Martin Gorsky traces the history of friendly societies in Bristol in the nineteenth century. The CIMVAB and its organisation resonate with the goals, structures and practices of those

31 Lalumia, pp. 123–127.
32 BVC, 0252 TSH, *Commemorative Volume 1912* (Bristol: Henry Hill, 1912), pp. 36–39.
33 'The Talk of Bristol', *Bristol Mercury*, 5 May 1896, p. 8.

societies, as they occupied the gap left by the disappearance of mediaeval craft guilds and later benefit clubs. There were a hundred friendly societies and mutual clubs in Bristol in the 1860s rising to 159 in 1891. They met mostly in public houses and in this respect there is a divergence with the CIMVAB and its preference for temperance. The Whitsun Fair in Bristol was an annual high point. Gorsky observes that different clubs in Bristol, catered for different status groups within the working class. The CIMVAB, being composed of other ranks, would fit into this description. Referring to the motives the poor had for joining friendly societies, he cites a left wing perspective, that they were a defensive reaction to such aspects of capitalist advance like social dislocation, the inadequacy of the Poor Law and rising occupational health risk.[34] The Poor Law was seen as the ultimate safety net, especially in old age. Admittance to the Workhouses in Bristol however was a transforming experience. After 1834 the new inmate would forfeit his or her citizen's rights. They would not be able to claim assistance from the city's large number of endowed charities like parish doles and almhouses. Army pensioners would have their pensions taken from them to help defray the financial burden of their care. Some of the CIMVAB veterans lived in almshouses and there is evidence of Fuller Eberle's hand in improving their circumstances. He was on the board of the Bristol Municipal Charities and used his position on behalf of the needy Bristol veterans.[35] Gorsky points to the characteristics of social insurance in nineteenth century Bristol friendly societies. He refers to the ethic of self-help and individualism motivating members to become independent of the statutory Poor Law.[36] These observations chime with the work of the CIMVAB.

In 1896 the association published their first year book and expounded their objectives with an appeal. They stated that the association was unsectarian and non-political, with 130 members and asked the public for interest and assistance. Their objectives were: 'to band together in goodwill and sympathy all local veterans who served in the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny or in any other campaign before 1860'. This last stipulation included veterans of the campaigns in India, New Zealand and China. A number of veterans served in campaigns before and after the 1860 time boundary and this was also noted.

The use of the word 'band' in the CIMVAB's objectives has echoes with Shakespeare's 'Band of Brothers' in *Henry V*, act IV, scene 3. The term suggests that a shared experience of war forged an emotional community that emphasised togetherness, 'goodwill and sympathy'.
Other objectives were:

> […] to provide a suitable headquarters where veterans can resort and meetings could be held and information about the association be obtained; to obtain funds for the

34 Martin Gorsky, 'Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth Century Bristol', *Urban History,* 25.3 (1998), 302–322.
35 BVC, 2361 TET, Rent Book, Mr John King, Bengough's Almshouses, Horfield Road, St Michael's, Bristol.
36 Gorsky, 'Mutual Aid', pp. 302–322.

> assistance of the most necessitous and deserving cases amongst members, to rescue from the workhouse and from the pauper's grave any old sailor or soldier connected with the association, who through no fault of his own, is reduced to destitution; to make application to the authorities on behalf of the veterans for pensions where none have been already granted, or for increased allowances where only small sums are received; to grant pecuniary aid when necessary, to widow or relatives of a deceased member so that a fitting burial may be provided for him.

The moral caveat regarding fault, points to the separation of the 'deserving' from the 'undeserving' poor. The latter were the architects of their own penury, the former blameless victims.

The last objective was 'to obtain, if possible, a repeal of the "necessitous clause" which in effect states that a veteran must be in destitute circumstances before a pension will be granted'.[37] This referred to the *cause celebre* common to veterans associations. In this they were unsuccessful.

Wain, Paul and Fuller Eberle also observed:

> […] that the committee of the association find that the distress and suffering of many of our veterans is very great and that the number of those unable to keep themselves, through old age, sickness and failing health, is naturally on the increase, they would therefore appeal to all who are interested in our sailors and soldiers, or who remember the stirring days of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, to assist them in helping these old 'servants of our Queen', who in days gone by, each in his humble way, did so much to maintain the honour and glory of our Empire.[38]

The language and sentiments expressed are measured. The use of the words 'servants' and 'humble' are the language of 'station'. The 'deserving' poor veterans knew their place and cheerfully, the appeal insists, remained in it. They were assisted, saved and rescued. This contrasted with the Chelsea Hospital stipulations which excluded assistance to living veterans who were in receipt of even the most meagre incomes. The concluding paragraph stated a fact of life, that, within late Victorian society, some veterans struggled because of their waning physical condition.

The universal appeal reminded readers of 'stirring days' and the services rendered for the maintenance of the prestige of Queen and Empire. Imperialism was an accepted and acceptable facet of the nation's fabric and standing. Patriotism was the natural partner of imperialism and those who were part of the defence of these ideals, the CIMVAB argued, deserved to be cherished.

The committee was composed of mostly former non-commissioned officers with impeccable records. From their application forms, these capable individuals enjoyed successful careers after their time in the forces. Their organisational skills and judgement were essential for the effective administration of the association. They were committed to the cause and its values and ethos. These drove their endeavours. For example, there is a hand written letter, dated 14 May 1914, written by the daughter of committee member William Porter. She pleads with Fuller Eberle to use his

37 BVC, 0257 TSH, 1899 Year Book, p. 1.
38 Ibid.

influence to dissuade her father from participating in veterans' work and events until fully recovered from an illness.[39]

In terms of social demography, most members were from the then densely populated, industrial working-class parishes of central Bristol, like St Philips and St Jacobs. Some were from the surrounding parishes and counties. A lower percentage were from other counties and from Scotland, Wales and Ireland.

Links with the Birmingham Veterans

Simply serving in the Crimea or the Indian Mutiny did not guarantee admission into the association. There was a process of application before a veteran could become a member. This procedure produced its own locally exclusive bureaucracy. Printed application forms ascertained the military history of the applicant as well as his social and economic circumstances. An introductory paragraph explained that the detail was required so that the executive committee could help the most 'necessitous' and 'deserving' cases. It is possible that the Bristol association took its cue from the Birmingham veterans organization.

There, the military veterans movement emerged from a series of meetings in Birmingham in the autumn and winter of 1894.[40] Initially their objectives were modest and followed a pastoral Christian drift. They aimed to fund a day in the country for veterans, away from the industrial smog of Birmingham, as well as an annual Christmas dinner. Unlike the Bristol veterans with their permanent headquarters building, the Birmingham men would meet in a Unitarian mission hall. Like Bristol, they managed to elicit the support of Lord Roberts.

As the 'movement' gathered momentum they surveyed the scale of need and gathered details regarding the condition of the veterans in Birmingham. At the banquet held in the middle of December at the Old Royal Hotel, the newspapers were able to reveal the following details.

The organisation had 209 members whose ages ranged between 54 and 81 years. There were 117 receiving pensions. 95 were not in need of assistance. There were 68 men needing help of which 44 were in receipt of pensions. There were 44 men who were 'in distress'.[41] The lower age figure of 54 years indicates a facet of the Birmingham organisation different to Bristol. There was no pre-1860 campaign prerequisite.

At a meeting of the Birmingham Military Veterans Movement in December 1895 they reported the work undertaken during the year. This included finding employment for old soldiers as

39 BVC, 2081 TET, Hand Written Letter, re William Porter from his Daughter to James Fuller Eberle, 1914.
40 'Neglected Military Veterans', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 August 1894, p. 5.
41 'Lord Roberts in Birmingham', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 December 1894, p. 5.

well as providing funds for the assistance of those older veterans who 'needed and deserved it'.[42] Because there was no qualifying restriction between those who participated in campaigns before and after 1860, the age range of the Birmingham veterans was broader than that of Bristol.

In November 1894, at a social event in the CIMVAB club room at Frogmore Street, W. J. Clarke of Hurst Street Domestic Mission, Birmingham, addressed the Bristol veterans. Clarke was a founding member and honorary secretary of the Birmingham veterans. He stated that their organisation had some 200 members which included four survivors of the Charge of the Light Brigade and they had only been in existence for three months since. Clarke revealed that they had already brought pressure to bear on the War Office and suggested the amalgamation of the two associations and, if possible, that they might form a national league of different associations over the various parts of the country.[43] Though a resolution was passed unanimously, the amalgamation never took place.

Targeted Charity

The process of gathering information had been organised by Clarke and the Military Veterans Committee. The Birmingham Daily Post reported that:

> […] they are now in possession of the name and address of every Crimean and Indian Mutiny veteran now living in Birmingham together with exact particulars as to the nature and length of military service, amount of pension and number of medals, good conduct badges etc. The list numbers about 210 and it is a significant and painful fact that out of these no fewer than from eighty to ninety are either in circumstances of deep distress or in a position so nearly approaching it that existence is little better than a prolonged and cruel hardship. To enable the committee to obtain the necessary information they have issued enquiry forms for men to fill up, which will facilitate the ascertainment of the actual facts in a systematic and reliable manner.[44]

At the beginning of 1895, the Bristol and Birmingham veterans held a joint parade in Bristol which concluded with an entertainment in the People's Palace, Baldwin Street.[45] There, with some of the uniformed veterans, a stirring recitation of Tennyson's poem was delivered by John Smith Parkinson, one of the 'noble six hundred'. The entertainment also included a 'tableaux vivant' representing Lady Butler's painting of 'The Roll Call' on the stage. The public enthusiasm for the event was confirmed by the drawings and account by Harry Bow, who witnessed it. The People's Palace was packed in the stalls and balconies and there was a collection as the audience departed.[46]

---

42 'The Veterans Movement in Birmingham', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 December 1895, p. 4.
43 'Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 30 November 1894, p. 10.
44 'The Military Veterans Movement', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 October 1894, p. 5.
45 'The People's Palace', *Western Daily Press*, 4 January 1895, p. 3.
46 An illustration of this event can be found in the work of Harry Bow, an undertakers assistant with a fascination for the military. He kept an illustrated diary for 1895. See Bristol Records Office (BRO), Harry Bow, *Diary*, January–July 1895, ref. 31416/3.

The event was indicative of the returning interest in the Crimean War. It reminded people of the past experiences endured by the veterans and made them more likely to be generous in their donations to the associations.

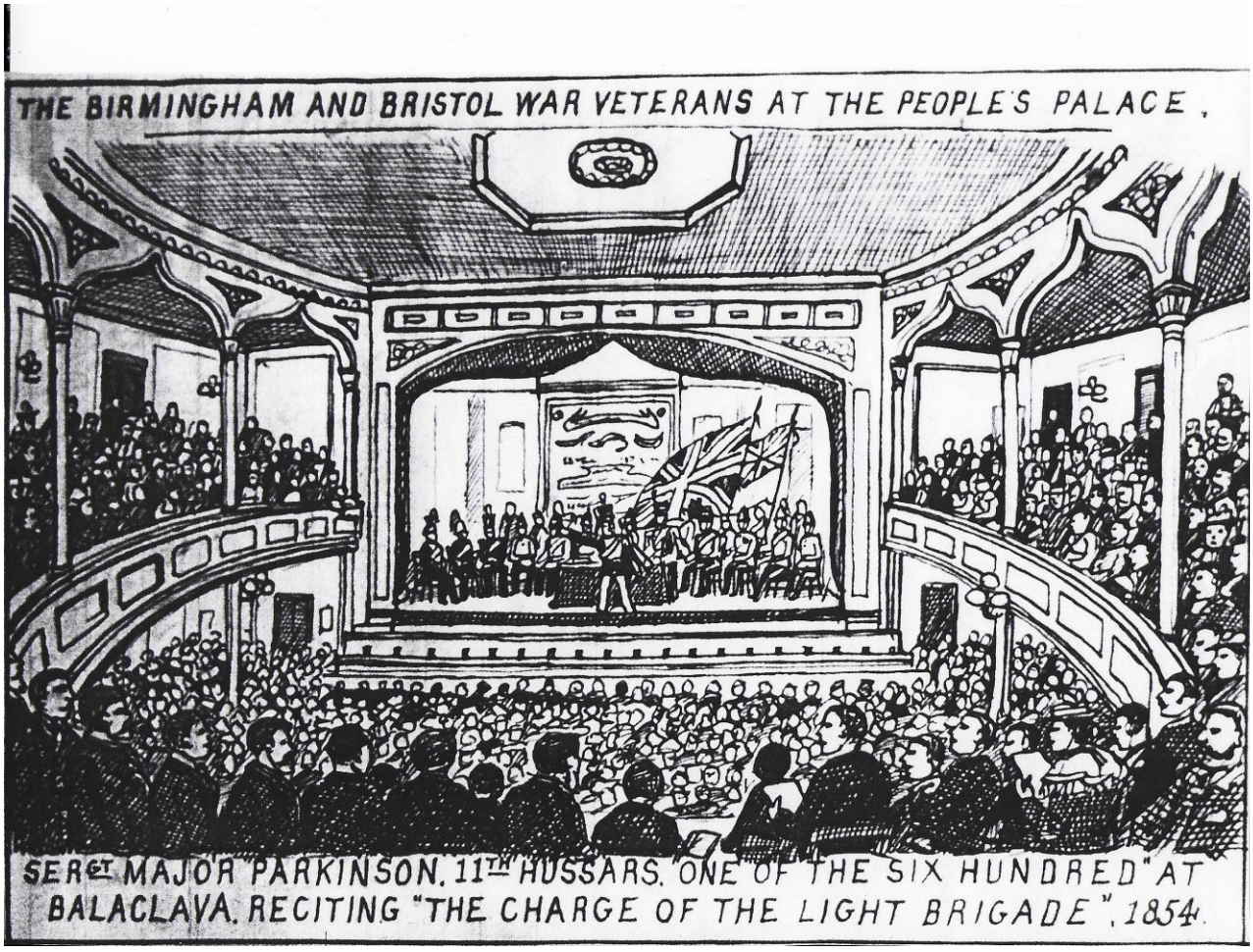

Figure 4: Harry Bow, *The Birmingham and Bristol War Veterans at the People's Palace: Ser^gt Major Parkinson, 11^th Hussars. One of the Six Hundred at Balaclava, Reciting "The Charge of the Light Brigade"*, 1854, drawing, Bristol Records Office

It is likely that this close cooperation and contact between the two associations led to the production of the forms for the Bristol veterans to complete. Most of the 164 forms of the CIMVAB were completed in May 1895.

There were other members whose application forms have not survived or did not exist. Notable within this group, was Anthony Wilder, one of 'the 600'. His membership gave the association a great deal of cachet before his death in Bristol in October 1894. His death preceded the production of the application forms.

A total of 359 veterans were listed by Paul, and 97 individuals who were non-members. In this last group are a number of fair, indifferent and bad characters. Nevertheless Paul wrote to the Chelsea Commissioners on their behalf as well as for members and he recorded outcomes. Bad characters were routinely rejected by the Chelsea Commissioners and Paul noted these. Other

reasons for rejection were insufficient time served recorded as ‘short service’ and insufficiently poor recorded as ‘not necessitous’.

From a single application on behalf of an unpensioned veteran in June 1893, Paul increased applications to two in 1894 and eighteen in 1895. From this last group he recorded seven successful applications gaining 9d and 10d per day for hitherto unpensioned veterans. His efforts persisted in subsequent years and he was able to gain pensions and also increases to existing pensions through his activities. The year 1902 was one of his busiest with over 45 applications with 23 successful outcomes which included some of those who had been previously refused. A similar effort was recorded for 1904 with 18 successful outcomes from the 45 applications. Walter Paul's name appears on many of the discharge documents of association members held by the War Office and are a tribute to his fastidious and persistent philanthropy on behalf of those who had neither the knowledge or literary skills to deploy in their own advocacy. Some of those for whom he wrote were far from the mythologised ‘noble veteran’ yet his efforts on their behalf were quintessentially noble.

The last obligation on the application form, was to ‘give the names and addresses of two or more respectable persons who can testify to your good character and knowledge of your circumstances’. There was a thematic parallel between this stipulation and the preconditions of good character and absolute destitution, demanded by Chelsea for consideration for a special campaign pension. Bad and/or indifferent characters were ‘undeserving’ and therefore excluded. For Chelsea this prohibition reduced potential numbers and therefore saved expense. For the CIMVAB, the inclusion of bad or indifferent characters reinforced the transformative nature of their work. Reformed characters reassured the public of the efficacy of the organisation’s philanthropy.

The Scope of Need and Relief

The membership application forms can be categorized into occupation types. The largest group were described as ‘labourers’ before becoming soldiers. This general description was a convenient catch-all term often used to describe recruits throughout the nineteenth century.[47]

The generic term ‘labourer’ covered a wide spectrum of occupations from unskilled to semi-skilled. For those lower down the socio-economic ladder, advancing years made them especially vulnerable to suffer from lack of work and its attendant difficulties. In this, they were no different to the civilian labourers of the same age. Their privations and experiences of war, however, may have speeded the ageing process. The key difference was the growing public perception of the ‘noble

47 Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, p. 130.

veteran' as a category deserving protection from a fate that led to poverty. This sympathy was encouraged and stimulated by publicity.

There were occasional reports in the press of the distress suffered by ageing veterans. Thomas Brabham, a respected and distinguished member of the CIMVAB, had served in the 34th Regiment. He served over 21 years, had 5 good conduct badges and the medal for Long Service and Good Conduct. He took his own life in 1904 in a distressed state, because his sight was failing and he could no longer work as a labourer. The inquest declared that his death was the result of 'suicide whilst of unsound mind'.[48] Without directly apportioning blame to the prevailing background economics that engendered such despair, the sympathetic reportage left readers to draw their own conclusions.

The application forms also reveal the spectrum of second occupations pursued by veterans no longer able to work as labourers. These range from Insurance agents, railway porters, prison warders and police officers at the top to lowly paid crossing sweepers, sandwich men, lavatory attendants and hawkers at the bottom. Those able to embark on second careers in say the Police or the Railways, could find themselves in receipt of two pensions when they finally retired and this relatively happy destiny is reported in some of the returns.

Another characteristic that emerges, is pride in a willingness to work and a determination to find employment. A minority however express nuances of despair and state that they are 'past work' and unable to earn anything. William Clatworthy was a labourer in a sugar refinery for twenty seven years until he became unemployed when the works closed. He wrote that he had not done any work for two years and that he and his wife were in receipt of parish relief. He added 'I am quite destitute'. One of the 'respectable persons' who could vouch for him was William Poole, the Relieving Officer for the parish of Bedminster. With no old-age pension, working until unable to continue was a fact of life confirmed by the application forms. The range and composition of questions enabled cross-referencing to be made, by Paul, with the Chelsea Commissioners, employers and the parish authorities. Those unable to find alternatives were bound to languish as they competed against younger, fitter competition. This problem was well understood. Questions were asked in the Commons as far back as 1876 by Sir Henry Havelock.[49] The Army and Navy Pensioners and Time-Expired Me's Society and the National Association for the Employment of Reserve and Discharged Soldiers were attempts to address this issue.[50]

48 'Veteran's Tragic Death', *Western Daily Press*, 3 May 1904, p. 9.
49 'Civil and Military', *Star*, 9 May 1876, p. 4. In the reported debate Sir Henry Havelock suggested the possibility of making the State a 'medium of communication' between private employers of labour and soldiers of the Army Reserve and Militia service.
50 Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, p. 146.

Non-commissioned officers who held their rank at the time of discharge and who had served for over twenty years entitling them to discharge ‘free to pension’, did well. To succeed in the army meant a combination of factors, some variable, like luck. Chief among more constant factors, contributing to success, were sobriety and literacy. The sober and literate non-commissioned officer received higher pay and this had an equivalence in pension entitlement. In many discharge documents the phrase ‘had he not been promoted’ is used to emphasize that the NCO would have been entitled to four or five good conduct rings/badges and the extra pay per day that went with them. This extra money was an inducement to private soldiers to avoid the temptations of dissipation through drink and the career retrogression attendant with it. On becoming a non-commissioned officer, the good conduct rings were forfeit because of the higher pay that went with promotion.

Of the names that appear in the various year books and other records, it is clear that the majority of the members were neither poor nor necessitous. They were in receipt of pensions and had enjoyed second careers on leaving the forces.

The forms confirm the *Bristol Mirror* reportage of 30 October 1894. Many of the members were described as ‘well to do’ pensioners who had joined the association for the purpose of helping their less fortunate comrades.[51] They also reveal that a tiny fraction of the membership were in receipt of 'out-door relief' from the parishes where they resided.[52] A larger number were drifting into poverty through age and ill health. It was this group who were to be the main beneficiaries of the charity available through the association. Natural wastage however meant that the numbers involved never became critical and successful fund-raising activities were always able to meet expenses.

Concerts, services, parades and processions were well publicised by a sympathetic press and Fuller Eberle and Walter S. Paul used their connections to further garner influential support.

Influential Supporters

The role of the press was an important part of the pension campaign from the beginning. In November 1893 the *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post* reported the efforts in hand to obtain a shilling per day for all Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans and quoted the then secretary Tovey's gratitude. He wrote:

> There can be no possible doubt, thanks to our local press and especially to the Bristol Mercury for the publicity they have given to our movement that the question of granting

51 *Bristol Mercury*, 30 October 1894, p. 8.
52 From 164 application forms 7 applicants (4%) were in receipt of parish outdoor relief and 1 received ‘mission support’ from the Unitarian Church.

> pensions to men who faithfully served their country in the Crimea and Indian Mutiny has grown intensely popular in Bristol.[53]

The list of patrons in the 1896 yearbook include four Field Marshals.[54] There were also four Generals and a Vice Admiral. The Duke of Beaufort was a patron, as well as other members of the aristocracy. Numerous Colonels and senior officers from the Volunteers and civic dignitaries including members of the judiciary and clergy were also listed. This array of national and local dignitaries endorsing the association, gave it prestige and underlined establishment approval for the organisation. Lists of subscribers also indicate the breadth of support from the upper middle-class enjoyed by the association. Their regular generous subscriptions provided a firm financial foundation for the CIMVAB's charity. The substantial gift of 50 Guineas, from Mr Samuel White, to be distributed at Christmas is recorded in the accounts of the organization. Also recorded were the donations from local military units, further reinforcing the trans-generational sympathetic links between serving soldiers and veterans. This support was maintained throughout the existence of the association and was a significant factor behind the Memorial Letter of 1905 referred to earlier.
As well as the year books, the minute book of the association from 1904 to 1908, has survived and indicates the *modus operandi* employed for the disbursement of targeted charity.

The 'relief committee' met weekly until the end of 1908 when this pattern of meetings was discontinued. They discussed the lists of recipients of charity.[55] The 1899 year book shows that the recipients of the weekly grants were informed that the amounts they received were temporary, for a period of three months and that they would cease if there were insufficient funds held to meet the expense. From a total membership in 1899 of 143,42 were in receipt of aid.[56] These were categorized by the amount they received – hence there were five, four, three shillings lists and a two shillings and sixpence list. Also revealed are the exchanges, departures and admissions to these lists according to the varying economic circumstances of the veterans in question. There was also a 'coal money list'. In the 1900s some of the Bristol veterans received gifts of cash at Christmas. As well as the obvious assistance this money provided, it was also a useful and simple way of checking the well being of the recipient who was required to return the counter-foil of the postal-order. These benefits made a real difference and numerous letters of gratitude from the recipients to Walter Paul and Fuller Eberle are part of the archive. Conversely there are some enquiring letters characterised by a tone of desperation by the veteran, or a spouse, if they felt accidentally left out or overlooked.

Needy Veterans and Begging

53 'Local News', *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 17 November 1893, p. 3.
54 'The Talk of Bristol', *Bristol Mercury*, 7 January 1896, p. 8.
55 BVC, 0222 TSH, Committee Minute Book, 1904–1929.
56 BVC, 0257 TSH, Year Book, 1899.

The minutes also reveal that a moral characteristic was present in the way in which the association wished to be perceived by the public. The case of veteran James Keating demonstrates this. He had served 21 years and 7 days in the 50th Regiment. His discharge papers show that his conduct and character were described as 'very good' and that he was in possession of 5 good conduct badges, the medal for Long Service and Good Conduct and the New Zealand Medal. His name had never appeared in the Regimental Defaulters Book and he had never been tried by Court Martial. Prior to his military service he had been a labourer and had served in the Militia.[57] By any objective standard he had been an exemplary soldier, yet he was expelled from the CIMVAB in 1906. His offence was begging in the streets around central Bristol, especially in Denmark Street which was next to Orchard Street. A minute for the committee meeting of Friday 8th July 1904 refers to a letter of complaint received regarding this. Keating had been brought before the committee and reprimanded.

General meetings were usually held on the same day as the quarterly committee meetings and at the 8th July meeting, attended by 40 veterans, a resolution was passed that the 'high tone and character of the association' should be maintained. From the minutes of the committee meeting for Friday 5 January 1906 it appeared that the committee had lost patience with Keating. Despite the 'frequent warnings' they had given him, he continued to accost members of the public and receive alms. Keating was in receipt of a Chelsea pension of 1/1d per diem as well as the income from his occupation as a messenger. The association supported him with 3/- weekly relief and coal money and this, they stated, would continue to be paid until 23 March 1906. Keating had transgressed by ignoring the warnings of the committee. His persistence in importuning people in the streets was seen to be bringing the good name of the association into disrepute. 'Noble veterans' were the 'deserving' poor and beggars were neither of these.

A small number of others were refused membership. A peddlar named Jennings was refused because 'he still tramped around the country selling laces, he was not eligible to join the association'.[58] Later correspondence reveals that Jennings died in 1911 and some of his funeral costs were met by the association. Money sent to Jennings was spent on drink and there had been trouble at Orchard Street with Jennings and his son arriving drunk.[59]

Some rogues did get through. William Roberts fraudulently wore medals for the Crimea, Indian Mutiny and China and carried a bogus brooch said to contain a lock of hair from the head of

57 TNA, WO97/133, Chelsea Pensioners, British Army Service Records, 1760–1913, box 2009.
58 BVC, Committee Minute Book, Meeting, 7 July 1905.
59 BVC, 1667 TET, Letter from James George to James Fuller Eberle, 30 October 1911.

the body of General Wheeler's daughter, slain in the garden in the Cawnpore massacre.[60] His deception remained unchallenged right up to his death and was even repeated in the obituary notices in the local papers.

The format of the minute book evokes pathos. On the left hand side of the book is a form of journal where the events, occurrences, inspections, visits by and deaths of members were noted. The right hand pages deal with the meetings both committee and general. There is an entry for 1 January 1909 that '"Old Age Pensions" came into force'. A few months before that, Paul had written to Fuller Eberle and suggested that at the end of the year the character of the Association might be altered. In an intriguing letter he suggested that they 'turn out the objectionable men and those who won't subscribe (except perhaps a few) and make more of a social club of it'.[61]

This proposal may have been prompted by the introduction of the first State Old Age Pensions. The provision altered the dynamic between the State and the elderly citizen with the necessity for private charity giving way to public assistance. From then onwards, when the pattern of meetings ended, the journal record of the book occupies both left and right pages. It is a record of the gradual disappearance of the membership as age takes its due. Members' deaths and ages at death are recorded as the years advance. The attendance by detachments of veterans at some of these funerals was noted.

Throughout the book there are regular entries for the anniversary services of the battles of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny, usually followed by an entertainment like a concert. These, as well as Trafalgar Day, reinforced the retrospective narrative of previous military and naval achievement.

From May 1905 the veterans also took part in the annual 'Empire Day' celebrations that were a wider expression of enthusiasm for Britain's imperial supremacy.[62]

Inevitably the presence of veterans attending services and celebrations was characterised by their diminishing numbers. The years of the Great War saw the reduction of the CIMVAB to a handful of men able to participate in the victory celebrations in 1918. During this period the deaths of committee men signalled the fading of the organisation's critical mass. The book noted the last dinner held at 13 Orchard Street in December 1919 where 7 veterans were able to attend.

Newspaper Reportage 1906–1920

60 See my article Glenn Fisher, 'Crimean Dodge and a Lock of Hair', *The War Correspondent*, 35 (2017), 35–39.
61 BVC, 1541 TET, Letter from Walter S. Paul to James Fuller Eberle, 24 September 1908.
62 See Stephen Badsey, 'New Wars, New Press, New Country? The British Army: The Expansion of the Empire and the Mass Media, 1877-1918', 'Victorians at War New Perspectives', *The Society for Army Historical Research*, special publication ed. by Ian Beckett (2007), 34–46 (pp. 44–45).

As well as collecting and processing statistical material, Paul preserved newspaper reports to chronicle the history of the association. The book of newspaper cuttings starts in 1906 and covers the activities of the association until its extinction in 1920, carefully tabulated with years dates and months. There are positive reports of the activities of the Bristol veterans and other associations, like Birmingham and Nottingham, as well as news relating to the pensions issue. As the century progresses and especially with the advent of The First World War, the volume of reportage diminishes until a whole year is covered in just a couple of pages.

The reportage was selected by Paul for his book, but the tone and character of the coverage has certain distinct characteristics. Most prominent is the link expressing the familiar dynamic of the service and suffering of the veterans for the preservation of the empire and the nation's prestige. Closely allied to this, is the condemnation of the Nation's inability to look after its veterans and prevent the disgrace of some of them having to reside in Union Workhouses. The nature of these sentiments resonate with the start of the 'movement' in the early 1890s and reveal how incremental and gradual were the 'gains' achieved throughout that decade and the following one.

By 1908 the condition and numbers of those who had campaigned in the Crimea and in India were both diminishing. Though they succeeded locally, the national effort instigated by Lord Roberts, known as 'The Veterans Relief Fund', could be seen to be too little too late.

Chapter 4

The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol Membership

This chapter uses the records of the CIMVAB to explore the life experiences of veterans in Bristol in the 1890s. I will focus on the veterans application forms and how they reflect the views and expectations of this community. They also reveal attitudes and the underlying ethos of those who administered the organisation. Individually the forms constitute a range of responses that compose a mosaic of wider perceptions regarding veterans and private charity. Broadly the archive provides a detailed insight into members' lives. A complex military and social narrative emerges that gives expression to a hitherto 'unvoiced' group.

Most of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny private soldiery were illiterate. Some of those who became literate by the 1890s, were reluctant to relate their military experiences in writing. Few of the application forms contain reference to military exploits and those that do are the briefest of summaries. In this respect they chime with the literary war veterans described by Kate McLoughlin as 'war veterans who don't tell war stories'.[1] Literate non-commissioned officers, however, had published detailed accounts of military life for the new recruit across the nineteenth century.[2] The main thrust of the application forms was directed at the personal struggles of the applicant in civilian life and their physical and material condition. Collectively these delivered a template of approbation for 'deserving' veterans.

The material also reflects and reinforces the social and cultural values of soldiers and veterans and allows further analysis of the composition of CIMVAB membership. There were different types of member and their relationships with the organization are explored. Within the membership, patriotic loyalty, imperialism and heroic efforts to maintain a self-help ethic were united with middle-class values of respectability, sobriety and dignity. Extrapolations are made, regarding the membership's social, political and economic composition. These show the processes of compassionate philanthropy that existed within the community of veterans. They also reveal how those at the lower end of the socio-economic scale, identified as the respectable 'deserving poor', were valued, supported and diverted from the inevitability of the workhouse. Those veterans who

1 Santanu Das and Kate McLoughlin, *The First World War: Literature, Culture, Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), p. 41

2 See *Jottings from my Sabretache* by a Chelsea Pensioner for an account of the Napoleonic Wars. This was published as 'anonymous' in 1847 by Richard Bentley of London. Also 'Recollections of one of the Light Brigade' by Albert Mitchell, late sergeant in the 13th Light Dragoons, published by Richard Pelton, Tunbridge Wells 1884. See Albert Mitchell, *Recollections of One of the Light Brigade, Late Sergeant in the 13th Light Dragoons* (Tunbridge Wells: Richard Pelton, 1884).

did not fit into the prescribed pre-conditions for membership could end up there, but the CIMVAB still made efforts on their behalf.

Broken Old Soldiers: Romance and Reality

Following the establishment of a standing army, the old, broken soldier and the maimed veteran, became part of a familiar narrative in the relationship between the Army and society.
Peter Reese, in his general study of the re-assimilation of British military personnel into civilian life, divides those discharged into three types: the long term regular, those who had enlisted for the duration of a war and those 'whose health had broken down either through wounds or disease'.[3] He observes 'that the reception accorded to British soldiers on returning to civilian life has for centuries been little short of disgraceful'.[4]

The scope of Reese's work covers the centuries from the creation of The New Model Army in the seventeenth century through to the Falklands War of 1982. He highlights the low regard felt by government and others, for the Army in the eighteenth century and the reluctance to meet the expense of funding it. The veteran was low down on the scale of financial priorities to be met. The desire for economy was a permanent background imperative exerted by successive governments, that encompassed both serving and discharged soldiers. In fiction the old soldier received kinder treatment than in reality.

Nielsen's essay on how the veteran was represented in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century literature, resonates with the status of the late nineteenth century veteran. Referring to the character genre of the 'contented old soldier' she wrote that he was 'a man who, after years of military service, had happily settled into his civilian community with his family. Nevertheless, he would always be vaguely alienated by the enduring physical and psychological effects of his service'.[5]

The applications for membership of the CIMVAB reveal a range of material circumstances and first-hand accounts of veteran's experiences, attitudes and values. Many fit Nielsen's model of the 'contented old soldier' who succeeds in the years after discharge. They were mostly literate. The dairyman, the speculative builder, the book and curio dealer and the Rifle Volunteer Instructor are among those with successful careers. At the other end, the poor veterans, though emphasising their commitment to hard-work, sobriety and reliability, drift into destitution. Despite their best efforts, they are unable to support themselves and turn to outside relief as a last resort. These point to a

3 Reese, p. 29.
4 Ibid, dust-jacket sleeve.
5 Nielsen, p. 18.

failure of self-help ideologies with many CIMVAB applicants emphasising their continued but insufficient efforts at financial independence. The applicants also reinforce the wider celebration of the 'noble soldier' becoming the 'deserving' pauper. The precarious lives of the destitute veterans resonate with literary representations of the complex relationship between the poor veteran and civilian society.[6]

The discharged soldier, damaged by his experiences, presented an unsettling combination of anxiety, suspicion and possible threat to civilians. Poverty exacerbated his condition and added to his persona, a sharpened accusatory dimension. There would always be the taint of the 'outsider' in perceptions of the poor veteran. The expression of this strained relationship is exemplified in Wordsworth's 'The Prelude'. He meets with a veteran on a dark road. There is a macabre unworldliness in the ghostly figure of the discharged soldier who appears, in the gloom, to inhabit a state between life and death. This condition itself is a metaphor for the no-man's land occupied by the discharged soldier between the military and civilian worlds. When Wordsworth's discharged soldier speaks 'there was a strange half-absence, as one | Knowing too well the importance of his theme, | But feeling it no longer'.[7] Penury added a reproachful aura to his interaction with the civilian. Uncomfortable questions regarding who is to care for the discharged soldier arise. Does the former defender of his country, deserve indifference, poverty and misery? The examples, discussed below, of James Graham, a marine-store gatherer and the 'half starving' William Hayden, a crossings-sweeper, point to a continuation of Wordsworth's literary recollection of the 'meagre man' from his 'Discharged Soldier' of 1798. They were his 'poor friendless' men but at the end of the nineteenth century and the recipients of the CIMVAB's philanthropy. As well as material support they also received the companionship of other veterans.

The gap between real experience of war and the way it is later represented, as McLoughlin observes, 'can be narrowed but never completely eliminated'.[8] The romanticised 'broken soldier' in late eighteenth-century literature, was transformed into the late nineteenth-century 'noble veteran'. The former being the focus of compassionate reaction, the latter being emblematic of national reproach for the neglect of those who suffered in the service of their country. Simon Parkes, in his study of disabled soldiers in eighteenth-century literature, points to the sympathetic treatment that characterised much of the writing. This, however, was set against negative background sentiments. The eighteenth-century soldier 'was held in contempt' by much of society and there continued a

6 Wordsworth's 'Discharged Soldier' written in 1798, reinforces the idea of the suffering poor veteran. He was described as 'stiff, lank and upright' with a 'quiet uncomplaining voice' and a 'stately air of mild indifference.' This figure was later incorporated into 'The Prelude'.
7 William Wordsworth, *Wordsworth: Extracts From the Prelude, with Other Poems*, ed. by George Mallaby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), pp. 90–93.
8 McLoughlin, *Authoring War*, p. 20.

deep mistrust of soldiers and a standing army.[9] By contrast, the soldiers of the armies of the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny enjoyed a hitherto unprecedented popularity during the campaigns and later as veterans in the 1890s.[10] In the late nineteenth century however, the stereotypical 'contented old soldier' happily reintegrated into society, was a narrative tarnished by the poverty of some veterans and the apparent indifference of the War Office to their penury.

Nielsen's work resonates with Kriegel's, which described the 'old, picturesque veteran who personified duty and want' in the quarter century before The Great War.[11] Both identify the social desirability of the reformed veteran resuming civilian life but some were tinged with material uncertainties of neediness and old age. Referring to the out-pensioners at the end of the eighteenth century, Nielsen observes that some old soldiers were seen as 'the personification of loyalty, social deference, fortitude, self-sufficiency and paternal love'.[12] A century later the same procession of qualities applied to the CIMVAB and other veterans organisations. McLoughlin refers to an anonymous poem entitled 'The Muse in Good Humour; or Momus's Banquet' (c.1795), in which the maimed veteran vows: 'Should new conflict arise and my King want support, | To the standard of honor I'll cheerful resort'.[13] A letter, discussed at the end of this chapter, written in 1915, from Bristol veteran, John Andrews, who was maimed at the Redan, expresses the same willingness and loyalty. The sentiments expressed in the application forms fit into an established literary tradition of respectable veterancy. Many of the applicants emphasised narratives of self-help, proud independence, undying patriotism and loyalty celebrated in both literature and society. They also reflect the fear of inevitable decline as age or illness neutralise the continuation of their strivings into a practical impossibility.

For the Bristol veterans, an organisation emerged, headed by a committee as explored in the previous chapter. They were aided by some 'honorary' members who were vigorous in the fund-raising essential for the charity's success. The significant 'Establishment' support behind the association was the patronage of royalty, aristocracy and gentry, both military and civic, as well as the great and the good of industry and commerce and the endorsement of the Church and the Press. Absent from this list were politicians and radicals of the left.

Privately administered charity, funded by individual and public subscription, encapsulated the ethos behind many of the self-help organisations that flourished in the 1890s. These continued

9 Simon Parkes, 'Wooden Legs and Tales of Sorrow Done: The Literary Broken Soldier of the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 36 (2013), 191–207.
10 Ian Beckett, *The Victorians at War* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003), p. 173. See also Lalumia, p. 51.
11 Lara Kriegel, 'Living Links to History, or, Victorian Veterans in the Twentieth-Century World', *Victorian Studies*, 2.58 (2016), 289–301 (p. 291).
12 Caroline Nielsen, *The Chelsea Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Social Care* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Newcastle University, 2014), p. 220.
13 McLoughlin, *Veteran Poetics*, p. 250.

the earlier impulse to private charity which Nielsen identifies. Referring to Army and Navy pensioners in the years 1750 to the early 1800s, she observes that ‘soldiers and sailors, particularly their families, became subject to patriotic and fashionable philanthropy’.[14] These, however, were never formally organised into associations as in the 1890s and afterwards in what Kriegel described as ‘a landscape thick with remembrance’.[15]

By 1910, despite almost two decades of pressure and agitation, there were still veterans in Union Workhouses. This was a reality that ran counter to the prevailing mythology surrounding what Kriegel terms ‘the cult’ of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. Participation in the campaigns did not automatically ennoble veterans and within their ranks were those whose trajectory in life inevitably led to destitution. They were mostly illiterate, unmarried or widowed, had no personal supportive infrastructure to turn to, and were largely unskilled with failing strength. The objective of the CIMVAB materially to improve their circumstances and deflect their progress to the Union Workhouse, was explicit. It was expressed as point no. 4 in the 1899 year-book and used the word ‘rescue’ with reference to the veteran in the Workhouse. In the text of the publication it reported that 42 of the most destitute veterans had received weekly grants.

Definitions of ‘Destitution’

The ‘weight’ behind this term was nuanced and depended on who was using it. In the press the adjective 'destitute' next to the word ‘veteran’ was locally and nationally deployed to elicit an indignant, emotive public response. The conjunction of the two words denoted a deplorable, socially repugnant and unacceptable combination. Gestures towards the national shame of veterans’ financial distress were especially useful at concerts and other fund-raising activities. A sympathetic public responded generously to appeals. The accounts of the CIMVAB bear out the regular accumulation of donations from ‘The People’s Palace’ in Baldwin Street and Church Parades.

From the Chelsea Commissioners perspective, the word 'destitute' encompassed a gradated spectrum of socio-economic conditions which were necessary for decisions to be made regarding ‘special campaign pensions’. At a meeting in May 1893 this issue was discussed. From the minutes of this meeting it is clear that fastidious precision was applied in the selection of those eligible for consideration. There is a table entitled ‘Degrees of Destitution’. The categories range as follows: In Workhouse; Parish Relief; No Means; Deferred Pension only; Deferred Pension and small means; Slight Casual Work; Earns over 5/-; Earns under 5/-. Also clear is that demand far outstripped supply and those whose character and conduct were described as ‘indifferent’ or ‘fair’ would be

14 Ibid.
15 Kriegel, ‘Living Links to History’, p. 291.

likely to be deferred for a year in preference to those with more positive references. This process was itself flawed because the system operated on an annual budget and fresh applicants would be added making those unlucky the previous year likely to be disappointed again. The Commissioners were aware of this, but were constrained by the available budget.[16] The bureaucracy to modify the administration of 'Special Campaign Pensions' was slow. Consequently many of those waiting for a decision and near destitution, would drift into the Workhouse as the minutiae of their circumstances was assessed by Chelsea. There is no doubt that the monies raised by the CIMVAB did help some avoid the hitherto certain destination of the Union Workhouses. The War Office and Chelsea Commissioners discussed the issue of 'Special Campaign Pensions' in a Committee of Enquiry set up by the Secretary of State for War in November 1899. Representing the Chelsea Commissioners were Lord Stanley and Major-General Salis Schwabe. The War Office was represented by Mr Cave and Mr Denham Robinson. The Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for War, Mr George Wyndham, was Chairman and Mr Dowling, the Assistant Secretary for Chelsea Hospital, acted as Secretary to the committee. There were two items on the agenda: the first was to explore an extension, without excessive cost, of the scheme for Special Campaign Pensions so as to make provision for all men surviving who had a medal for campaigns before 1860. The other issue discussed was related to the rates of pension paid to men invalided through climatic disease and those invalided because of accidents. The minutes of the meeting reveal that they were aware of the public feeling aroused by the issue of the exclusion of a limited number of veterans from pension under the existing regulations. They also observed that the feeling aroused against the Army system was out of all proportion to the cost of removing the grievance. The committee deployed actuarial findings related to the death rate of veterans in their calculations and an appreciation that the sum of 9d per diem was the minimum necessary to keep a man out of the workhouse. They recommended nuanced adjustments to the existing regulations but still retained the 'necessitous circumstances' qualification. This, they defined as being that a man did not earn or draw more than ten shillings per week from any fixed source. The minutes also stated that a regulation shall provide for the Chelsea Commissioners granting the pensions without submitting cases individually to the War Office for the approval of the Secretary of State for War and the Treasury, 'thereby following the precedent of the Waterloo etc. pensions of 25 years ago'.[17]

Prospects, Expectations and Leverage

16 TNA, WO250/428, Royal Hospital Chelsea Board Meetings and Papers, Minute books 1 July 1891–30 June 1894.
17 TNA, WO33/164, WO33/164, War Office: Reports, Memoranda and Papers (A & O series): Report of Committee on Special Campaign Pensions and Pensions for Soldiers Incapacitated by Climatic Disease

Within the Bristol veterans community were ageing crossing-sweepers, marine-store collectors, hawkers, sandwich-men, and labourers. When young, they tended to define themselves by their work as soldiers and sailors. Unskilled, illiterate labourers were transformed by Queen's Regulations into soldiers who could march, drill, master skill at arms, recognise drum and bugle calls and obey orders in vocabulary exclusive to their roles. Sailors would follow a similar transformation but specific to naval practices. On discharge they found their military skills redundant or unwanted, and were disadvantaged competing in a labour market weighted against them. Prior to any understanding of post traumatic stress disorder, as a result of military experience, they were perceived, by employers, as no different from other ageing labourers. They would present themselves as viable labourers, though their age and physical capabilities would put them below similar civilians in their prime. Their 'veteran' status, however, to the public, set them apart, as perhaps deserving of better treatment. Until entitlement to relief was assessed and delivered, the slow drift into poverty could further distance the veteran from the society he had served.

The applications for the CIMVAB were mostly completed by veterans who had been members prior to 1895. The newly introduced process formalised the 'right' sort of membership and provided a summary of the pressures and challenges faced by the applicant. In particular those disabled, or with ruined constitutions, were disadvantaged. They show a reality faced by some regarding work. For them, the prospect of working until incapacitated by age was all they expected. Age might put pressure on their families for support, but if the veteran was alone, he must continue to work. The creation of the CIMVAB enabled a gentler decline to be a possibility. The application forms also point to an underlying agenda:- the conservatism of private philanthropy delivered to respectable, loyal, sober veterans in need, who deserved to be rescued from the approaching shame and degradation of poor law provision.

The forms are unique examples of documentation for membership of Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations. Their composition and the questions they posed comprise miniature first- person accounts, or short biographies of soldiers' experiences across social class. They also steered the responses to reinforce and endorse the underlying narratives of loyalty, patriotism, reliability, independence and honest endeavour, essential in the persona of a respectable veteran. The application forms constitute a reaffirmation of the Establishment consensus on what was expected of, and appropriate to, deserving veterans. The part of the form that dealt with the applicant's marital status allowed the veteran space to report the condition of his children. In some cases this was an opportunity for further patriotic expression, with sons in the Army or Navy, continuing and extending the loyal service of their fathers. The invitation possibly to emphasize military valour came with the invitation on the form to 'state any particulars of your history that you can or care to give for the information of the committee'. The responses relating to military

experience were few. Civilian endeavours were preferred with this part of the form providing an opportunity for some to add details of their poverty and their struggles to keep going as independent individuals for as long as possible. The human qualities mentioned above, also drew the veteran into a community anxious to be seen as acceptable and undeserving of the fears of the inevitable consequences of old age and illness. Collectively the responses from the CIMVAB applicants in 1895, reiterate the qualities found in the stereotypes expressed in the literary examples at the beginning of this chapter.

The choice of respectable referees chosen by the applicants was also revealing. Persons from the Church, commerce, the forces of law and order and civic society were preferred. Absent was any reference to political figures. Bristol's association with veterans was referenced in literature as far back as the end of the eighteenth century. McLoughlin cites the work of Joseph Moser's *Adventures of Timothy Twig* (1794) where a disabled veteran comes to the city: 'Disabled, sick, a twelve-month past | In England we arrived, | War, climates, storms o'ercome at last, | All those I had surviv'd. | In Bristole first we shelter found, | Where short report we tasted, | But illness, from uncur'd wound, | Our slender pittance wasted'.[18] A century later the CIMVAB sought, in reality, to atone for the 'short report' described in literature.

The application forms were confidential and provided Secretary Walter S. Paul, as the chief administrator, with a stock of organised references necessary for him to prosecute claims on behalf of members. They became a first source of written reference in the committee's deliberations. The responses provided a summary of the applicants history and condition and were used in prioritizing the dispensation of charity. However, should any of the powerful sponsors of the CIMVAB examine them, they would have provided positive proof of the 'rightness' of the organisation.

The applicant's service history was examined and questions focused on details that could be later verified and confirmed by Chelsea and Greenwich discharge documents. The majority gave an honest account of their service and circumstances. Some, though, relied on omission and selective memory to avoid negative reportage and to conceal details considered disadvantageous to them. Bound in buckram, the physical record of the volume's wear shows that it was well used.

There is a broad spectrum of literacy evident in the responses. These range from the confident, flowing hands of former Non-Commissioned Officers to the hesitant, barely legible, efforts of men who were illiterate or semi-literate when they enlisted or when they were discharged. Some of the applicants were not familiar with the process of filling in forms and had not understood the questions or ignored them. The former Non-Commissioned Officers' returns display well-

18 McLoughlin, *Veteran Poetics*, pp. 253–254.

formed handwriting with few errors and accurate spelling and punctuation. Questions are understood and answered fully and it is clear that the writers are familiar with bureaucracy.

In some other cases an amanuensis has written the replies. For example, Charles Parsons, a double amputee from the Royal Artillery, received an Army pension of 2/6d per day for his severe injuries. His form and correspondence were obviously written by another from his dictation.

The emerging narrative is a mixed one. Most of the members were not needy. They prospered after their military and naval careers and did not need the charity available to other members. From an analysis of the 164 application forms, the poorest applicants were: 9 in receipt of parish relief; 10 of 'no trade' or disabled; 9 in precarious, low-paid work. They were in various degrees of want and were supported by that charity. These interventions halted the downward progress towards the Workhouse. There were members who came and went. Some were existing residents in Bristol or arrivals from other parts of the United Kingdom. Others were removed by death or resignation, change of circumstances or movement away from the city.

Brothers in Arms

Most members were former Non-Commissioned Officers of 'good' and 'very good' character in receipt of pensions and successful in their post-Army and Navy lives.[19] There were variations within this population with some hovering between 'getting by' and poverty. The minority group were usually unpensioned, or minimally pensioned veterans on the margins of poverty and teetering towards destitution.

The application responses reveal the poverty of some of the veterans' situations, especially in the section regarding the circumstances of their adult children. It is possible, that for some, there might be a perceived advantage by emphasizing or exaggerating their level of poverty and the inability of those closest to them to help remedy or improve their condition. Allowing for age and memory, a number of the forms show selection and emphasis regarding the presentation of a military or naval career. These positive versions of service histories were sometimes at odds with the discharge papers held by Chelsea or Greenwich. The 'disgraceful' Maurice Barrett, referred to below, is an example of this practice.

The forms also reflect a widespread, strongly expressed desire to keep working for as long as possible and to delay the time when they would be 'past work'. The assistance from family is stated and there is pride in the responses tinged with regret that age had weakened the veteran's physical ability. Others show a degree of forethought and planning in order to make ends meet.

19 From the 164 application forms and other related discharge documents over 160 of the 359 listed veterans were in the 'good' to 'exemplary' categories on discharge.

Nicholas Chapman, formerly of the Royal Artillery, stated that he was supported by his daughter and '3/- per week donation from the sick club'. He also added that his illness 'originated from my lying in the trenches'.[20]

William Eite, of the Rifle Brigade, wrote with a careless hand. Responding to the question regarding Parish Relief, he wrote that he had 'never received a farthing during my life from the Parish authorities'. He gave details of the condition and locations of his wife and adult children. His wife was an invalid. One of his sons in Bristol was consumptive and had a wife and four children. Eite had been one of the first in the formation of the CIMVAB. In preliminary meetings he was eloquent in his fervour for the moral justice of the cause. He put forward this resolution at one meeting:

> This meeting desires to place on record their condemnation of the present most inequitable and unjust pension system that demands before any veteran can obtain a pension, however valuable his services to the nation may have been in the Crimean or Indian Mutiny campaigns, he must procure a certificate that he is destitute. In numerous instances the timely granting of a pension would have saved the veteran from the degradation and pain of being a pauper.[21]

Through the efforts of Paul, Eite was eventually granted a pension of 9d per day in October 1895. This pension he enjoyed until his death in August 1899 aged 75 years and 10 months.[22]

The invalided soldier or sailor, with just a couple of years' service, might find the transition back to civilian status challenging, despite the brevity of service. The severity of a wound or the state of health were critical factors.

James Stoneham, from Gloucestershire, for example, had a relatively short Army career serving 3 years 122 days, mostly with the 4th Regiment. In the cemetery near Sebastopol, where he was being treated for a slight wound, a cannon ball took off his right arm below the elbow.[23] Stoneham was discharged with a pension of 10d per day.

His experience put him within the community of maimed veterans which were represented within the membership. Adlem of the 30th Regiment, lost the sight of his right eye at Inkerman. He had served less than two years. John Andrews lost fingers at the Redan. James Redman of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, was wounded in the left ankle at the Alma and later the left shoulder before Sebastopol the following June. Almost half a century later he was examined at the behest of the Chelsea commissioners and was still suffering.[24]

---

20 BVC, 0220 TSH, 19, Bound Volume of Application forms.
21 'Pensions for Military Veterans Meeting in Bristol', *Western Daily Press*, 20 March 1893, p. 3.
22 BVC, 0221, TSH, Pension Book.
23 TNA, WO97/1397/94, Discharge Documents 3028 pvt. James Stoneham, 4th Regiment.
24 TNA, WO97/1407/112, Discharge Documents Relating to James Redman, 7th Royal Fusiliers.

Nielsen, in her work on eighteenth century veterans, refers to a 'unique cultural meaning' associated with such wounds and how they were sustained.[25] David Turner suggests 'the empty sleeve and wooden leg were becoming the pre-eminent emblems of sympathetic patriotic disablement'.[26] There is a resonance between the conceptual association of patriotism and suffering, that straddles the two centuries. Stoneham encapsulated the two ideas – that of the 'broken soldier' with his empty sleeve and the 'noble veteran' who suffered in the Crimea. Other documentation reveals what became of Stoneham after his catastrophic injury. He went back to Gloucestershire and for decades lodged with a mason's family. In the census returns for 1861 he described himself as a 'Chelsea Pensioner'.[27] He remained single for the rest of his life. With the exception of 1871 when he described himself as an 'Agricultural Labourer', his other census descriptions were 'Pensioner' and 'Army Pensioner' in 1881 and 1891.[28]

It is a matter of conjecture why Stoneham left Gloucestershire and settled in Bristol in the last years of his life. It is likely he had heard of the CIMVAB and as an ageing, maimed veteran of good character, would have gravitated towards them. There were a handful of veterans from the 4th Foot, within the membership.[29] Perhaps, for the first time since his discharge, Stoneham would have enjoyed the society of those who shared his experiences in the Crimea. Stoneham completed his application on 19 April 1898 and gave his address as 11 Somerset Place, Cathay, Bristol. This was a densely concentrated area of housing near St Mary Redcliffe Church and not far from the association's Orchard Street headquarters. His response to the question of how long he had lived in Bristol suggested he arrived at the beginning of the year.

Writing in a neat hand, it is possible that he might have been left-handed or that another had completed the form for him. With regard to his earning a living he wrote 'labouring but not able to do anything now'. Stoneham added a detail about his background stating: 'We were four brothers all serving Her Majesty and I am the only one left'.[30] This further emphasised the pathos of his biography. The phrase 'serving her Majesty' emphasized patriotic loyalty, linking it to established narratives of patriotism demonstrated through the military participation and sacrifice of multiple family members. His portrait photograph shows a well-nourished, middle-aged man wearing two medals. At the beginning of 1899, his discharge documents and records kept by the CIMVAB, show

25 Nielsen, p. 208.
26 David Turner, *Disability in Eighteenth Century England* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), p. 77.
27 GRO, James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG09/1743/112/24.
28 GRO, James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG10/2577/41/22; GRO, James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG11/2509/100/26; GRO, James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG12/1994/81/18.
29 Listed in the 1897 and later 1907 year books from the 4th regiment: Grogan, Cavill, Smith, McCarthy, Ashton and Germain.
30 The 1841 census for Wickwar shows that Stoneham had an elder brother George and two sisters: GRO, James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG12/1994/81/18. In the 1851 census he has a younger brother, Charles, aged 9 years: GRO, James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841 HO1-7/1956/532/1.

that, through the efforts of Paul, Stoneham's pension was increased from 10d to 1/6d per day. He died in Bristol in April 1901.

Precarious Lives

For those who had served up to and over twenty years and were discharged 'free to pension' their reintegration to society as middle-aged veterans could be difficult even before the variables of character and disposition were considered.

Patrick Larkin served in a variety of regiments in a career that lasted twenty two years and two months. Over eighteen years of the time he chose to spend in India, rather than return home. The rationale behind this common practice, was that a private soldier enjoyed a higher status in India. Also his pay went further. Years spent in India though, meant he would likely have lost touch with his former communities in Britain and with domestic developments. This could add an extra tension to reintegration once he had been discharged and returned home, after an absence of almost two decades. By the time he filled out his application form in 1895 Larkin was a childless widower. He wrote regarding his earning a living: 'Sandwige man when to be got or bill dilifrer'. His entry regarding his pension was first answered as 'no' but then crossed out and replaced with 'yes 1s 1d' and that he had served 18 years in India. His income from pension alone amounted to 7/7d per week. This equates to one shilling and one penny per day (thirteen old pence per day).

What Larkin omitted was that he was living with relatives in Clifton in Ambrose Road and so his circumstances were not as bleak as they seemed from his application form. He was the male presence in the household of Mary Burke, a char-woman whose husband was at sea.[31] Larkin's income from his pension was his main security. The other occupations he mentioned were irregular and casual and therefore unreliable supplements to his income.

31 GRO, Patrick Larkin, Census Returns for St Andrews and St James, 1901, RG02/2365/50/30. The nature of the relationship between Larkin and Mary Burke is unknown. He was simply registered as 'Relative' on the return. Mary Burke was the head of the household with two sons and four daughters – all were minors.

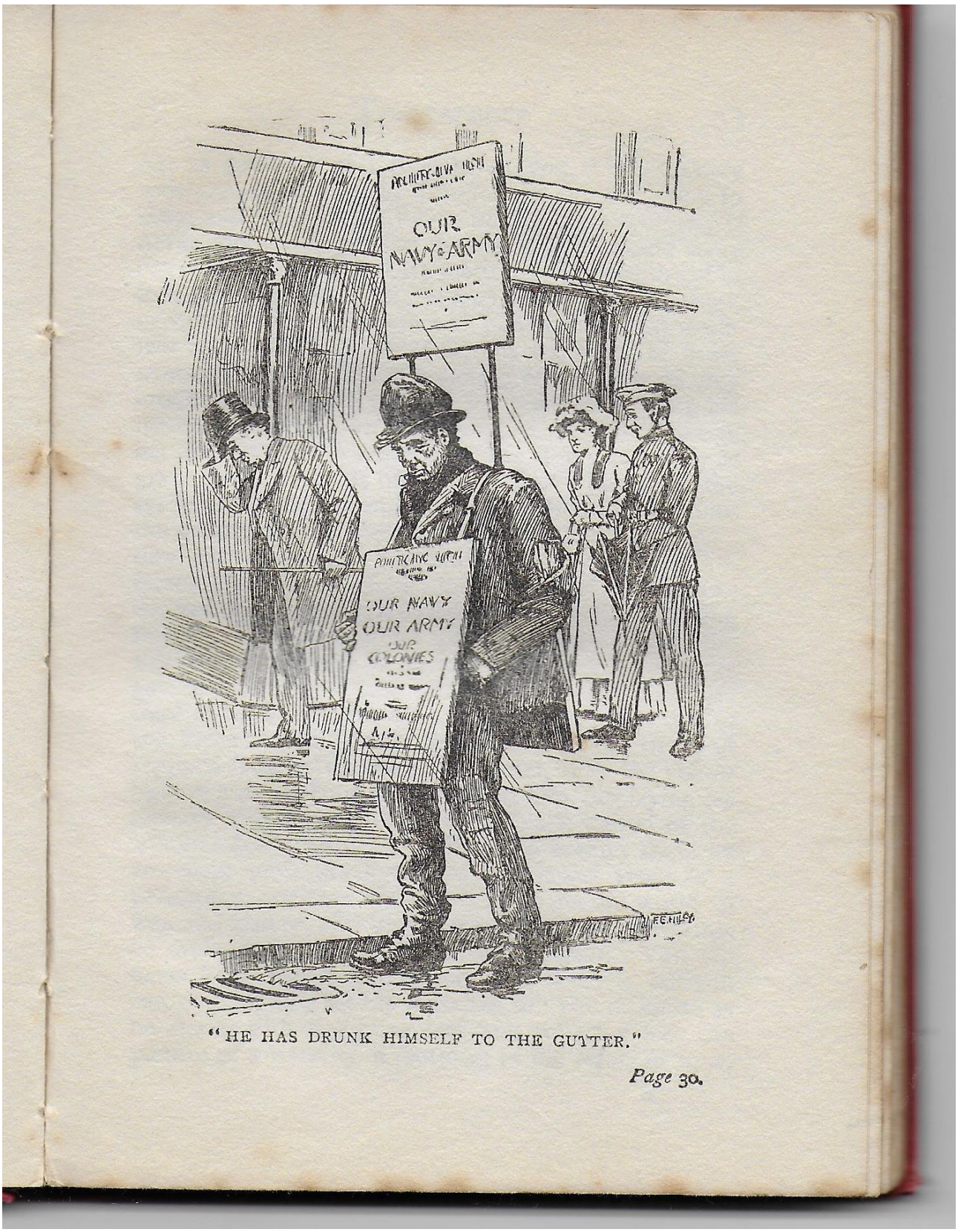

Figure 5: *He has Drunk Himself to the Gutter: The Evils of Drink*, illustration, Reverend W. E. Bristow, *The Banners of the Barrack-Room* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908), p. 30

In a small booklet published in 1908 entitled 'Banners of the Barrack-Room' by the Reverend W. E. Bristow, the clergyman warned of the evils of licentiousness and drunkenness. He used the sandwich-man as an example of how low an old soldier can fall if he succumbed to demon drink.

There is irony in this example when compared to the experiences of Patrick Larkin. He did not fit into the fallen wastrel persona in the illustration and yet occupied the same low status.[32]

Those whose health had faltered after long service, could find themselves facing uncertainties. James Graham, a childless widower, late Royal Artillery, is an example. He lived in Lamb Street in the parish of St Phillips and St Jacobs. His form, completed in May 1895, presented a grim picture. He wrote that he was 'envedliad from India' and was in receipt of a pension of 8d per day. He added 'i am onable to work and get to go from day to day gathering marine store and often without food'.[33] 'Gathering marine store' indicates a form of scavenging akin to bone-pickers and rag-gatherers. Mayhew refers to them in his survey as eking out a perilous existence; they looked for anything of value from their pickings and took what they filtered out, to sell to the rag and bottle or marine store shops. This economic activity was unreliable and precarious and explains why Graham sometimes went hungry. Eight pence per day would not be sufficient to provide adequate food, shelter and clothing for a single individual. It amounted to 66% of the one shilling per day sought at the outset of the pension's campaign. If his rent was 3d per week, he would be left with less than five shillings per week for everything else.

Mayhew placed these gatherers at the bottom of a hierarchy of 'street-finders and collectors'. They only profit from what they are able to find and lead 'a wandering, unsettled sort of life, being compelled to be continually on foot, and to travel many miles every day in search of the articles in which they deal'.[34]

Graham's discharge papers show an indifferent military career with service in the Crimea, India, China and Africa. The 'character and conduct' part of his papers has 'good' crossed through and replaced with 'fair'. He was invalided out after a diagnosis of Anaemia and Chronic Hepatitis. These conditions were attributed to climate and not to vice or intemperance, and the effects likely to be permanent.[35] James Graham's portrait below, shows a pinched, hollow-eyed, unsmiling face. His impressive array of four medals hang from ragged ribbons on his coat. His contact with the CIMVAB was beneficial. He is identifiable in later group photos and presented as a healthier individual than the portrait. Paul managed to gain for him an increase from 8d per day to 1/6d in May 1900 but Graham enjoyed this bounty for a mere four months. He died in September 1900 aged 66 years.[36]

32 Reverend W. E. Bristow, *Banners of the Barrack-Room* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908), pp. 29–30.
33 BVC, 0220 TSH, 56, James Graham, Royal Artillery.
34 Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*, ed. by Robert Douglas-Fairhurst ([1851]; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 177.
35 TNA, WO97/1794/96, Discharge Documents, James Graham, Royal Artillery.
36 BVC, 0221 TSH, Pensions Record Book.

One local paper wrote of his circumstances in an obituary: ‘But for the kindness of

Figure 6: *James Graham*, photograph, Bristol Veterans Collection, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

neighbours and weekly allowance from the Veterans Association he would undoubtedly have drifted to the Workhouse'.[37] On a small gilt wooden notice at the bottom of his portrait photograph is miswritten 'G. Graham R. A. died 1900'. These poor veterans were permanent members resident in Bristol to the end of their lives.[38]

Relief of Poverty

The 1899 year-book reveals that there was a weekly meeting of the 'Relief Committee', suggesting charitable activity from the outset. Corroborative details from the application forms also indicate which applicants, and later members, were in extreme poverty. Even though parochial 'outdoor relief' was largely abolished, the forms show that it was still being locally administered. George Bailey, of the Royal Marines, wrote that he was a General Labourer but 'at present unable to work'. He continued the language of the deserving poor, characteristic of many of the application forms, stating that he was 'always steady but now past work'. After 11 years in the Marines he was not in receipt of a pension and was supported by 'Parochial Relief'.

Also receiving charity from the Parish was William Bailey of the 20th regiment. He stated he was in receipt of 3/6d per week. His 8d per day Army pension was partially claimed by the Parish, leaving him with a remaining balance of 1/2d. Bailey had no trade and described himself as a 'hawker'.

A variation in the type of relief received is found in the papers of Edwin Smith, of the Royal Welch Fusiliers. He was unpensioned after a military career of 10 years 8 months and wrote that he had a wife and 4 children whose ages ranged from 5 to 16 years. His wife was partially blind and he was now 'quite unfit for manual labour'. Smith received 5/- per week and four loaves from the Parish and also 5/- per week from his apprentice son. After a post-Army career as a Gas works general labourer, age and infirmity had reduced his circumstances, he wrote 'Have [been] in very destitute circumstances for several months this lately [because] of work and illness'.

Another recipient of Parish Relief can be found in the application form of Bristolian James Evan Wright. He was discharged in 1863 without pension. Later when Wright filled in his form he stated that he was in receipt of 'Mission support' and gave his address as 'St John's Mission Room, Bedminster Bristol'. It is possible that he acted as a caretaker there. At some point after 1895 Wright was in receipt of a small Army pension of 9d per day. Paul applied for an increase in April 1899, and noted that it was 'refused'. Wright died before the year was out, thus ending any further activity on his behalf.

37 'Death of Another Local Veteran', *Bristol Mercury*, 4 September 1900, p. 5.
38 BVC, 2305a TET, Portrait Photograph of James Graham, Royal Artillery.

At the bottom of the social pyramid was William Henry Hayden. His military career amounted to 11 years and he was discharged in 1866. Hayden was receiving a deferred Army pension of 9d per day from 1 April 1893. On his application form, next to his abbreviated name, he wrote ‘Lost one leg’. In response to the question relating to his work he wrote: ‘I got my liveing the best way i could but at present a comon crossing sweeper’. He later added that he was supported ‘by crossing sweeping But half starving' and 'not getting a proper living’.

Mayhew, listed the kinds of work typically performed by able-bodied veterans on the verge of destitution. Holding horses, cleaning knives and boots, sitting as an artist’s model and even doing washing, were some of the tasks undertaken to obviate mendicancy.[39] Crossing-sweepers were a step away from begging as Mayhew noted, adding that many of them suffered from a ‘bodily infirmity’. These he listed as old age, asthma and rheumatism and ‘the injuries mostly consist of loss of limbs’.[40] Hayden’s experience in this role as a ‘half-starving’ amputee, corresponds to Mayhew’s account. Hayden gave his address as ‘Queen Place’ Redcross Lane, Old Market, Bristol. When he filled in his form he had started the address with ‘Union Place’ but had crossed it out. A contemporary street map of the area shows a densely concentrated urban area with a brewery building at the end of Union Place which leads off Redcross Lane.

This was near the abode of ‘marine store’ gatherer James Graham mentioned above. Here, William Hayden rented a furnished room at 3d per week. He also stated that he had been in Bristol for three years, ie. since 1892. The last requirement on the application form – that of supplying the names and addresses of two ‘respectable persons’ to vouch for the applicant, Hayden left blank. His predicament and social status made the completion of this part of the application an impossibility. It also exposed the tokenism attendant on the Chelsea stipulations regarding destitution. The requirement had two main functions. The first was a means of filtering out and deterring fraudulent claimants. The second was a means restricting claims only to those veterans who were endorsed as ‘respectable’ and therefore deserving of consideration. Though this was an essential prerequisite for Chelsea, it was not so for the membership of the CIMVAB as Hayden's treatment showed.

In an urban parish, a person in Hayden's circumstances would not be known to the ‘respectable’ referees necessary for any claim for a special campaign pension to be considered. In rural parishes the veteran would be known within the smaller community and also by the local Vicar. Hayden was from Birmingham and this might explain why he later resigned from the CIMVAB. Birmingham had its own Veterans Association and that may have attracted him away. His name appears on the ‘resignation/left the city’ list kept by Paul, but not in the record he kept of applications for pension increases.

39 Mayhew, p. 401.
40 Mayhew, p. 209.

The details in the Minute Book record those on the 'Relief Lists' and immediately apparent is the small numbers of veterans in receipt of assistance from 1904 onwards. Also clear is the movement of individuals between the lists depending on their circumstances. Their situations provide insight into the plight of some veterans following the completion of most application forms in 1895.

The first lists are dated July 1904. The five shillings list was for the most necessitous and there are five names recorded.

Two were widowers with no children and relying on pensions of less than a shilling. One, a former Navy stoker, William Lavington, was in reduced circumstances because age meant he could not go to sea. This man and his wife received Parish Relief as well as assistance from the Association. The stoker was unpensioned and an application on his behalf was rejected because his character was described as 'only fair'. After service as a stoker in the Royal Navy, Lavington continued in the Merchant Marine. In the 1881 census he is recorded as a 'Marine Stoker', aged 50, married and living in York Street near Temple Meads railway station. His wife was recorded as a '(tobacco) pipe maker'.[41] A decade later he is described a 'stoker on steam ship'.[42] Stokers on steam ships perform the physically demanding function of shovelling coal into the ship's furnaces. In the 1901 census Lavington was recorded on board the ship *Argos* moored at Redcliffe. He was described as age 70, 'a watchman', a widower and a stoker.[43] At the committee meeting held on Alma Day 1907, his name appears as the only recipient on the 10/- Relief List. Lavington eventually lived with his son, also a Royal Navy pensioner, and his family, in Barton Hill.[44] Lavington knew no other work but his circumstances became inevitably and increasingly uncertain as he aged.

Another on the 1904 list was an unpensioned caretaker in receipt of 10/- per week for himself and his wife. The fifth man on the list was in receipt of a deferred pension of 9d per day which he received from 1 April 1893. He had no trade and both he and his wife suffered ill health. The six names on the four shilling list follow the same pattern – ageing men unable to work, some relying on modest pensions to support large families and some unpensioned and alone in the world. The loss of a skill through age and infirmity was poignant. John Smith, a shoe-maker, who served over 15 years in the Army was in receipt of a pension of 9d per day. In 1895 he was reduced to carrying sandwich boards and delivering bills.

41 GRO, William Lavington, Census Returns for 33 York Street, St Phillips and St Jacobs (out), Gloucestershire, Barton Regis, 1881, RG11/2500/55/8.
42 GRO, William Lavington, Census Returns for 33 York Street, St Phillips and St Jacobs (out), Gloucestershire, Barton Regis, 1891, RG12/1985/7/7.
43 GRO, William Lavington, Census Returns for Vessel 'Argos' Redcliffe, Bristol, 1901 RG13/2377/164.
44 GRO, William Lavington, Census Returns for 16 Ranelagh Street, Barton Hill, St Phillips and St Jacobs, Bristol, 1911, RG14/15028/139.

The Relief lists vary as the years progressed and were regularly reviewed with movement from one list to another according to need. There were also 'coal lists' and Christmas gift lists. Death would remove some recipients and others would be deleted due to movement away from the city or resignation. The examples above show the level of commitment maintained by the Association and the care targeted to assist those needy members. The raising of funds necessary to fulfil this work never slackened even though the veterans numbers decreased annually.

There were non-members noted and assisted by Paul. Their details are comparatively limited. They did not fill in application forms, and discharge documents either did not exist or have been lost.[45] Poor or indifferent military careers emerge from men who were recorded by the Army as 'fair', 'indifferent' or 'bad' characters. These descriptions would usually indicate repeated minor transgressions punctuated by regular courts martial. Such records and descriptions could be a handicap in the post-service search for work.

The CIMVAB did not solve the problem of destitute veterans in Bristol. There were other veterans who resided as inmates in the Union Workhouses. Recorded in the Pensions Book for 1908, Paul listed 9 individuals. Cross-referencing with other parts of the collection reveals that all but two on the list, were non-members. Likewise they were all included in the lists of individuals for whom Paul had applied for pensions. Next to some of their names however are spaces where usually Paul would put the details of his progress on their behalf. One man is recorded as being named either 'W. Harewood or Hall, Royal Artillery and E.I.C.'. This ambiguity suggests the possible previous use of an alias and a certain desire to be obscure. The lack of recorded detail about the 1908 Workhouse list indicates that there were those on the margins of Paul's activities. J. Hughes, for example, late 6th Dragoons and Land Transport Corps was refused a pension in 1907 on the grounds of 'Bad Character'. At the other end of the scale Henry Jenkins, late 97th Regiment, was granted 1/- per day in 1906. Prior to this he had been in receipt of 8d per day from 4 January 1876.[46] Paul noted that he died in 1910. John Lear, an unmarried former sailor from Chudleigh, Devon, and non-member, was recorded as an inmate of the Workhouse in Stapleton in 1901.[47]

This is the only Workhouse list in the collection and the year is significant. It was this year that saw the establishment of the Veteran's Relief Fund by Lord Roberts. I discuss this development further in chapter 6.

Other Significant Members

45 A soldier could purchase his discharge which could mean there were no discharge papers but a record of those who did so was included in the quarterly regimental pay and muster lists.
46 TNA, WO23/61, Royal Hospital Chelsea, Admission Books, Registers and Papers, 1702–1876, 91st-109th Foot, 1865–1875.
47 GRO, John Lear, Census Returns for Bristol Workhouse (part of), Stapleton, Bristol, 1901, RG13/2395/138/18.

There were temporary members who had resigned or left the city. Their forms and other evidences reveal nuances in attitudes towards military or naval careers and how they defined themselves afterwards. For example, the records relating to Robert Perry, born in Somerset around 1826, who served in the Coldstream Guards. He left the Army unpensioned and became a police officer. In this profession he served for 27 years retiring with the rank of sergeant. Perry completed his application form in 1895 in a bold confident hand and revealed that he received £52 per annum police pension. Perry's name appears in the list of members in the first year-book published in 1896 but not the year-book for 1899. In the text of this latter publication there is reference to a member resigning. Perry did not define himself by his service in the Army. When answering questions put to him by the census enumerators in 1891 and 1901 he put his occupation as 'retired police sergeant' and 'police pensioner' respectively.[48] With such long service in the police force Perry did not need or desire the company of old soldiers or the charity available.

John Gamble, was formerly a Sergeant in the Royal Welch Fusiliers. He lived in the Forest of Dean. The *South Wales Daily News* published an account of Gamble's military experiences under the banner 'The Thrilling Story of Sergeant John Gamble'.[49] Badly wounded at Inkerman, he was discharged in November 1856. Gamble lived in Coleford and Lydney, Gloucestershire. He was a Freemason, serving over 40 years with the Faith and Friendship Lodge.[50]

His close association with the Bristol veterans started in 1902. He was invited by the committee to attend the Inkerman Day commemoration. There, he was reacquainted with John Howell, of the Royal Welch Fusiliers. This man had helped him from the field at Inkerman following his wounding and Gamble had no idea he was still alive.[51] Thereafter he was vigorous in his support of the CIMVAB. His fund-raising efforts for the Bristol veterans were prodigious. He used his contacts and connexions to bring in funds specifically for the Christmas dinners. Gamble is an example of the philanthropy from literate and energetic veterans directed towards their less fortunate comrades.

His activities ceased at the end of 1913, when ill health incapacitated him. Apologetically he wrote, in November 1913, that, because of his health problems, he had been unable to walk far to

48 GRO, Robert Perry, Census Returns for 1 Silver Street, St James, Bristol, Gloucestershire, 1901, RG12/1963/12/18 and GRO, Robert Perry, Census Returns for 17 Monk Street, St Agnes, Bristol, Gloucestershire, 1901, RG13/2400/113/6.
49 'The Thrilling Story of Sergeant John Gamble', *South Wales Daily News*, 28 November 1893, p. 7.
50 BVC, 1677 TET, Newspaper Cutting, *Lydney Observer,* 3 July 1914.
51 'Crimean and Indian Veterans', *Gloucester Journal*, 2 January 1904, p. 8.

collect money.[52] He died in the summer of 1914 and was afforded a semi-military funeral.[53] The event was well attended by the civil society of the town, veterans and military representatives.[54] The scale and composition of those attending the funeral indicated the esteem in which Gamble was held. It also suggests that his activities- that of a private individual's determined philanthropy, before and after the introduction of the Old Age Pension in 1909 – were generally lauded and endorsed. Gamble's military record and civilian activities resonated with Establishment values that connected patriotic loyalty with a sympathetic public.

A short term member with links to the police was the unusual Maurice Barrett. He served with good character in the Madras Artillery during the Mutiny. According to his application, Barrett enlisted, into the 16th Regiment via the Royal Irish Constabulary and the 13th Regiment. His career thereafter was a procession of trials and arrests for drunkenness and insubordination and on one occasion he was tried for 'making traitorous comments against her Majesty'. The sharp contrast between the good character he exhibited while in the Madras Artillery and the habitually drunk, insubordinate of the 16th Regiment deserves examination. The decline started after the service in the Madras Artillery, where Barrett had seen much action, and his career as an infantryman in the British Army.

Initially he did well, being literate, he was promoted to Corporal in May 1863. Within four months though he was charged, reduced and imprisoned for being drunk and insubordinate, in August 1863. After his traitorous language against Queen Victoria, he was imprisoned from March 1866 to January 1868. On his discharge papers his character was described as 'very bad' and added in red ink at the foot of the document was written 'He is a drunkard, has been tried for disgraceful conduct and insubordination'. Also on the sheet is the note that he had been 47 times in the Regimental Defaulters Book and 7 times tried by Courts Martial.[55]

Unsurprisingly none of these negative details appear on Barrett's application form. In the space reserved for details of the circumstances of the applicant's children, Barrett wrote his account of his military career and suggested his transfer to the 16th Regiment was prompted by events related to the American Civil War and service in Canada. By the 1890s he was in his fifties and in Bristol and working as a dock labourer. His name only appears in the 1896 year-book and despite his 'very bad' character, record of drunkenness and disloyalty to the Crown in his discharge papers, Paul succeeded in gaining a pension of 9d per day for him in March 1899. Barrett may have

52 BVC, 1583 TET, Manuscript Letter, John Gamble to James Fuller Eberle, 2 November 1913.
53 Reportage of the funeral mentions the presence of detachments from the Royal Welch Fusiliers and 5th Gloucesters (Territorials). The pall bearers were members of the CIMVAB. Volleys were fired on interment and the Last Post sounded. There were also representatives from the Masons and his late employers.
54 'Death and Funeral of Sergeant Gamble 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers', *Lydney Observer*, 3 July 1914.
55 TNA, WO97/2259/88, Discharge Documents, Private Maurice Barrett, 16th Regiment.

resigned his membership satisfied that this ongoing pension was the best he might receive and died in Bristol in 1907.[56]

Residence in and around the city was not an essential prerequisite for membership of the CIMVAB and its benefits. Two men were listed as members even though they lived in Wales and Gloucestershire. This small category of veteran indicates the widening of the contacts between the Bristol members and those regionally elsewhere. This is indicative of the strength of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans communities at least from a regional perspective. Their inclusion in the CIMVAB was as a result of the problems related to the establishment of a similar association in South Wales.

In Cardiff, in the summer of 1893, a committee was formed to organise a banquet there for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans living in Wales.[57] Invitations to attend were sent out following research into the histories and circumstances of those eligible. One report described the organisation as a 'movement'.[58] As in other cities, there was the disclosure that some of the veterans were in various Union Workhouses. These men had to be given special leave by their overseers, to attend the function.[59]

The Banquet was eventually held on 25 November 1893 at Park Hall and over 300 veterans attended. One local paper reported details of all those attending. The *South Wales Daily News* divulged the same data that was later to be gathered by the Bristol application forms in 1895. The major difference was the lack of personal statements by the veterans regarding their situations. The newspaper account included the names, units, length of service, residence and circumstances.[60] The clear intention of disseminating such data was to publicise the plight of many veterans and in so doing elicit support for them. Included in this newspaper list were John Gamble, George Sainsbury and John Andrews.

The press reports leading to and following the Veterans' Banquet in 1893 in Cardiff, suggested that something permanent should be organised for them. George Sainsbury, of the Land Transport Corps, was significant in the attempts to establish an association in that city. At a meeting in the Griffin Hotel in October 1894 plans were discussed with a suggestion that Sainsbury should be honorary secretary.[61] There was a list of objectives in one report which included a special uniform for State occasions, the replacement of lost medals and ribbons and decent funeral

56 General Registry Office, Death Certificate, Maurice Barrett, March ¼ 1907, Bristol volume 6a page 124.
57 'Banquet to Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *South Wales Echo,* 30 August 1893, p. 3.
58 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Banquet', *South Wales Daily News,* 25 September 1893, p. 1.
59 'Newport Board of Guardians: Four Indian Mutiny Veterans in the Workhouse', *South Wales Echo,* 30 September 1893, p. 3.
60 'Honouring the Veterans', *South Wales Daily News,* 25 November 1893, p. 6.
61 'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Proposed Re-Union in Cardiff', *South Wales Daily News,* 20 October 1894, p. 6.

arrangements when members died. Subscriptions would be 1/- per quarter.[62] These plans however were not to be fully realised. Further reportage indicated a fragmentation of effort to the detriment of the objective. Those behind the attempt to establish a permanent Corps were separate from those who had organised the 1893 banquet. The 'Barry Army and Navy Veterans Association' was mentioned in the local press, further diluting the drive to organise an Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association. Reportage of the banquet and speeches held in Cardiff the following year reveal some of the concerns which may have inhibited the its creation.

Colonel Albert Edward Goldsmid, Commanding Officer of the 41st Regiment and a leading military figure in Cardiff, stated that he was 'opposed to any charitable movement which will encourage "cadging"'. He added 'this effort to keep the old heroes from the workhouse is above that' and concluded 'I am sure it will not be allowed to become an institution for doling out the means for drink and dissipation'.[63] Here he was expressing a sentiment at odds with the prevailing public mood. The attitude that 'old soldiers' were not to be trusted and had dissolute habits was more a pre-Crimean view. Colonel Goldsmid was not against establishing a permanent provision for old soldiers but only for those who were 'really deserving veterans and of good character'.[64] He administered a regimental fund for 'deserving and necessitous' veterans of his 41st Regiment until his promotion in 1897.[65] By December 1895 a Cardiff association had been formed. A report in the *South Wales Daily News* mentioned a Sergeant T. Foster, a Crimean veteran, as the individual who initiated the veterans' movement in Cardiff 'to which town it has spread from Sheffield, Birmingham and Bristol'.[66] There was no reference to the Crimean War or Indian Mutiny in its title. One report termed it a 'branch' of The Army and Navy Veterans Association and went on to describe it as 'a genuine attempt at self-help'. This vocabulary was deployed to allay the fears of potential middle-class donors and reassure them that their donations would encourage industriousness in the poor. The report reviewed the objectives of the organisation and noted that it 'was to affiliate with other similar associations in the country'.[67]

Reportage of the organisation varied in description - one article referred to the 'Cardiff Veterans Club' and then in the same piece 'The Cardiff Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Club' with their headquarters at the Queen's Head, Bridge Street.[68] The fact was they had no headquarters and held most of their meetings in the Griffin Hotel. The lack of a permanent home posed its own

62 'The Crimean Veterans Dinner: Proposed Formation of a Permanent Corps', *South Wales Echo*, 26 November 1894, p. 2.
63 'Man about Town', *South Wales Echo,* 13 December 1894, p. 2.
64 'The Boys of the Old Brigade', *South Wales Daily News,* 13 December 1894, p. 5.
65 'Farewell Orders by Colonel Goldsmid', *South Wales Echo,* 13 April 1897, p. 3.
66 'The Boys of the Old Brigade', *South Wales Daily News,* 13 December 1894, p. 5.
67 'Army and Navy Veterans Association', *South Wales Echo,* 25 November 1895, p. 3.
68 'Cardiff Veterans Club', *South Wales Daily News,* 14 October 1898, p. 6.

limitations and problems with Secretary George Sainsbury using the local papers' public notices to promulgate dates and times of meetings. But they could only congregate when summoned and one paper observed in August of 1894 'that public interest in these old men is sadly weakened through being too little seen'.[69] In this respect they differed from the Bristol members who were regularly paraded and were part of the cultural landscape of the city.

The last member of the Welsh trio, John Andrews late of the 30th regiment, was a soldier of note.

His real name was John Meredith and he enlisted in 1853 and was illiterate. His application form records that he captured a Russian officer at the action called 'Little Inkerman' on 26 October 1854. For this he was awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal.[70] The following year, during the second attack on the Redan, he lost his middle and ring fingers of his left hand to cannister shot and was invalided out in November 1855. His wound entitled him to a permanent pension of 8d per day. Pension records show he received his first instalment in Bristol in January 1856, but moved to the Cardiff pension district the following month.[71] His application form shows his address to be in Ebbw Vale and he recorded his occupation as a collier.

Andrews' portrait photograph, in the collection, shows him wearing an impressive array of medals – the Crimean medal with clasps for Alma, Inkerman and Sebastopol; the Turkish Crimean medal; the Distinguished Conduct medal; the Sardinian War medal and a Volunteers Long Service medal.[72] When group photos were taken during the visit to Windsor in May 1898, he featured prominently along with other similarly bemedalled members.

This trio of veterans demonstrate the spread of the CIMVAB's regional influence. These examples also show the difficulties experienced by others in trying establish a veterans organisation in Cardiff. They did succeed but the organisation that emerged was not exclusively for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. A report in the *South Wales Daily News* in June 1902 referred to the 'Veterans Association' and included veterans from the Zulu War as well as the Crimean War and Indian Mutiny.[73] The ethos behind their organisation was the same as that of the Bristol veterans – patriotic loyalty, respectability, endorsement of imperialism and self-help. Their toast on Inkerman Day 1898 was 'Our Beloved Queen and Country'.[74]

Special Campaign Pensions

69 'Military and Volunteer Notes', *South Wales Echo*, 25 August 1894, p. 4.
70 Abbott, p. 11.
71 TNA, WO22/10, Royal Hospital Chelsea, Returns of Payments of Army Pension and other pensions, Bristol, 1856.
72 *Medal Yearbook 2013*, ed. by John W. Mussell (Honiton: Token Publishing, 2013), p. 227.
73 'Indian and Crimean Veterans Entertained', *South Wales Daily News*, 28 June 1902, p. 5.
74 'Man about Town', *South Wales Echo,* 7 November 1898, p. 2.

In April 1900 Paul promulgated a communication received from Chelsea regarding 'Special Campaign Pensions'. He pasted the text into the Pension Book record that he kept. It stated that the recipient must have a war medal; must be adjudged to be in necessitous circumstances; must not be in possession of any other Government pension in respect of the same service; or, if in receipt of a deferred pension under previous regulations, must surrender such pension; must be 65 years of age and upwards; the daily rates of pension were to be as follows: sixteen years service and upwards – 1/-; fourteen years service and under sixteen years – 10d; under fourteen years service – 9d. Paul noted that it was now no longer compulsory to have gone through ten years service and invited those eligible to communicate with him. For the maimed John Andrews, possessor of the Distinguished Conduct Medal, Paul managed to get an increase in August 1898 from 8d to 1/2d and four years later in January 1902, this was further increased to 2/- per day.[75] The process that led to these increases can be followed on Andrews' discharge documents, with references to investigations into the circumstances which led to the awarding of the Distinguished Conduct Medal.

Letters of thanks from John Andrews, written from Ebbw Vale, in the years before, during and after the First World War have survived. They reveal another dimension in the relationship between the old soldier and the State at war. Andrews was illiterate when he enlisted in 1853 but had learned to read and write in the years between his discharge and completion of his application form. Apart from expressions of thanks they reveal a loyalty to his own 'community' of veteran comrades and also to the nation at war. At the beginning of 1915 in his letter of thanks for the Postal Order and parcel received he wrote:

> I know there would be a good deal of talk about the present time and the state of the country as it is now. I feel about our brave men out in France for I have gone through some of it myself and I wish I was young again I should be there doing my share, there's six of our family that have enlisted.[76]

The letter expressed a bond that existed between old soldiers and serving ones and the loyalty to the national cause in time of war. There is also pride in the readiness of members of the family, of fighting age, who have enlisted. Nielsen refers to the continuation of military service by the sons of veterans. They were inspired to enlist by their fathers. She describes a recurring theme that dates from the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, of the out-pensioners continuing to serve their country long after their official discharge. They ensured that their children and the next generation were 'as loyal and willing to sacrifice for the nation as they were'.[77]

This points to an enduring characteristic that was part of the repetoire of patriotism exhibited in fiction and in veterans own writings. The trans-generational continuity of loyal service was a

75 BVC, 0221 TSH, Pensions Record Book.
76 BVC, 1663d TET, Manuscript Letter, 4 January 1915.
77 Nielsen, p. 257.

recognisable component shaped by the wider expectations of the veteran's 'story'. This continuity also added to the endorsement of the 'rightness' of Andrews to be the recipient of the charity available from CIMVAB. His gratitude and exemplary patriotic commitment, via his sons, were part of an Establishment narrative of essential prerequisites expected from the 'deserving poor'.

Nielsen cites a magazine article entitled the *Pensioner* at the beginning of the nineteenth century, published in the *Lady's Monthly Museum or Polite Repository of Amusement and Instruction*, in 1811. Harry the loyal, amputee, widowed Chelsea pensioner sees his sons into the service to continue the steadfast patriotism he had shown.[78] In the same way a letter from Frederick Lock, in Backwell, of the 1st Regiment, written to Fuller Eberle in December 1914 stated: 'I have a son at the front helping to guard King and Country, he served in the South African War...'.[79]

These sentiments, as I argue in chapter 6, were exploited to the full between 1914 and 1916, by local recruiting authorities and Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans were deployed in the drives to increase enlistment.[80] The CIMVAB were photographed with their banner which bore the message 'We have done our duty now do yours'. Their aged forms – many with long white beards and carrying sticks, their chests adorned with campaign medals – presented a compelling, morally coercive spectacle. They were a living link in the imperial, patriotic narrative. Sometimes paraded with Scouts, Boys Brigade and Sea Scouts, they were part of a sustained campaign to increase enlistment of those of 'fighting age'. Those who had done their duty and those who were waiting to be old enough to do theirs presented an accusatory compunction to any young man in his twenties still in civilian clothes. The local press and other publications featured photographs and reported the enthusiastic reception the veterans always received.

The letters from Andrews also show the extent and quantity of charity extended to him. Around Christmas he received postal orders, in value between 7/6d and 12/- and parcels.[81] On one occasion a £1 note was enclosed in the letter and Andrews referred to the generosity of Sir Sam White who sent it.[82] Andrews' wife died in February 1915. His letter of thanks for the condolences sent him, also shows the support he was enjoying from his family with his daughter-in-law living with him. Throughout all the surviving correspondence from John Andrews, there is regret and apologies for not being able to attend functions in Bristol due to ill health. The problem of travelling between Ebbw Vale and Bristol compounded this. Despite his apparent uncertain health, Andrews was the penultimate veteran in the CIMVAB to die. He passed away in 1927.

78 Nielsen, *Continuing to Serve*, pp. 23–25.
79 BVC, 1663h TET, Manuscript Letter, 21 December 1914.
80 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', p. 299.
81 BVC, 1698 TET, Manuscript Letter, 1 January 1913.
82 BVC, 1663d TET, Manuscript Letter, 4 January 1915.

The introduction of Old Age Pensions for the over 70s in 1908 and the establishment of Lord Roberts' Veterans Relief Fund in the same year altered the background economics that had existed, largely unchanged, since the 1890s. Walter Paul and Fuller Eberle were aware of these developments and sought to modify the focus of the organisation from charity to the veteran's social welfare. As the twentieth century progressed the decreasing numbers of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans continued to enjoy local and national approval across a broad social spectrum. From Royalty to ordinary working people they received enthusiastic support.

Chapter 5
The Presentation of the Military in the 1890s

In the 1890s the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans occupied a significant position in the British imperial narrative. Even though neither campaign was explicitly expansionist, they were presented as military victories that were the foundation of Britain's global power. By 1905 there were twenty Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations in the British Isles. As well as Bristol there were associations in Dundee, Birmingham, Leeds, Huddersfield, Sheffield, Nottingham and Nottinghamshire and later Manchester. Apart from their participation in the pre-1860 campaigns, and their initial objective regarding pensions for veterans, there were differences in the style and manner in which they were presented to the public.[1] The veterans became the focus of memorial and remembrance beyond the 1890s. As Kriegel observes, they occupied a central role in public spectacles and 'fused rescue with remembrance and married patriotism and philanthropy'.[2] Photographs of Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations in London, in June 1897, show a special dais constructed around the Crimean War memorial in London. Within its confines, stand Crimean veterans looking down on the vast crowds who attended the event.

The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, saw an increasing interest by the State in the welfare of the working class. Graham Dawson suggests that this concern was inspired by a realization that healthy and virile men were needed to serve and feed the demands and requirements of imperialism. Healthy, fertile women would be essential in this equation and were, therefore, to be defended. He adds an observation by Anne Summers, that 'a remarkable shift' had occurred at the turn of the century 'away from evangelism and nonconformity towards military and patriotic allegiance to the Imperial Crown'.[3] Ian Beckett states that there is little doubt that by 1899 British society was 'more militaristic than had been the case 40 years previously' and that 'Christian militarism' had a part to play in the fabric of the volunteer movement.[4] The increasingly jingoistic climate Beckett describes, goes some way to account for the popularity of veterans organisations.

From another perspective, the veterans were part of an attempt further to popularise naval and military presentation. The Army and the Navy at home were still largely mid-Victorian in appearance and this characteristic was exploited in a variety of ways. Images of military and naval figures were used commercially to promote and sell numerous consumer products from cigarettes to

1 The status, appearance and presentation of the veterans reinforced the rising popularity of imperialism.
2 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', p. 289.
3 Graham Dawson, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imaginings of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 148.
4 Beckett, *The Amateur Military Tradition*, pp. 198–199.

cornflour. They were part of a thematic array of images which included Britannia, Queen Victoria, the Royal family and later Boer War heroes, subliminally connecting, endorsing and promoting patriotism and imperialism via consumerism.[5] This was not the result of a centrally coordinated strategy but it does suggest that those involved in advertising appreciated the attraction of imperialism to the general public. Graham Dawson touches on these developments that he terms as 'culture industries' from the 1870s onward. He cites the convergence of innovations in commercial production, distribution, marketing and advertising with the 'craze of Empire', that created new tastes and new publics. These fed the rising demand for exciting accounts and stories about soldier heroes and their colonial exploits that diffused 'imperial imaginings into every corner of late-Victorian culture'.[6] The hagiography related to the Indian Mutiny hero Havelock, was part of the genre of Hero-publishing that fed into, and stimulated, the popular imperial theme.[7]

Colourful imperialist narratives also became the staple of the illustrated press. The innovative magazine entitled the *Navy and Army Illustrated*, published by George Newnes, expanded its coverage with regular 'special' editions, where military and naval histories were featured. Apart from high quality photographs, there were articles on Army and Navy life. Images of imperial troops, especially Indian units, were usually prefaced with the possessive pronoun 'our'. The British soldier was referred to, in a familiar formulation further popularised by Kipling, as 'Tommy Atkins'. There were frequent images of 'drummer boys', symbolising brave innocence, and in the story of one of them, the officers of the Coldstream Guards were presented as the philanthropic rescuers of a poor orphan, John Marshall (his surname was Maskell).[8] Their philanthropy was expressed by 'adopting' the orphaned boy and getting him into the Gordon Boys Home. There he flourished and showed promise as a musician which led him to become a drummer with the Coldstream.[9] Furneaux extensively explores the relationship between the military and children in literature and history, within the perspective of military masculinity. She states that: 'The soldier as social worker is at the vanguard of battles for hearts and minds'.[10] The photograph of John Maskell fits this attempt to expand the idea of the Army as populated by compassionate individuals.

---

5 Robert Opie, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Middlesex: Viking, 1985), pp. 58–73 and Anne McLintock, *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995).
6 Dawson, pp. 145–147.
7 Ibid.
8 The boy's name was John Maskell. His service record has survived. He served in the Coldstream Guards from 18 June 1895 when he was notionally 15 years and 3 months old. There is no birth date on his papers only the year 1880. He served in the Boer War, the First World War, where he transferred to the Royal Flying Corps and Royal Air Force, and the Second World War, and died in Fulham in 1956.
9 Charles N. Robinson, RN, 'Two Notable Guardsmen', *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 20 December 1895, p. 18.
10 Furneaux, pp. 113–120.

The magazine also featured in-pensioners of Kilmainham Hospital in Ireland and Chelsea Hospital in London, who wore the traditional uniforms specific to the institutions. Articles on and photographs of the expanding Corps of Commissionaires celebrated their military-style organisation. The Earl of Leycester's Brethren, in their gowns and Tudor hats, were also reported and photographed. This ancient military charity was tiny in number compared to the mass of discharged ex-servicemen, and highly selective regarding membership.[11] Though picturesque, their very limited numbers excluded them from consideration as a solution to the problem of support for and employment of veterans. This problem was acknowledged though, in an issue in 1899 where the work of the CIMVAB was reported as an example for other towns and cities to follow.[12]

Efforts to Expand the Scope of Recruitment

In the magazine, the past and present army was promoted as a respectable, noble, manly and varied career, worth pursuing. Representations of former engagements were included and further emphasised the gallantry and apparent 'professionalism' of the service.

The magazine's style, language and price suggest the motive behind it was to attract the 'better class of recruit'. In this, ultimately, they failed, as the shortages of healthy men enlisting for the South African War highlighted. Undermining their efforts was the continuation of the problem regarding discharged soldiers. There were still reservists tramping from one union workhouse to another. This was a part of the continuing background narrative that led to the creation of the Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations and yet, in 1899, was still unresolved. There was a contradictory asymmetry in the relationship between the growing public popularity of the Army and old veterans and the continuing neglect of recently discharged ex-servicemen. Spiers, in his analysis of the late Victorian Army, concludes that 'all attempts to improve the quality of the recruiting intake had foundered on the profound contempt with which a military career was viewed'.[13] The majority of the rank and file still originated from the lower end of the industrial working-class.

Publicly expressed fluctuations in support for the Army, could affect attitudes to old soldiers. Campaigns in the decades before 1890 were exclusively colonial. Though ultimately successful, there were disasters at Isandlhwana against the Zulu in 1879, Maiwand in 1880 against the Afghans and Majuba against the Boers in 1881. In 1885, the besieged General Gordon was killed in Khartoum. In none of these campaigns was the British soldier found wanting. The defeats were attributable to poor command and, in the case of Gordon, domestic political reluctance to act

11 Charles N. Robinson, RN, 'An Ancient Military Charity', *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 11 February 1899, p. 506.
12 Charles N. Robinson, RN, 'The Navy and Army Diary', *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 25 February 1899, p. 561.
13 Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, p. 132.

decisively. The mainstream press on the right, presented the campaigns as dramatic and heroic. Anti-war, radical publications however, were more critical. They reviled the war correspondents as warmongers who misrepresented the war.[14] The radical W. T. Stead expressed a wish for British defeat in South Africa and was roundly condemned by the patriotic press.[15]

The Victorian public enjoyed the ceremonial presentation of serving soldiers. The colourful, disciplined pageantry, usually accompanied by military music, reassured spectators of the strength and rightness of 'Pax Britannia'. But if parading soldiers and veterans was a popular spectacle, attempts at attracting recruits of a higher social standing failed. Almost a century after the wars with revolutionary France and the expansion of the British Empire, the Army sought to expand the social origins of its recruits. The desired 'better class of recruit' was an emollient to soften the Army's recurring problem throughout the century. It continued to attract the lower working-classes for its manpower. In February 1891 the Conservative MP, Robert Hanbury, in a debate on Army recruiting, contrasted the restrictions imposed and the potentially lethal risks the soldier was prepared to take, compared to the average labourer. In a sentence he summed up the lot of the private soldier: 'your men lead a dog's life and are expected to die a hero's death'. He eloquently expounded the obligations of the State to the soldier. Hanbury called for the Government to improve the pay and conditions in order to raise the social status of the soldier.[16] One report of the debate declared that the popularity of the Army was declining because the soldiers were treated harshly and unfairly Poor food, clothing and pay added to their misery. The tone and content of the report supported the common soldier and was critical of the War Office and its 'niggling attempts at economies...made at the expense of the soldier's comfort and discipline'.[17]

While the soldiers came from the lower classes, their officers continued to originate from the same narrow landed rural class. Harries-Jenkins observes that 'Gentlemanly qualities of character were preferred to the competitive attitudes of a profit-conscious mercantile interest'.[18] The general public admired the Army as a decorative spectacle but some were less enthusiastic about meeting the soldiers at close quarters. This was the background dynamic to Kipling's 'Barrackroom Ballads' published in 1891. McLoughlin refers to the public fickleness, regarding the Army, as Kipling's 'great theme'.[19] The popularity of his work suggests an undercurrent of goodwill from the literate public.

---

14 Roger T. Stearn, 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900', *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, ed. by John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 139–161.
15 'Our London Letter', *Tiverton Gazette*, 2 January 1900, p. 6.
16 'Tommy Atkins Has His Innings', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 February 1891, p. 3.
17 'Army Reform', *Farringdon Advertiser and Vale of the White Horse Gazette*, 28 February 1891, p. 6.
18 Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, p. 276.
19 McLoughlin, *Veteran Poetics*, p. 260.

The way veterans were figured as both noble and suspicious, points to a recurring ambivalence throughout the nineteenth century. Advances in the printing of photographs, together with an increasingly literate populace, provided opportunities for the dissemination of positive images of the military. Added to these, was the realisation from commercial advertising communities, of the appeal of military images to sell products. This exploitation however did not obscure the debate regarding the nature and character of soldiers as either hooligans or heroes.

Steven Attridge refers to the ambivalent attitude that existed between the public and the Army prior to the Second Boer War. There was public admiration and pleasure in military pageant combined with a distaste, by some, for the background military culture and expense that was part of it. He refers to an article published in 1878 entitled *The British Soldier*, by Henry James, published in the American *Lippincott's Magazine*. The date of the article is significant, with the Russo-Turkish War creating pressure within Britain and a reminder of the Russian foe of over twenty years previous. The article examined the peacetime visual allure of the British soldier and the attraction of enlistment to the recruit from a poor background. According to James, the reassuring and ritualistic military ceremonial and pageantry of a review at Aldershot, provided a 'delightful entertainment' for the public. Declaring that he knew very little about military matters, James described the soldier as 'ornamental and potentially useful'. He added that with a small volunteer army, 'the fighting value of the Englishman flourishes in high as well as in low life and forms a common ground of contact between them'.[20] Attridge observes the dynamic between the soldier on parade as the active 'performer' and the passivity of the public 'spectator'. He adds that 'the soldier and the civilian may be in the same theatre, but they are having qualitatively different experiences'. Quoting B. Anderson, Attridge observes that the soldier and civilian occupy a 'new form of imagined community' with a comfortable relationship between civilians and the military at home.[21] The military spectacle harked back to past glories and, to some extent, acted to camouflage the complacency, identified by Harries Jenkins, that epitomized the ethos of the Victorian army.[22] These illusions, however, started to unravel when the Army suffered reverses at the beginning of the war with the Boers.

Attridge suggests that the sympathetic change in the relationship between the serving soldier and the society from which he comes, only starts to be realised in the late nineteenth century. It slowly emerged that the army was an intrinsic part of the parent society and that imperial duty was an expression of 'national character'.[23] This, however, ignores the mid-nineteenth-century

20 Henry James, 'The British Soldier', *Lippincott's Magazine* (Project Gutenberg, August 1878), pp. 214–221.
21 Steven Attridge, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), pp. 44–45.
22 Harries-Jenkins, p. 278.
23 Attridge, pp. 44–45.

popularity of the private soldier prior to, and during, the Crimean War, a nuanced popularity which unevenly continued into the 1890s and beyond. It was a public sentiment that could be, and was, exploited by real and bogus veterans in the decades before and after the war.

Real Beggar Veterans and 'Street Campaigners'

The unpensioned veteran could be reduced to begging if circumstances went against him and they usually did. J. W. M. Hichberger refers to a Select Commission set up after the Napoleonic Wars, to inquire into mendicancy and the large numbers of ex-servicemen begging on the streets of London. Its report published in 1816 however, concentrated on the fraudulent activities of a tiny number of Chelsea out-pensioners and ignored the real plight of the majority.[24]

In competition would be men rejected by the army and discharged. These two categories at least had experienced military life. Henry Mayhew, in his study of the London poor, has sympathy for the genuine veteran who was forced to begging as a last resort. The rejected man, however, he described as the most dangerous. Beyond even military discipline, he seldom begs and is dangerous to meet on a lonely road after dark.

A third competitor was, in Mayhew's terms, the bogus 'street campaigner'. This category fraudulently posed as Crimean veterans in the 1860s when the war was seen as a good 'dodge', exploiting public sympathy for their own profit. Mayhew recounts how he met a one-armed 'veteran' who claimed to have been in the 30th Regiment and lost his arm at the battle of Inkerman. When closely questioned, by well-informed Mayhew, the false story unravelled. The beggar confessed that he had never been in the army and has lost his arm in an accident whilst poaching. He declared that it was the best thing that had ever happened to him and was as good as a pension. The man regretted that the Crimean and Indian Mutiny dodges were going stale as honest folk were getting wise to it.[25]

Fraudulently exploiting public sympathy for the wounded or maimed veteran was not a new phenomenon. Turner, in his work on eighteenth-century veterans, mentions the unique scarring from battle. The marks left from sabre, sword, ball and cannon shot wounds becoming the 'ultimate signifier of a pensionable soldier'. He also observes that these wounds were difficult to fake by criminal beggars and undeserving vagrants exploiting the generous charitable nature of the public.

24 J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), p. 141.
25 Mayhew, pp. 400–4.

Referring to the emerging connection between patriotism and suffering, he suggests that the empty sleeve and wooden leg became 'the pre-eminent emblem of sympathetic patriotic disablement'.[26]

A variation on this narrative was the begging, uniformed veteran. In the Bristol Police Court in 1897 William Atherton, formerly of the 4th Regiment, stood accused with his accomplices. He was charged with 'bringing contempt on the Queen's uniform'. Dressed in a red coat and cap and playing a concertina, he accosted passers by in Whiteladies Road and made speeches about his part in the Crimean War. He was seen to receive money and was arrested. The Reverend Joseph Wain and Walter Paul attended the hearing and gave evidence. It was stated that Atherton's actions had brought a certain amount of discredit on the Bristol veterans and the question was asked why Atherton had not joined the association. His common-law wife answered for him on this count and declared that 'he got more money going about the streets'. Atherton had served in the Crimea but was discharged later as a 'Bad Character'.[27] The physical association of the veteran in a military uniform and the act of begging grated horribly and Atherton was bound over. Seventy five years earlier the Bristol artist E.V. Rippingille had painted 'The Recruiting Party' pictured below.

The composition depicts a deceitful red-coated recruiting party encouraging a naïve rural youth to take the King's Shilling. But there is censure regarding the fate of a Waterloo veteran. In the detail on the extreme right, the ragged, uniformed veteran asks for alms at the gate. Another painting entitled 'The Recruit', by the same artist, was even more explicit in its censure and pointed to a national controversy regarding the treatment of discharged soldiers at that time.[28]

Fifty years after Rippingille's 'Recruiting Party' with its begging veteran, Luke Fildes' 1874 painting 'Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward' includes the same motif at the end of the queue of the desperately poor.[29] The social realism of Fildes' painting is expertly accomplished and the accusatory nature of the composition is clear.[30] The activities of fraudulent beggars posing as old soldiers also points to an undercurrent of public support for the veteran in the 1890s. In this respect they suggest a continuance of public sentiment described by Mayhew in his survey in London in the 1860s. The 'Crimean Dodge' was better than a pension for some. When genuine veterans begged or importuned in Bristol, the matter was deemed serious enough for expulsion from the CIMVAB as in the case of James Keating discussed in chapter 3. The combination of veterancy and mendicancy was seen as disreputable. Though this association for some veterans may have

26 Turner, *Disability*, p. 77.
27 'Bringing Contempt on the Queen's Uniform', *Bristol Times and Mirror,* 2 December 1897, p. 2.
28 Francis Greenacre, *The Bristol School of Artists: Francis Danby and Painting in Bristol, 1810–1840* (Bristol: City Museum and Art Gallery, 1973), pp. 131–132.
29 Murrison, pp. 24–27.
30 Fildes' painting and Lady Butler's 'Calling the Roll' both appeared in the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1874. The Daily Telegraph however reported that the latter showed 'those who suffer in defence of their country' and the former as 'those who suffer in defiance of its laws'. See 'The Royal Academy Exhibition 1874', *Daily Telegraph and Courier,* 11 May 1874, p. 5.

been an unavoidable reality, its public expression undermined the preferred image of the supported, respectable veteran. Referring to the popular portrayal of veterans after the Napoleonic Wars, Hichberger points to the picturesque Chelsea in-pensioners. The subdued and respectful old soldier became a favoured motif by artists to represent all veterans before the Crimean War. They embodied loyalty and patriotism. These qualities were further enhanced by the use of Chelsea out-pensioners who were enrolled and organised to assist the civil powers during the Chartist demonstrations of 1843–48.[31]

Veterans as Picturesque 'Guards of Honour'

The national asymmetry of provision, and need, relating to old soldiers, meant that there were differences of approach regarding their public presentation. Local tastes, decisions and practices predominated and these chimed with national cultural and societal norms. Veterans' appearance and identity was managed and reflected the ethos and values of those who organised them and those who saw them. The respectable, sober, dignified, bemedalled veterans became the publicly acceptable avatars of past suffering and victory on behalf of the nation. They paraded with volunteers, cadets and Boy Scouts, as if to symbolise the living trans-generational continuity of loyal service. Associations, like Birmingham and Leeds, presented their veterans in their own way and this led to questions regarding uniforms for some veterans.

On 8 September 1894, the 41st anniversary of the fall of Sebastopol, the Duke and Duchess of York visited Birmingham. The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans in Birmingham, it was decided, would form a Guard of Honour when the Royal couple visited the Council House and they would be in uniform. The Birmingham veterans were aged between about 60 and 84 years. This decision presented a problem regarding the selection of uniforms for the occasion and was to have repercussions beyond the event.

The veterans eventually appeared in modern 1890s uniforms of their former regiments. The old sailors were in modern naval rig. The stature and appearance of elderly men in modern uniforms, however, looked incongruous. The main objective though, was to emphasize the martial qualities of 'the old warriors' and their appearance provoked 'lusty cheering from the crowd, heart-stirring in its intensity, and proved...what a strong bond of affection exists between Englishmen and the brave men of their Army and Navy'.[32] When the Royal couple arrived the 112 veterans 'stiffened themselves up with some of their old military pride so as to make as brave a show as

31 Hichberger, pp. 144–145.
32 'Royal Visit', *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10 September 1894, pp. 4–5.

possible'.[33] The group of veterans was photographed by the professional photographer H. J. Whitlock and prints advertised for sale.[34] In the centre of the group holding the union flag was John Smith Parkinson in the uniform of the 11th Hussars as worn in 1854. Flanking him were two other men of the Light Brigade, but attired in modern versions of their regimental uniforms. Being men of the 'Noble Six Hundred' their presence gave tremendous cache to the group. This practice of appearing in uniform by the Birmingham veterans, was repeated by them in Bristol in January of the following year in a joint parade described earlier in chapter 3.

The Royal visit to Birmingham and the Guard of Honour was positively reported. The *Yorkshire Herald* referred to a report in the *Morning Post* where the event was described as a good idea and the result of 'happy inspiration'. The same report added that 'it is not right that we should forget, or even appear to forget those still left to us, who bore their part in the stirring and memorable campaigns of 40 years ago'.[35] Further endorsement came the following day, in the *Yorkshire Evening Press,* which published a letter received by the chairman of the Birmingham veterans from Lord Roberts. He described the idea of the Guard of Honour as 'an excellent one'.[36]

These accolades were noted by the organisers of the Leeds Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. Leeds was on the schedule for a similar Royal visit. The preparation and outcomes however were in sharp contrast to the success of the veterans in Birmingham. With supreme confidence, the activist Robert Pedley had met with his Leeds veterans at the Old George Hotel at Briggate, to plan their part in the presentations to be made during the Royal visit the following month. The Birmingham veterans in their regimentals and medals were discussed, and it was decided to follow their example and form a similar Guard of Honour in Leeds. Unlike the Birmingham arrangements, those at Leeds were characterized by disagreement and controversy exposing serious tensions between the civic and military leaders over the status of the veterans. There were also differences from within the ranks of the veterans themselves to add to the combustible mix.

The *Leeds Times* reported that a man described as 'one of the six hundred' suggested that they did not form a Guard of Honour for the Royal visitors. He justified his view by asking them to consider how badly the veterans had been treated and referred to old soldiers in the workhouse and others hawking on the streets.[37] This view though was not shared by the other veterans. Pedley

33 Ibid.
34 'The Guard of the Veterans', *Birmingham Daily Post,* 12 September 1894, p. 4.
35 'London Press Opinions', *York Herald,* 11 September 1894, p. 6.
36 'Lord Roberts and the Crimean Heroes', *Yorkshire Evening Press,* 12 September 1894, p. 2.
37 'Meeting of the Crimean and Indian Veterans', *Leeds Times,* 22 September 1894, p. 4. The provenance of this observation was undermined later when Charles Macaulay, formerly of the 8th Hussars, wrote to the Leeds Mercury and described himself as 'the only man in Leeds who took part in the Charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava' and added that he hoped to have the pleasure of being in the veterans' Guard of Honour at the Royal visit. See 'Morning Express', *Leeds Mercury,* 21 September 1894, p. 5.

pointed out that the Royal family were not to blame and that 'those who have been traitors to the veterans were the men for whom the veterans had won honours'.[38] Further meetings however prolonged the uncertainties. The tensions regarding the status of the veterans came to the fore. The veterans themselves were aware of the ambiguities of their position with regard to the Guard of Honour. Pedley, however, sought to clarify any confusion. He reported the conversation he had had with the Mayor who declared: 'As civilians I shall give you this position. You are not military men now'. Pedley added that the Mayor 'accepts your services as civilians, but you will be in the uniforms of the regiments to which you belonged'.[39] This points to the problem of the status and identity of the veteran that was unresolved. Nielsen's reference, in the previous chapter, to the old soldier being 'the personification of loyalty, social deference and fortitude' did not alter the material status of the veteran as a civilian. To some extent dressing up the old men to look like soldiers again only served to blur their identities as reintegrated civilians. Questions arose regarding their presentation. Major-General Wilkinson had tried to veto the whole business. He had not supported the campaign for a shilling per day for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans in 1892 because to do so would imply censure on the existing pension regulations. The General pointed out that there were plenty of post-1859 veterans who were more deserving of such largesse and he wanted nothing to do with Pedley and his men.[40] One of the veterans suggested they parade in shirts and breeches and bare foot too, observing that they 'don't put a nation that can't spare us a square meal to any expense'. This sentiment however was not popular and it was resolved to turn out looking as smart as they could so that people would say 'if they are this smart now what must they have been 40 years ago'.[41] The *Yorkshire Evening Post* added its own contribution to the debate. It referred to the question regarding those Crimean veterans who were in the workhouse:

> what will be done with the men from the workhouse I do not know. To appear in the uniform of that hospitable shelter for the city's wrecks would be too severe an object lesson in national patriotism. I hope the money will be forthcoming.[42]

Here in 1894, almost six decades on, there was a resonance with 'The Soldier Slighted' from 'Fusil' in 1836, discussed and explored in detail in chapter 1. The national shame of the Workhouse veterans and the nation's failure to provide even a square meal for them, continued into the twentieth century.

The campaign to acquire the funds to purchase uniforms that could be easily converted to civilian suits was a failure. With insufficient time to raise the necessary sum, Pedley resorted to

38 'The Coming of the Royalties to Leeds', *Leeds Times*, 22 September 1894, p. 4.
39 'General Wilkinson Puts His Foot in it', *Leeds Times*, 29 September 1894, p. 8.
40 Henry Clement Wilkinson had served in the actions on the North West Frontier and Afghanistan. See War Office, *The Official Army List, January 1892* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892), p. 86.
41 'Royal Visit to Leeds, Meeting of Army Veterans', *Leeds Mercury*, 24 September 1894, p. 7.
42 'Yorkshire Echoes', *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 27 September 1894, p. 3.

increasingly desperate means. Apart from advertisements in the local press, he organised a dray with an old packing case on it into which he hoped the public would throw their contributions.[43]

The Leeds Fiasco

The failure to raise money for the veterans 'uniforms' paled into insignificance when set against the civic fiasco of the Royal visit to Leeds. The veterans did turn out, but not as a Guard of Honour. Some were in uniform but most were in civilian clothes. The *Leeds Mercury* stated that: 'Their demonstration was a very quiet one. Their breasts with their eloquent tributes told of their service, and a quiet military salute was the only token they gave of their presence'.[44] The quiet dignity described contrasted with the rest of the reportage which was critical of the arrangements. The paper used the headings of 'A Series of Mistakes' and 'A Hitch in the Arrangements'. The Royal couple were delayed, the processions disjointed and split up and the Royal coach door was opened by an insane man who was arrested. The veterans fell in to parade behind the Royal coach but it was driven too fast and they had to abandon the procession.[45]

Local press reports of Pedley and his work with the veterans fade after 1894. The debacle over their appearance during the Royal visit damaged his reputation. Confidence in his ability to organise and raise funds, was certainly misplaced. The *Leeds Mercury* reported the well-organized Alma Day celebrations in Bristol and did not hesitate to contrast them with the poor planning in Leeds regarding the veterans' Guard of Honour. Had this been organized properly the paper had no doubt that the liberal spirit of Leeds would have risen to the task and supplied each veteran with 'a good suit, a substantial meal and a supply of tobacco'. The paper concluded 'Under the present circumstances I am afraid their "Association" will be checked rather than advanced and supported'.[46]

In this respect Pedley had lost a key ingredient necessary for his campaign to succeed on behalf of the veterans – a sympathetic and supportive local press.

The Presentation of the Bristol Veterans

43 'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Leeds Mercury,* 3 October 1894, p. 8.
44 'The Royal Visit to Leeds', *Leeds Mercury,* 6 October 1894, p. 10.
45 Ibid.
46 'Military Notes', *Leeds Mercury,* 6 October 1894, p. 12.

The Bristol veterans did not follow the example of their Birmingham counterparts. Early photographs show only one uniformed veteran – James Evan Wright of the 46th Regiment.[47] When Wright died in 1899, James George replaced him as the 'uniformed' veteran in a doubtful combination of military garb. Whereas the impoverished Wright looked like a hungry private soldier, James George could afford to give himself military airs with gold knots and a peaked forage cap similar to those worn by officers. A militarized 'uniform' for the Bristol veterans may have been considered. There is a photograph of Walter Paul in the collection, wearing a cap, tunic and Crimean and Indian Mutiny medals. Whatever the reason for his appearance, nothing came of it.

The Bristol veterans did however possess an alternative to an entirely civilian appearance and this took the form of peaked caps. White covers, white gloves and, after 1898, oak sticks were added for special occasions. Reserves of these items were kept at Orchard Street. Committee members would also sport a red Moroccan leather badge with gold letters identifying them as such and usually worn on a coat lapel. These efforts reinforced the 'corporate identity' of the CIMVAB and, together with their medals, set them apart, and made them easily identifiable to the general public.

In the summer of 1912 King George V visited Bristol. A printed letter addressed to the Bristol veterans by Paul and dated 20 June 1912 was headed 'Royal Visit'. It informed them that they would form a 'Guard of Honour' at the Mansion House and that 'Veterans must wear dark clothes with regulation caps, clean white cap-covers, white gloves and must bring their oak sticks'. It advised that if anyone was in want of these they should apply to Head Quarters at once.[48] The use of the word 'regulation' would have chimed with the veterans. During their military and naval careers they would have been subject to 'Queen's regulations'.

The occasions when Bristol veterans, and other associations, were 'paraded' follow a pattern. They can be categorised as commemorative, celebratory, acquisitive and recreational. The appearance of numbers of veterans at certain events became part of the reinforcement and endorsement of imperial propaganda and was also an opportunity to promote the cause of the veterans pensions.

The most frequent assembly for the Bristol men was the Church Parade. This term would ironically resonate with past compulsory military routine.[49] Annually the veterans would march to Bristol Cathedral, a mere hundred yards from their headquarters, to commemorate the anniversaries of Crimean battles and later Empire Day. These events were advertised and reminded the different

47 Wright was quite a tall man at 5'11" and in civilian clothes, used to carry the union flag at the head of the marching veterans.
48 BVC, 1873 TET, Printed Letter re Guard of Honour, 1912.
49 Michael Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005), pp. 184–189.

generations of the war and reconnected a broader society with the recent but receding past. It also combined the two powerful concepts of militarism and Christianity. Sermons preached at these services usually combined patriotism with imperialism and Christian duty. They were also occasions when the opportunity for charitable donations could be exploited. The journal kept by Paul, records the combined church services where the veterans joined with self-help organisations in worship. On 19 August 1894, for example, they combined with The Shepherds. Another entry, this time dated 24 May 1896, records the joint service with The Druids. The regular church parades provided reassurance and inspiration to those who saw them. The combination of respectability and Christianity further added to the managed image of the respectable veteran.

The Distance Between the Veteran and the Civilian

The numerous group photographs, professionally taken, always presented the veterans in the best possible light. However, how the veteran progressed in life after his discharge could be reflected in his appearance. Some who lived in the Royal Hospital, London, and numbered less than a thousand, were known as Chelsea 'In Pensioners'. The Royal Hospital took its first residents in 1692.[50] On admission to the institution the veteran would surrender his pension and receive the food, shelter and uniform that went with his new status.[51] The pensioned veteran living outside the Royal Hospital was described as an 'Out pensioner'.

The out-pensioner veteran may have been returned to civilian life after his discharge from the service, but he would never be as he once was. He reverted to civilian status, was unarmed and un-uniformed and no longer known by rank and regimental number. Civilian life would require readjustment as he tried to reintegrate himself and establish his new identity in a nineteenth-century society where some were suspicious of the old soldier. The ambivalence expressed by some towards serving soldiers extended to veterans. Soldiers and sailors who have faced an enemy will be forever separated from those who have not. How they coped with this, depended on individual character, temperament and background. The desperation and poverty that drove some to enlist was absent in the biographies of others. Reactions to the trauma of war vary. George Loy Smith served in the Crimea with the 11th Hussars. He wrote that after the battle of Balaclava and the Charge of the Light Brigade, he returned to his tent with some flesh from Private Young on his jacket and busby.

50 Michael Mann, *The Veterans* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 1997), p. 29.
51 On BBC1 news 5 June 2020 one Chelsea Pensioner summed up his situation: 'I get three meals a day and a bed and best of all no one is shooting at me'.

At the battle of Balaclava, regimental number 1463, Private Richard Albert Young had had his right arm taken off by a cannon ball during the charge.[52] Loy Smith wrote:

> I now sat down and feelings that came over me are not easy to describe. I was moved to tears when I thought of the havoc I had witnessed, and that I had lost my beautiful horse. She was a light bay, nearly thoroughbred; I became her master three years before.[53]

Private Albert Mitchell of the 13th Light Dragoons however, reacted differently and with shocking *sang foid*. He was also a participant in the charge and afterwards swapped his worn out socks with some new ones from the corpse of a dead British Dragoon. He put his own useless socks back on the corpse so that 'I did not consider I had robbed the dead'.[54] Mitchell had a keen sense of necessity and when offered a bowl of soup by smirking French cooks, who revealed that the meat therein was cat, he asked for a second helping.[55]

Only among other veterans would there be the 'knowingness' of potentially lethal shared experiences exclusive to battle, campaigning and military life. Lara Kriegel argues that the 'trauma, irony and alienation, embodied in the figure of the returned soldier and long suffering veteran, continues to shape the practice of remembrance - and its grammar, tonalities and habits - to this day'.[56] James Campbell uses the term 'combat gnosticism' in the context of officers' experiences in the First World War and refers to 'the secret knowledge which only an initiated elite knows'. He continues that it is 'difficult if not impossible to communicate to any who have not undergone an identical experience'. His gender specific observation excludes women and those soldiers who have not been in battle and he distinguishes the 'soldier' from the 'warrior'. Campbell states that 'mere military status does not signify initiation, but only the status as a combatant' qualifies the precondition for gnosis.[57] The Great War and the Second World War he refers to, I argue in the conclusion were aberrations. The numbers involved separate them from other conflicts and provided an opportunity for literary 'warriors' to express their experiences. The literate society that elisted en masse and were later conscripted, between 1914 and 1916, differed greatly from its largely illiterate mid-Victorian counterpart. Campbell points to some who rely on descriptions of the ugliness and violence of war 'to destroy the complacence of a sheltered civilian readership'.[58] For the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans both the means and the opportunity for the expression of their experiences were dependant on sympathetic, literate others.

---

52 Lummis and Wynn, p. 190.
53 Loy Smith, p. 145.
54 Mitchell, p. 89.
55 Ibid., p. 121–122.
56 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', pp. 289–301.
57 James Campbell, 'Combat Gnosticism: The Ideology of First World War Criticism', *New Literary History*, 30 (1999), 203–215.
58 Ibid.

Serving in a regiment, or on a warship, would always be a transformative experience. The suppression of individuality, the adoption of new power structures and relationships, the counter-intuitive modes of behaviour when faced by lethal threats, collectively and profoundly altered the civilian persona. This was as true in the 1890s as it had been a century earlier.

Figure 7: Rippingille, *The Recruiting Party*, painting [detail], Bristol Art Gallery, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

Continuing Contradictions

There were contradictions between the positive presentations of military life to the public and the realities experienced by recruits. Horace Wyndham enlisted in London in 1890 and his experiences in the ranks were later published. The content and tone of his writing was characterized by

analytical detachment and he described a rough, coarse life to be found in the ranks. One paragraph in particular, would have been a deterrent to the 'better class' of recruit, mentioned earlier. Describing the discomforts and poor conditions at the Curragh in Ireland he wrote:

> Those who have not actively experienced what a barrack-room, crowded with noisy, foul- mouthed, and more or less drunken, men, means at night cannot conceive what a man who is in the slightest degree sensitive feels at such times. The utter loneliness, engendered by his inability to 'muck in' with his companions, is unspeakable. The total cessation, for the briefest interval, of the foul language of the barrack-room (which, until he becomes happily hardened to it, grates so horribly on the ear of the better class of recruit) seems the greatest bliss.[59]

But in the Preface to his book in 1899 he mentioned: 'several changes have taken place in Military Administration, and the conditions of service for the rank and file have in many instances been thereby considerably improved'.[60]

There were other publications that pursued the same idea. The *Strand Magazine* featured stories of past victories and the experiences of new recruits. The opening paragraph of the tale of 'Young Tommy Atkins, A Personal Experience' expressed the view: 'I hear good accounts of the army now, and they say that anyone who knows his drill, and is steady and well educated, is pretty sure of a commission'.[61]

Contrasting with Wyndham's 1890s soldiery, disciplined, steady old soldiers enjoyed growing public acclaim and popularity. Their martial days behind them, they could be seen as harmless. Whereas some may have been as profane, foul-mouthed and drunken in their time as soldiers, their age and status as veterans meant a more sober and moderate presentation and expression. In public entertainment the idealised veteran was a character that was sympathetically portrayed. The increasingly popular music-hall entertainers of the 1890s, included the veteran in their repertoires. These were part of a wider spectrum of entertainment in which the soldier was positively presented. David Russell identifies a number of common factors and characteristics of these presentations. The old soldier, rather than the recently discharged ranker, became the familiar character. A stereotype emerged. The veteran had to have fought in an action where heroism was demanded, like the Balaclava Charge. He had shown bravery which had resulted in permanent injury. Despite hardships he was too proud to accept charity. These qualities combined to identify the music-hall veteran 'as a member of the most "deserving" poor'.[62]

---

59 Horace Wyndham, *The Queen's Service or The Real Tommy Atkins* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1899), p. 84.
60 Ibid., 'Preface'.
61 'Young Tommy Atkins: A Personal Experience', *Strand Magazine*, July-December 1891, pp. 239–247.
62 David Russell, '"We Carved Our Way to Glory": The British soldier in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c. 1880-1914', *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850-1950*, ed. by John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 50–79.

Attridge also examines the use of the veteran in music-hall entertainment. Though the focus of his work is the Boer War 1899–1902, he draws upon themes and influences which preceded this conflict. Significant is his reference to the portrayal of a Crimean veteran by the popular artist Charles Godfrey. In a sketch entitled 'On Guard' the ragged veteran at the poorhouse is denied entrance and exclaims 'No! I am not wanted *here*! But at Balaclava – I was wanted *there*!'

H. Chance Newton stated that in London and the provinces, 'this raised vast audiences to an almost incredible pitch of enthusiasm….I have seen him move patrons of the "halls" to volcanic excitement and to thunders of applause!'.[63] This further suggests the rising and widespread popularity of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Attridge also reveals that the War Office, stung by the explicit social criticism behind the narrative, tried to get the sketch banned 'as it threatened to be "prejudicial to recruiting"'.[64]

Russell refers to this reaction and cites more detail, stating that 'pressure from several officers of the Household Brigade' led to the manager of the London Pavilion banning the second part of "On Guard" from his house on the grounds that it might interfere with recruiting'.[65]

Also included in Charles Godfrey's repertoire of the 1890s was his rendition of the song 'The Seventh Royal Fusiliers'.[66] Its lyrics recall the battle of Inkerman against the Russians in the Crimea and includes the line 'Through deadly Russian shot and Cossack spears, | We carved our way to glory!'.[67] In the 1892 report of the sketch published in the *Era*, the veteran sings the song to his three grandchildren but is overcome and breaks down in tears before recovering his composure. He gives words of command, the children fall into line and march off. In some performances local veterans from the battle were invited to attend and joined the performance with the artist on stage to great acclaim.[68]

The Crimean War veteran, portrayed in the music-hall, provided a comfortable and confident re assertion of past military triumph. It was also significant in promulgating 'one of the most deeply rooted popular perceptions of the army, that it cared little for the discharged man'.[69] In this instance the portrayal chimes with Kriegel's description of veterans as being 'vehicles for critique'.[70] The appearance of a poor veteran wearing his medals was a physical manifestation of reproach to the society he had risked his life to defend. The tears shed in the performance emphasized the humanity of the veteran and added to the dramatic pathos. The narrative was

63 H. C. Newton, *Idols of the Halls* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1975), p. 113.
64 Attridge, p. 35.
65 Russell, p. 74.
66 In the 1970s, a very old man sang this song to me and informed me it was a popular ditty when he was a boy in the 1900s.
67 H. C. Newton, p. 113.
68 *Portsmouth Evening News*, 3 December 1892, p. 2.
69 Russell, pp. 70–71.
70 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', p. 291.

expanded by the association of children with the old warriors. Russell observes that this association 'had the function of heightening the sense of pathos'. He argues that the inclusion of children 'served to point up the continuity of the nations military prowess'.[71] This point is reinforced by the content of some of the CIMVAB application forms. Seventeen of them show a continuity of service in both the Army and Navy.[72] Calculation of the birth dates show that many of the children were born into a military or naval environment. This, and the example of their fathers, fulfilled a recruitment function and ran counter to the idea that military or naval service was undesirable. CIMVAB committee member John Fisher was the son of Joel Fisher who served in the 7th Hussars in the peninsular and Waterloo.[73]

After the Boer War, the use of organised, uniformed youth movements like the Scouts, created a broader trans-generational context for the noble veteran. To use Kriegel's descriptions again, the veterans were 'vessels for memory' and 'sources of patriotism'.[74] Some surviving group photographs of the Bristol veterans reinforce this connection and show them with uniformed scouts and other images show them with Clifton College boys in their blazers. There is the convergence of Walter Paul's work with the Scout movement, his Cliftonian status and his position as Secretary of the CIMVAB. He was the common denominator throughout.

Honour and Shame

In the agitation at the beginning of the 1890s, veterans were reconnected with their previous military and naval experience. There was no hint of irony as they were, as civilians, 'paraded' before their public, often preceded by a military band. In this emblematic way they were distanced from the poverty that some of them suffered. The public would see them presented as orderly, obedient, former soldiers rather than impoverished old men. It was the alleviation of their poverty that was the driving imperative behind the associations that were created. The disciplined formations of veterans wearing their medals became impressive reminders to spectators of their erstwhile qualities of steadfastness and stubbornness. These had won battles.

In Dundee in the summer of 1890 news reportage of the initial meetings of the veterans deployed military vocabulary to describe how they 'assembled' and 'marched'. The medals worn by the veterans were described as 'silvery tokens of service rendered to their country'. One part of the

71 Russell, pp. 70–71.
72 Bristol Museum Veterans Collection Application forms. See BVC, 0220.TSH, 18, 22, 34, 37, 40, 50, 54, 61, 66, 70, 74, 115, 125, 131, 134, 149, 156.
73 'The Kaffir and Basuto Campaigns of 1853 and 1853 by an Old Soldier who Served in them', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle 1934*, ed. by Major H. Pearse (London: The Rifle Brigade Club and Association, 1935), pp. 219–243 (p. 220).
74 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', p. 291.

procession was headed by a pipe band and another by the brass band from the Camperdown linen works.[75] Another paper later published a letter of thanks from the secretary of the Dundee Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association, William Martin, who observed with approval that 'one thing could not fail to be observed by all, and that was that the martial spirit still survived in the breasts of our countrymen'.[76] The soldiers campaign medals described above as 'silvery tokens of service' were then, as now, a physical expression and manifestation of past military experience.

They can possess an almost mystical cache and are emotive emblems separating and contrasting the veteran from the civilian. The Crimea Medal in particular, with its clasps for Alma, Balaclava, Inkerman and Sebastopol, held deep resonances with the suffering endured during the war and the Queen's concern for her forces. From as early as November 1854, the Queen was involved in the design and production of the Crimea medal and its clasps.[77] Eventually the medal was produced with a Wyon profile of Queen Victoria on the obverse and an heroic Roman soldier armed with a circular shield and short sword being crowned by a flying 'Victory' on the reverse.[78] Most Crimean veterans, from the Army, Navy and Royal Marines would possess this medal and the Turkish Crimea Medal. Indian Mutiny veterans wore their own discreet medal and clasps with its red and white ribbon said to represent blood and bandages.[79] Veterans of both campaigns therefore would wear three campaign medals. The 'silvery tokens of service' had a value and significance beyond plain lucre.

There was also an underworld involving fake medals. One report described them as 'bogus medals' made to assist the begging of 'professional cadgers' or to swindle medal collectors.[80] The case of William Roberts, referenced earlier, was an example of this deception. The buying and selling of medals awarded for gallantry was also viewed by some as distasteful. The *Peterhead Sentinel* described it as 'an ignoble trade' condemning the nature of the transaction. The relationship between the purchaser of the decorations which were 'so hardly and honestly earned by our soldiers and sailors who fight for Queen and country' and the background dynamic behind the award was not a comfortable one. The buying and selling of Victoria Crosses was seen as especially repugnant.[81] It was as if the extraordinary qualities that had won them were debased and translated into vulgar financial worth.[82]

---

75 'The Old Soldiers and Their Grievances', *Dundee Courier*, 15 July 1890, p. 2.
76 'Correspondence: Our Veterans', *Dundee Advertiser*, 17 July 1890, p. 3.
77 'Queen Victoria to the Duke of Newcastle, 30 November 1854', *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. by Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1908), vol., III, p. 56.
78 *Medal Yearbook*, p. 141.
79 Ibid., p. 143.
80 'Bogus medals', *Shields Daily Gazette*, 6 October 1897, p. 3. This type of deception has occurred up to the present time. See: John Bingham, 'Walter Mitty Veterans Should be Jailed, Says MPs', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 November 2016, p. 14.
81 'Tuesday February 4th 1890', *Peterhead Sentinel*, p. 4.
82 Ironically James Fuller Eberle, a numismatist, had a Victoria Cross in his medal collection.

The wearing of medals or medal ribbons was a reinforcing expression of identity and experience, seen at a glance. The poverty that compelled some veterans to either sell or pawn their medals sharpened the public response to their plight and added to the weight of accusatory shame.

The awarding of a campaign medal was also one of the prerequisites for consideration by the Chelsea Hospital Commissioners for a 'special campaign' pension. A section on a veteran's discharge papers would indicate the medals and clasps awarded. One of the ironies of this stipulation was that in some cases the needy veteran would part with his medals as a last resort. The money they might bring in would disqualify him from consideration because he would not be sufficiently 'necessitous'.

When the survivors of the Light Brigade paraded in London for the fund raising event at Olympia in July 1890, none were in military uniform. Some however, were in the fustian clothes of the workhouse, and this brought a sympathetic response from the large crowds gathered.[83] In the same way in February 1893, in Sheffield, the members of the newly formed 'Sheffield, Hallam and Rotherham Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association' marched to the Cutlers Hall in the town, preceded by a military band. The report noted that: 'The appearance of several veterans in the dress of the Sheffield Workhouse elicited many indignant expressions from patriotic artisans'.[84]

Another report observed 'the workhouse corduroy… a garb full of reproach in every ribbed line and flashing pathos in every big button'.[85] In speeches at the event the Master Cutler, Mr J. Atkinson, said it was a shame if not a crime that such men were to be found in the workhouses of the country and posed the question about whether it was right or creditable 'that such men have to seek the despairing refuge of the paupers ward?' These reactions, reported in press coverage, were not for the prospects facing the 'deserving poor', whose continuing need was seen as a regrettable fact of life, but for the material degradation of the celebrated and idealised noble veterans.

Unique Honour and Remembrance

For the Bristol veterans the most prestigious of their parades was the unique inspection, at Royal command, at Windsor Castle, on 16 May 1898, by Queen Victoria. Images of the veterans assembling in lines at Temple Meads Station show them all in their best civilian clothes and wearing their medals. Walter Paul and Fuller Eberle wear silk opera hats and frock-coats. There is a dearth of surviving correspondence related to this event. It is possible that the Duke of Cambridge, a Crimean veteran and a patron of the CIMVAB, may have influenced the matter. The inspection was

83 'Balaclava Heroes at Olympia', *London Daily News*, 3 July 1890, p. 3.
84 'Crimean and Indian Veterans, Parade and Dinner', *Sheffield Independent*, p. 6.
85 'Sheffield Army Veterans: A Noteworthy Muster', *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 15 February 1893, p. 6.

widely reported in the provincial and London papers and featured in the CIMVAB 1912 commemorative volume. There were 107 veterans in the party and it was suggested that the Queen had invited them to Windsor because so many of them were not able to participate in the Jubilee festivities in London the previous year. A special train took them from Bristol to Windsor and they were led into the castle by the band of the Scots Guards.[86] The practice of having a military band to head a column of veterans connected the military past with the military present in physical terms. Apart from stirring music and military spectacle it reinforced the relationship between the old and the serving soldiers. It also suggested continuity of purpose and resolve against a background of the series of smaller colonial wars after 1860. Unsurprisingly there is a substantial collection of photographs recording the various stages of the Windsor visit in the Bristol Museum veterans collection. Queen Victoria also recorded the inspection in her journal.[87] Other photographs show the assembled veterans prior to their inspection with the committee to the fore, wearing their medals and symbols of office.

When the Queen visited Bristol the following year the CIMVAB were paraded before her statue on College Green, clearly visible from the Royal carriage as it swept into Park Street. Following these Royal endorsements Fuller Eberle and Walter Paul attempted to get the prefix 'Royal' added to the association's title but were unsuccessful.[88]

86 'Veterans at Windsor', *London Evening Standard,* 17 May 1898, p. 3.
87 *Queen Victoria's Journal*, RA/QVJ/VIC/MAIN, 16 May 1898, vol. 107, p. 16.
88 TNA, HO144/775, Royal Title File. The nature of the association meant that its numbers would inevitably decrease and this was the objection to the application.

Figure 8: *Windsor 16th May 1898*, photograph, Bristol Veterans Collection, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

The veterans of the Nottingham and Nottinghamshire Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association also favoured the peaked cap to militarise their appearance at certain events. Group photos of other groups of veterans, taken in the late 1890s and early 1900s, show the majority dressed in civilian clothes. The Huddersfield and District Army Veterans Association, however, in their group of forty, had a half dozen men dressed in 1890s uniforms. The rest of the group wore red sashes. Another group in Mossley were entirely clad in civilian clothes but all carried a bag with its strap uniformly over the right shoulder.

When the Treaty of Paris formally concluded the Crimean War, the illustrated papers reported and depicted the celebrations. There were firework displays in many towns and cities but no overall national strategy to memorialize the war and those who died. Responses to the Peace depended on the civic leaders across the British Isles. In some towns and cities memorials to the fallen were erected. In London an impressive memorial to the Guards was built with the three central figures cast from the metal from captured trophy guns from Sebastopol. The platform mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, was constructed around it for the celebrations of the Queen's diamond jubilee in June 1897. It was exclusively for Crimean veterans, their living skin and bones contrasting with the inert stone and metal of their surroundings. Both however, were part of the dynamic of remembrance.

Figure 9: *Crimean Veterans Dais*, June 1897, photograph, Bristol Veterans Collection, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

Chapter 6

The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol in the Twentieth Century

The Veterans and the Turn of the Century Imperial Narrative

The years between the beginning of the twentieth century and the extinction of the association in 1920, saw seismic political and social changes at home and abroad. The Representation of the People Act of 1884, had further extended the franchise, though all women and 40% of the male population were still excluded. Three of the great European empires of the nineteenth century, the Russian, German and Austro-Hungarian, were to disappear. The British Empire, however, appeared to be at its zenith. The century began with British and Imperial forces at war in South Africa, and in the following decade the Great War further transformed British society. Within this transformation was a militarization of society as the concept and reality of 'total war' unfolded.

Stephen Badsey suggests that the process of militarization started in the late 1870s and was itself part of a broader political and social readjustment. He cites the convergence of imperial expansion with an increasingly literate population at home, leading to a society militarized through the work of the Press and popular culture.[1] Veterans of the Crimea and Indian Mutiny were part of this process. They exemplified the past martial triumphs that were presented as the foundations of imperial acquisition. The accepted narrative for the *cassus belli* for Britain in 1854, was to assist the Turks in their resistance to Russian imperial aggression. But there was also a British imperial objective. Russian expansion towards the eastern Mediterranean was thwarted. This kept them away from the Isthmus of Suez and the overland route to India via the Red Sea and on to the Indian Ocean.

In the same way the defeat of the mutineers in 1857–59 was represented as essential for the rightful preservation of the Empire. Kipling's short poem 'Veterans', especially written for the 1907 Lucknow Golden Commemoration, is an explicit expression of this idea. In the first stanza it refers to 'The remnant of that desperate host | which cleansed our East with steel'.[2]

These succinct lines compressed the imperialist narrative. The veterans are the survivors of the often out-numbered and hard pressed resistance to the mutiny. The use of the word 'cleansed' attaches to the mutiny a quality of sinful 'wrongness' spreading like a disease. The possessive pronoun before 'East' reinforced the imperialist concept of rightful possession. 'Steel' at the end of

1 Badsey, pp. 34–46.
2 Part of this stanza appeared in CIMVAB Christmas dinner cards produced after the Golden Commemoration in 1907.

the line, is a dark reference to the bayonets and edged weapons that were the instruments of 'cleansing'.

The undercurrent of support for the Army that had existed at the lower end of the social scale at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was leavened by middle-class support mid-century. At the end of the nineteenth century, nationalism and imperialism, expressed through popular culture, combined to underpin the rising popularity of the military and this naturally extended to the veterans.

'Thin Red Line' and Khaki Line: Some Uncomfortable Parallels

The 2nd Boer War was the last conflict fought by the Victorian army and provided, for some, depressing parallels with the Crimean War. Yet when the war started expectations were widely hopeful. The Commander in Chief, Field Marshal Sir Garnet Wolseley, described the Army as containing 'the very ablest soldiers...thoroughly equipped for war', and promised they would present 'a very different condition of things from that which existed in the Army sent to the Crimea in 1854'.[3] The reference to the Crimean War was unfortunate. Events were to lead to 'very different' comparisons from those anticipated. Indifferent generalship, stalled campaigning, inadequate manpower and equipment and casualties from the battlefield, significantly outweighed by deaths from disease, all contributed to the return of a familiar dynamic.

The common soldier was once again exposed to unnecessary suffering, but ultimately prevailed. The similarities of these narratives sympathetically united the old veterans with serving soldiers. Kriegel terms it the 'cross-generational fellowship of fighting men with new South African heroes and Crimean veterans marching side by side'.[4] The distance between public expectation and military experience in South Africa, became an increasingly wide one in the opening months of the war. The Army was fighting far from home, there were serious supply problems, reverses on the battlefield and British forces were besieged in Kimberley, Ladysmith and Mafeking. Unlike the Crimea, where the demands of the siege saw the Army withering in the trenches, South Africa was largely a war of movement. The common denominator though, was that the soldiers were underfed and overworked. The 2nd Glosters, for example, marched prodigious distances on quarter rations, in their advance to Bloemfontein.[5]

Attridge places the veteran into the expressions of imperialism and patriotism found in popular culture during the 2nd South African War, especially in the music-hall. He emphasises the

3 Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, p. 306.
4 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', p. 293.
5 David Scott Daniell, *Cap of Honour* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005), pp. 196–200.

enormous enthusiasm engendered by this entertainment.[6] Advances in the publishing of photographs reinforced the narrative. The *Sphere*, for example, published photographs of groups of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans, then living in New Zealand, next to a drawing of 'The Victorian Bush Contingent leaving Melbourne to fight the Boers'. The page was entitled 'The Mailed Fist of Australasia' and sub-headed 'The Veterans and the Young Bloods'.[7] This association between the steadfast, courageous defenders of British interests from the Crimean War was also extended by contemporary writers like MacCarthy who wrote: 'The "thin khaki line", like the "thin red line" of other days, never sagged with doubt nor quaked with fear'.[8]

The 'thin red line' is reference to the 93rd Highlanders at Balaclava who drove off a screen of Russian Light Cavalry in the opening stages of the battle. Attridge describes the parallel drawn between the red-coated and khaki as a metaphorical extension, which suggests that the latter had inherited the qualities and traditions of the former.[9]

In the Bristol collection, there are photographs of veterans of different age groups and campaigns assembled together.[10] The elderly Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans are mingled with some who wear the slouch hats and uniforms of the Imperial Yeomanry of the 2nd Boer War. The collection includes weapons, ammunition, papers and ephemera from Cronje's Laager. Lord Roberts, the hero of Kandahar, and one of the original patrons of the CIMVAB, was a successful commander in the Boer War and counted the defeat of Piet Cronje at Paardeberg among his achievements. Both the Crimea and South African campaigns were reported by a largely supportive Press and portrayed the soldier as an emblematic, idealised hero.[11] Within this dynamic however, were the very real experiences and sufferings of the troops. As in the Crimea, the Press later became critical of the mismanagement of the war. In the early stages of the Boer War, newspapers of different political hues echoed the narrative of 1854-56, where the stoicism, endurance and courage of the British soldier compensated for the incompetence of their leaders.

Photographs in the possession of descendants of Crimean veterans, show them proudly with their uniformed soldier sons who fought in South Africa and reinforces the military continuity within families, discussed in the previous chapter. One in particular stands out. Bristol veteran William Stone, late of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, was wounded in the Crimea and fought in the Indian Mutiny. He sits in a photographer's studio in civilian clothes, wearing his four medals. His hair, beard and moustache are white. These physical characteristics, together with the medals,

6 Attridge, pp. 16–43.
7 'The Mailed Fist of Australasia', *Sphere*, 14 July 1900, p. 55.
8 MacCarthy, R., *The Romance of the Boer War: Humours and Chivalry of the Campaign* (London: Elliot Stock, 1901).
9 Attridge, p. 51.
10 The images are part of a collection of damaged photographs kept by James Fuller Eberle and were likely to have been taken around the time of the Coronation of George V in 1911.
11 An exception to this was the journalism of the radical W. T. Stead whose anti-imperialism condemned the war.

became stereotypical of the 'veteran'. Next to him stands his young, red-coat son, Francis Charles Stone, in regimentals. Slim and clean shaven, he wears a good conduct stripe on his left sleeve, which dates the photograph to 3 April 1891 when he was awarded it.[12] They both look directly at the camera lens with an air of pride and confidence. From the same source is another photograph of Francis Stone but now older and tanned and in khaki. He sits, devoid of webbing and equipment, with his pith helmet on his knee. Another soldier, also holding a pith helmet, stands next to him. Written below the pair is 'After the victorious march from [obscured] to Bloemfontein 280 miles'. The appearance of the two soldiers and the background suggest this photograph was taken in South Africa, brought home and copied in Bristol.[13] Francis Charles Stone is a good example of the trans-generational military fellowship within a family. He left the Army in 1896 and was transferred to the Reserve. When the 2nd South African War started, he was recalled to the Colours, but by then was a married man and his absence would, of course, pose problems for his wife and daughter. Apart from the emotional stress of worrying about his survival, there would be financial hardship with the disappearance of his income.[14] The parallels with the Crimean Army are further extended to the wives and children of the soldiers almost half a century later. The same concern for their plight was published in supportive newspapers. There were numerous appeals set up and administered by a civic infrastructure to help soldiers and sailors families.[15] Chief among these were 'Reservist Funds' specifically to assist the families of men like Francis Stone, who was recalled to serve.

Bristol's Lord Mayor, Herbert Ashman, started his appeal in October 1899. He stated that men 'bravely fighting for their country ought to be relieved of all anxiety for their loved ones at home'.[16] The following month, the CIMVAB attended a fund-raising concert at The People's Palace and in an address, Walter Paul, observed that the bravery shown at Inkerman continued in the Army in South Africa.[17]

12 TNA, WO97/6006/51, Francis Charles Stone, 2nd Battalion Gloucestershire Regiment, British Army Service Records, 1760–1913

13 Images were supplied by Ms Tina Lawrence, a descendant of William Stone of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers.

14 The 1901 census shows Francis Stone's wife Ada (nee Radnedge) living at 10 St Luke's Crescent with her four year old daughter. Also in the house was her sister Amelia Radnedge. Census returns England, Wales and Scotland; Bristol, Bristol East RG13/2364/14/20. See GRO, Census Returns for 10 St Luke's Crescent, Bristol, Bristol East, RG13/2364/14/20.

15 Colonel Gildea, *For King and Country Being a Record of Funds and Philanthropic Work in Connection with the South African War, 1899-1902* (East Sussex: Naval and Military Press, repr. no date), pp. vii–viii.

16 Widows, Orphans, Wounded and Reservists', *Western Daily Press*, 28 October 1899, p. 5.

17 'Veterans at the People's Palace', *Bristol Mercury*, 4 November 1899, p. 3.

Figure 10: H. R. Willette, 'Stones Father and Son' photograph by H. R. Willette and 'After the Victorious March' photograph by H. T. Austen, both reprinted courtesy of Ms Tina Lawrence descendant of William Stone

The widespread regard for the Army, expressed during the Crimean War was reignited by the cheering crowds who saw off troops bound for South Africa. Just as the Crimean War saw the innovative commercialisation of a conflict, the 2nd Boer War was similarly represented, merchandised and exploited. There was a public hunger for stirring accounts of the war with heroic soldiers gaining glorious victories.[18] The popular songs which saw off the departing Army of the East in 1854 – 'Cheer Boys Cheer' and 'The Girl I left Behind Me', found their counterparts in 'Goodbye Dolly Grey' and 'Soldiers of the Queen'.[19]

Gwyn Harris-Jenkins sees the Army that landed in the Cape as no different from the Army that fought in the Crimea. Though there were obvious variations in appearance and equipment and the social composition of the Army, he states that – 'The ethos of the Victorian Army remained unchanged….The intellectual and moral standards of an industrialised society were rejected in favour of the conservative orthodoxy of a rural landed gentry'.[20]

Here, there is a parallel between the qualities of the officer corps of both campaigns. Harries-Jenkins lists them as: 'Probity, inertia and unbounded complacency rather than enthusiasm,

18 Attridge, p. 45.
19 Lewis Weinstock, *Songs and Music of the Redcoats, 1642–1902* (London: Leo Cooper, 1970), pp. 237–267.
20 Harris-Jenkins, pp. 275–6.

drive and ruthlessness...'.[21] In 1899, the Army was a reactionary, military anachronism, that was to prove inadequate for the demands of the campaign on the Cape. To some extent Harries-Jenkins comparison is unfair because it ignores the bravery of many of the regimental officers in both wars who displayed the qualities he claims they lacked.

In 1854 the Press was vigorous in its support for the war and the soldier-hero. In a similar manner, during the Crimean and Boer Wars, the image of the common soldier was, as Attridge observes, 'stage-managed, to occupy a prescribed role in tabloid politics, moving from uneducated outsider to patriotic hero'.[22] Divergence from this similarity though, is found in the different background political, cultural and social undercurrents of each war. The Crimean soldier became a motif to underscore the ascendancy of the rising middle-class and the decline of the old order in domestic politics. The soldiers of the 2nd Boer War were perceived as the instruments necessary to ensure and protect national prestige and imperial supremacy. The calling back to the Colours of the First Class Army Reserve, an invitation to the Militia to come forward and the waiving of restrictions on non-regular troops, was the War Office response to early reversals in the 2nd South African War.[23] The latter enabled the establishment of The Imperial Yeomanry. The Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans were not required to assist in attempts to boost recruitment. Badsey describes the process as a 'mass impulse to volunteer' by the working-class and lower middle-class, leading eventually to 109,000 volunteers.[24] Richard Holmes mentions 54,000 coming forward after 'Black Week' in December 1899. He suggests a combination of unemployment and 'raw patriotism' among the working-class, and imperialism, promoted by the patriotic press, as the stimulus for the middle-class.[25]

Britain was not physically threatened by the Boers in 1899, instead they were presented as a threat to intangible notions of imperial prestige and 'Pax Britannia.' Their overthrow was essential in the maintenance of these concepts. Disadvantageously for the British, the Boers were underestimated as an enemy. In the Crimea, the anticipated short war developed into an expensive, long, demanding and painful slog. The Allies, to their cost, had ignored the resolve of the Russians. In South Africa, against expectations, the Boers inflicted bloody losses on the British Army. The scale of British and imperial forces necessary to defeat the Boers was a shock. Also, the strategically successful, but morally doubtful methods used to destroy their supportive economic

21 Ibid., p. 276.
22 Attridge, p. 47.
23 Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, p. 309.
24 Badsey, p. 38.
25 Holmes, p. 312.

infrastructure, shook some existing preconceptions.[26] Harries-Jenkins sums it up observing that the small volunteer army, primarily designed to implement a guardian role in Britain and the Empire, was inadequate in a 'European' situation'.[27] The Boers were white Afrikaaners. Resolute, motivated, organised and disciplined, they enjoyed a superiority in small arms and tactics. They contrasted with the tribal foes defeated by the British Army throughout the nineteenth century. The losses they were able to inflict on the British Army came as a shock to a complacent society at home.

'Kindly Wait in the Workhouse': An Old Story for New Veterans

The South African War, or 2nd Boer War, ended in May 1902. Though victorious, the cost in lives and treasure for Britain and the Empire had been grievous.[28] When the soldiers returned the discharged men faced a prospect familiar to those who had fought in the Crimea. Higbee observes that there was little systemic change in the lack of State care for them, despite a public outcry. He points to an always inadequate network of private philanthropy and public charity that partially supported some veterans. The nation's understanding of its obligations to its soldiers and the plight of its veterans was characterised by government non-intervention.[29] The public outcry mentioned though, suggests that the popular mood and understanding had changed, but official policy and bureaucracy lagged behind them. A letter published in Bristol the year after the end of the war, described a depressingly familiar theme. The writer, who signed himself 'An Ex-Trooper', referred to an earlier war:

> If General Napier could have lived to write a history of the late war, he would, I think, have concluded by remarking that – 'Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veterans services', as he concluded his history of the Peninsular campaign.

26 The burning of Boer farms and the imprisonment of Boer families in concentration camps were part of the mix of measures employed to defeat them. British maladministration and incompetence lead to many civilian deaths in the camps and further embittered the conflict.
27 Harries-Jenkins, p. 280.
28 Spiers quotes the Elgin Report: the war had lasted 29 months and cost the British tax-payer £201,000,000. It required a force from the regular army of 256,340 officers and men, 109,048 from the Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers, 30,633 from the colonies and 50,000 to 60,000 raised in South Africa. Out of this estimated force of 448,435 officers and men, 5774 were killed in action and 16,168 died of wounds or disease. Another 22,829 were wounded and 75,430 left South Africa as sick or wounded. See Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army*, p. 312.
29 Douglas Higbee, 'Practical Memory: Organized Veterans and the Politics of Commemoration', *British Popular Culture and the First World War*, ed. by Jessica Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 195–216 (p. 203).

In the same letter the writer summed up the official attitude of the War Office towards ex-servicemen with: 'You must not think you have any legal claim upon us, though we are quite willing to assist you, but kindly wait in the workhouse until we have time to settle your accounts'.[30]

To some extent this letter points to the contradiction between the popularity of the Army at the beginning of the war and the familiar difficulties experienced by ex-servicemen after it. The reference to the workhouse and the bureaucracy of the War Office would have been understood by the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans. The 'soldier slighted', discussed in chapters one and two, returns in different decades throughout the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth. After the trauma of the losses incurred in the 2nd Boer War, statues of idealized soldiers were unveiled while some of the veterans of the conflict struggled to make ends meet.

Memorialising the Fallen

In Bristol the unveiling of two memorials to the fallen of the war, underlined the closeness between the elderly and latest veterans and further extended and reinforced the imperial narrative. In the case of the memorial to the Gloucestershire Regiment, the veterans representation was broadened to include the recently formed 'Junior Veterans Association'.[31] Also, at this event were serving soldiers from the regiment and their families and the general public.

The memorial was by Onslow Whiting. It depicted a soldier from the regiment in the uniform worn in South Africa, with a fashionable clipped moustache, looking ahead, 'alert and manly'.[32] The soldier is portrayed as heroic, steadfast and resolute. He is about to load a round into his rifle. The statue, in Queens Road, was unveiled by Lord Roberts on 4 March 1905. In speeches at the ceremony, the Lord Mayor of Bristol spoke of the 2nd Battalion Gloucestershire Regiment and stated that they took their part in upholding the honour of England and the safety of the Empire. Referring to the losses suffered by the battalion, Lord Roberts observed the comfort for the bereaved that lies in the words 'Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori'.[33] Whereas the 1st Gloucesters had suffered significant casualties in battle, it is likely that he did not know the details of the losses of the 2nd Battalion. His speech perpetuated the fiction of heroic death in battle, rather than the

30 'Unemployed Reservists', *Western Daily Press*, 10 March 1903, p. 7.
31 The membership of this new association, discussed more fully below, was open to those who had served in campaigns post 1860.
32 Douglas Merritt and Francis Greenacre with Katherine Eustace, *Public Sculpture of Bristol* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011), pp. 178–180.
33 The 2nd Glosters lost 45 dead in the campaign and all of them from disease. See *The South African War Casualty Roll* (Suffolk: J. B. Hayward & Son, 1982), pp. 41–2 and 'addenda', p. iii.

miserable demise through disease.[34] The narrative implication of the Latin phrase was later dramatically transformed by Wilfred Owen's poetry in the Great War.

Nine months earlier on 25 June 1904, the statue of St George was unveiled by Lord Methuen, a 2nd Boer War General, at Clifton College, in memory of the 43 Cliftonians who were killed in South Africa. Once again the veterans were in attendance along with serving soldiers, staff and pupils. The event exemplified a convergence of Victorian ideals, connections and mythology.

The statue, by Alfred Drury, depicted St George in 14th century armour. His appearance expressed a character of 'Fortitude and Virtue without effeminacy'.[35] The choice of an idealised, armoured knight as a memorial, reflected the continuing interest in Medievalism and romantic chivalry. It was the perfect choice for the neo-Gothic buildings with its chapel adorned with other symbols of knightly and saintly chivalry. Girouard dates the emphasis on the chivalric code at the school as originating from John Percival, the first headmaster, from 1862.[36] This ethos steeped the pupils in ideals of muscular Christianity, duty, fair-play and manliness. The Gothic Revival pedestal was designed by CIMVAB secretary Walter S. Paul and R. C. James, both Old Cliftonians. There were verses from Sir Henry Newbolt on one of the bronze plaques on the pedestal:

> Clifton | Remember These | Thy Sons Who Fell | Fighting | Far Over The Sea | For They | In A Dark Hour | Remember Well | Their Warfare | Learned Of Thee.

The presence and involvement of old Cliftonians who were key figures from the military and the CIMVAB in the ceremony, demonstrated their close interrelationship. It also reflected their shared financial, cultural and emotional investment in memorialising Cliftonians who did not return from the war. Their presence, with the CIMVAB, serving soldiers and the schoolboys, created the impression that the common purpose of the ceremony encompassed and transcended the generations. To some extent, the memorial acted as an emollient against the brutal reality of modern war. It had more to do with the school and its ethos than the dirt, disease and death on the veldt.

The 'Absent-Minded Beggar'

The memorial statue to the Gloucestershire Regiment in Queens Road, resonates, in three dimensions, with the Caton-Woodville drawing of 'The Gentleman in Khaki' published in late 1899. The drawing became a motif central to expressions of British imperialism and was exploited in a plethora of different genres. Commissioned by the *Daily Mail,* the image was the focus of their efforts to raise money for a charitable fund set up to help the families of men called back to the

34 'The Gloucestershire Regiment Memorial', *Gloucester Journal*, 11 March 1905, p. 3.
35 Ibid. Quotation from the *Cliftonian*, June 1904, p. 83.
36 Girouard, pp. 170–171.

colours. The drop in pay, for many, exposed their families to hardship. The drawing reassured the public that its soldiers were indomitable. The wounded soldier stands his ground and loads his rifle. His demeanour is grim and determined.[37] Kipling's description pointed to a new understanding of the word 'gentleman'.

Throughout the nineteenth century the division between the 'officer and gentleman' and the other ranks of the Army, from humbler origins, was part of an understood dynamic. There was movement from the ranks to commissions for the literate, talented and lucky but essentially the term 'gentleman' was the exclusive province of the officer class. At the very end of the century the term, used by Kipling, broadened and democratised it, hence the ranker being described as a 'gentleman'. On the cusp of a new century it suggested modernity. As Kipling declared in the 'Absent Minded Beggar': '...Cook's son – Duke's son – son of a belted Earl – | Son of a Lambeth publican – it's all the same today!'.[38] The image of the soldier was a huge success and was used as the illustration for Kipling's 'Absent-minded Beggar'. The term 'beggar' here, acted as a counter-balance, rather than a pejorative contradiction, to that of 'gentleman'. It was also a word to describe a rogue.[39]

In the poem, the public are asked to drop their shillings into a tambourine in order to support the patriotic soldiers going to South Africa and their families. Revisiting the condemnatory and accusatory themes of 'The Last of the Light Brigade', Kipling returned to the critical juxta-position of the soldier doing his duty overseas while at home there is the hollow, patriotic clamour of a vociferous public, but talk is cheap. Kipling's verse gave a voice to the Caton-Woodville image. Referring to Kipling's 'Barrack Room Barracks' Attridge observes that: '...the common man was elevated to heroic dimensions, and because he was from the working classes, offered the possibility of social cohesion'.[40]

The 'Absent Minded Beggar' appeals to the public's charity to help Tommy and his dependants left behind. The common humanity of the soldiers is extended to their families who, though poor, are 'too proud to beg or speak'. Towards the end of the poem Kipling mentions the soldier's children sent to the Workhouse whilst he defeats the Boers. To some extent, the poem does the begging on behalf of the soldier and his family. The public's sense of fairness, decency and charity must come to the rescue as a saving palliative in the absence of any meaningful Government action. In paying up, the public would be righting a wrong.

---

37 The R. Caton Woodville image has similarities to the painting of The Thin Red Line by Robert Gibb, painted in 1881. In this work the red-coated and kilted 93rd Highlanders stand defiantly with fixed bayonets. Some have long beards, some are wounded. Their demeanour is similarly grimly determined.
38 Kipling, *The Complete Verse*, p. 372.
39 The semantic relationship of the two words is explored by Anatoly Hiberman. 'Rogue' has origins in the sixteenth century meaning a ' wandering mendicant'. See Anatoly Hiberman, 'Old Slang: Rogue', *OUP Blog*, 12 May 2013 https://blog.oup.com/2010/05/old-slang-rogue/ [accessed 20/11/2020].
40 Attridge, p. 129.

The *Sporting Times* reported that there was a plan to put the image and poem in the front of children's school books and that it was 'an excellent idea for educating the young English mind to patriotic feeling'.[41] The image and poem (and later a song by Arthur Sullivan) were vital components in the newspaper campaign. The *Daily Mail*'s effort itself, was part of a wider spectrum of private fund-raising and philanthropic work across the British Isles to support the Army and their dependants.[42]

Bristol Junior Veterans Association: An Expansion of the Heroic Narrative?

In Bristol, just after the end of the Boer War, in June 1902, a separate organisation was formed styling itself 'The Bristol Junior Veterans Association'. Organised by the Reverend E. J. Houghton of St Stephen's Church, it had its own headquarters in The Mission House in Queens Square and was composed of those men who had participated in post 1860 campaigns who did not qualify for membership of the CIMVAB.[43] The rationale behind their establishment was to band together men 'who've been and seen'.[44] One report suggested that their association would stimulate recruitment, the martial spirit, and the dogged pluck and determination that had brought victory. Bringing together the veterans of the Zulu War, two Afghan campaigns, the Egyptian War, the Chitral Tirah, the Malakand campaign and the 2nd South African War would refute the myth that Tommy Atkins was forgotten when his services were not in request. The report observed that:

> the country owes a good deal to Tommy and his patient toil and endurance, and those who wish him well may do him a good turn by lending the new association a helping hand.'[45] They met once a month to maintain tradition, promote mutual help and self-respect. The officers of the association pursued their causes regarding pension increases due and medals that were entitled, but not yet received. Like the Crimean veterans, the Junior Veterans enjoyed the patronage of Lord Roberts who accepted the invitation to be President.

Their activities were regularly reported locally, but they disappear altogether after 1910 with the creation of the 'Veterans Reserve' as part of the reorganisation of the Army. In their short existence they had made the re-employment of veterans as the central thrust of their work, as well as honouring their part in defending British imperial prestige and interests. Occasionally, in Bristol, the Crimean and Junior Veterans appeared at the same ceremonies and functions and their combined

41 Messrs Moffat & Page, *Sporting Times*, 30 December 1899, p. 3.
42 Colonel Gildea, *For King and Country* demonstrates the extent of the national effort.
43 'Local Notes', *Western Daily Press*, 27 June 1902, p. 5.
44 'Local Notes', *Western Daily Press*, 28 June 1902, p. 5. The words are from the chorus of the popular song 'Soldiers of the Queen' – 'who've been my lads, who've seen my lads', by Leslie Stuart.
45 Ibid.

presence was reported.[46] The spectacle, numbers and medals were a public demonstration of over half a century of service and suffering in the name of Queen (and later King) and Country.

Attridge observes that in South Africa, the nineteenth-century British Army was fighting a twentieth -century war. They fought a resolute enemy prepared to use guerilla tactics to maximum affect. The war also exposed hidden social and political undercurrents at home. There was the poor physical quality of volunteers for the Army and the poverty and poor living conditions from which they came.[47] These, combined with the problems facing the soldiers on discharge, were familiar problems understood by veterans from the mid-nineteenth century.

The twelve years between the end of the 2nd Boer War and the beginning of the Great War, saw the steady reduction, through death, in the membership of the CIMVAB. The period also saw a change in political and public expectations with the introduction of old age pensions and the establishment of The Veterans Relief Fund by Lord Roberts.

What Progress for the Old Soldier and a Grateful Nation?

In December 1907 Lord Roberts, hero of the Afghan War and 2nd Boer War and patron of the CIMVAB, chaired a dinner at the Royal Albert Hall. It was to have an impact and reaction similar to the abortive Light Brigade dinner of 1890 described in chapter 2. The event was organised by the *Daily Telegraph and Courier* and entitled 'The Indian Mutiny Golden Commemoration 1857-1907'. The invited guests from all over the British Isles arrived by train and were the veterans of the Indian Mutiny. The reportage was lavish in its support for imperialism and the part played by the veterans in its advancement. The tone and content of the description of the event was celebratory and valedictory. It pointed out to the reader that this was the last muster on earth for the Indian Mutiny veterans and the closing of a book in History. The inclusion of the words 'on earth' pointed to human mortality and suggested that, for those present, their next muster would be in heaven. The paper also published a drawing of the event and a list of the 500 guests, their regiments, current addresses and where they had come from. Seventeen years after the Light Brigade Dinner scandal, some of the veterans were in the Workhouse uniforms of paupers. Others could not attend because they were destitute and in the Workhouse. In echoes of the 1830s and 1890s there was reference to the unacceptable dynamic of neglected soldier-heroes in the Workhouse and an ungrateful nation. The observation was made that:

> […] it cannot be right that any heroes of 1857 should be left to die in the workhouse or that those who had deserved so well of their country should be requited so ill. A hundred

46 'A Supplementary Ceremony', *Western Daily Press*, 6 March 1905, p. 7.
47 Attridge, pp. 68–69.

> veterans of 1857 in the workhouses of the United Kingdom! Let the people look to it, for it calls for remedy.[48]

Further reportage published by the *Daily Telegraph* revealed that, from their research, the figure for Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans in the Workhouses of the United Kingdom was nearer one thousand. They also publicised the launch of Lord Roberts Veterans Relief Fund on 8 January 1908, reporting the support of the King and his opening contribution to the fund of one thousand Guineas. Roberts later stated that the destitution of the old soldiers had led him to found the Veterans Relief Fund.[49]

The magazine *Punch*, featured a drawing entitled 'Relieved' on 15 January 1908. It depicted an elderly, bemedalled veteran, sitting in the Union Workhouse grounds, in conversation with an angelic female figure called 'Fair Stranger'. He asks her if she is 'Charity'. She replies in the negative and tells him she is '"Gratitude" come to pay my debt'.[50] The cartoon was significant because it symbolised the change in attitudes between the public and the poor veteran. The gradual emergence of new thinking discussed in chapter 1 and what Spiers's terms the 'pivitol period' in 1854-60, explored in chapter 2, saw the growing sense of national obligation to poor veterans that reached culmination in 1908. They were a particular sub-section of the deserving poor that warranted special treatment. Beneath the *Punch* caption in square brackets was:

> Lord Roberts has appealed to the public for funds to ensure the independence and comfort of every Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veteran at present in the workhouse. Contributions may be sent to Messrs Cox and Co., Charing Cross, S.W. to the acount of the Veterans' Relief Fund.[51]

Roberts scheme exploited the civic and county infrastructure crucial to achieve its purpose. The inclusion of Mayors and civic leaders in efforts to help veterans was not new. Walter Paul's memorial letter to the War Office was circulated and signed by large numbers of them in 1905. What made Lord Roberts initiative different was the power of his celebrity. After the 2nd Boer War he was a national hero. His connections to the CIMVAB and the Junior Veterans of the post 1860s campaigns, gave him insight into their circumstances. He had long been a champion of the serving soldier and veteran. As far back as 1882 he had argued for the State to honour its obligations towards is present and past soldiers and sailors.[52]

The experience of the dinner at the Royal Albert Hall confirmed the patchiness of local private philanthropy – the 'inadequate network' – mentioned by Higbee above. Bristol was an example of how properly to run a veteran's organisation. Some large centres of population, like

48 'Veterans in Workhouses', *Daily Telegraph & Courier,* 24 December 1907, p. 10.
49 'Appeal from Lord Roberts', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer,* 8 January 1908, p. 7.
50 'Relieved', *Punch,* 15 January 1908, p. 47.
51 Ibid.
52 Julien Paget, *No Problem Too Difficult: The History of the Forces Help Society and Lord Roberts Workshops* (Hampshire: Julien Paget, 1999), p. 13.

Manchester, formed their own Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations on the back of the publicity following the dinner.

Though late in the day for the surviving veterans, Roberts' and the *Daily Telegraph*'s efforts tried to ensure that regardless of where a veteran lived in the British Isles he would find support. If he was in the Workhouse, and it was appropriate, he would be helped out from it. By March 1908 Roberts was able to declare: 'that a complete scheme of administration had been worked out which provided immediate release from the workhouse of a large proportion of their veteran inmates'.[53]

The Minute book of the CIMVAB records a meeting of 'Mayors etc.' at the Mansion House in London on 18 January 1908. Two days later a representative of the *Daily Telegraph* visited the Headquarters in Orchard Street. In March of the same year the paper reported a similar assembly at The Mansion House in London and listed over one hundred Lord Mayors, Mayors, Provosts and other civic officers attending. The meeting was chaired by Lord Roberts who stated: '[…] it was a blot on the nation that they had not performed this duty before, and however late the relief came, it came as a great help to those in want'.[54]

As well as relying on public donations, a 'Fête of Veterans' at Ranelagh Gardens, Chelsea, was held over three days in July 1908 to raise funds. Every county in the British Isles was represented by its stall with many titled ladies involved in the process. A glossy programme was produced which bore the *Punch* illustration on the cover and a list of patrons starting with the King. One page stated that at each set of stalls and tents one or more veterans of the Mutiny will be on guard in the replicas of the actual costumes worn by them at the time.[55] Part of the Fête's attraction was the opportunity for those attending to encounter the ancient veterans face to face. They represented the last tangible, living link with the mid-Victorian campaigns of the previous century and inevitably would soon be gone. At some point during the events, the veterans in their 'costumes' were photographed. The image is full of pathos. The bearing of such very old men was at odds with the replica uniforms of their youth.

53 'Topics of the Day', *Western Daily Press*, 2 March 1908, p. 7.
54 'Veterans Fund Mansion House Gathering', *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, 19 March 1908, p. 9.
55 Bristol Veterans Collection: 0249 TSH, Fete of the Veterans, programme, p. 3.

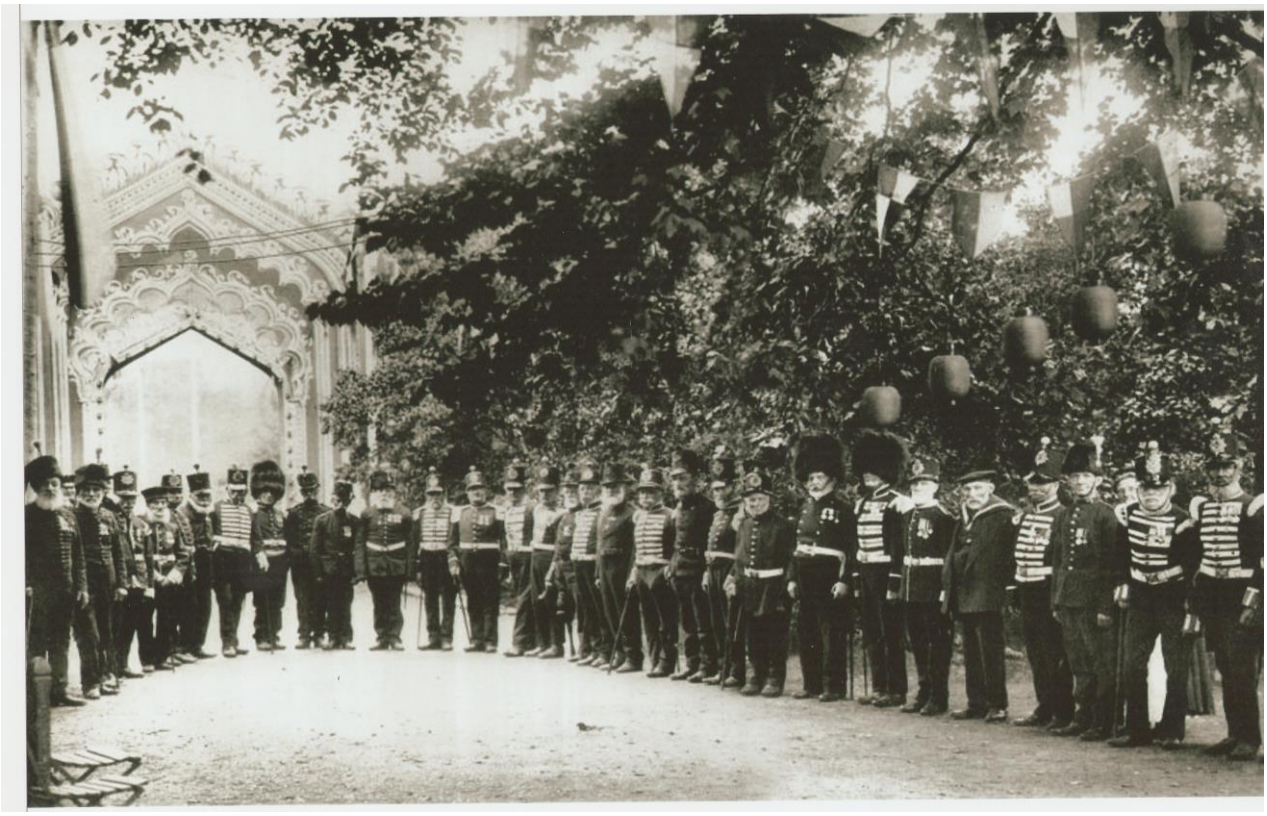

Figure 11: *The Fête of Veterans, 1908*, illustration, *Life Magazine*, 15 December 1941

A commemorative medal was produced. In the centre was a bearded, uniformed figure wearing a coat resembling a Chelsea Pensioner's uniform. He is removing his peaked cap and on his breast are his medals. Lying at his feet and before him is the British Lion. The veteran and beast are enclosed in a wreath of leaves. Around and above these figures are words echoing the *Punch* illustration of angelic relief: 'Gratitude not Charity'. Below them are the words 'Fete of Veterans' and the date '1908'.

A note in the Minute book for 18 September 1908 records the receipt of £200 from the Veterans Relief Fund, this amount being from the proceeds of the Countess Bathurst's Gloucestershire stall at the fête. In other towns and cities similar fêtes for the veterans were held to raise funds.

Throughout the rest of the year, the *Daily Telegraph* regularly published detailed lists of poor veterans who had been helped, many of whom were in the Workhouse.

The Veterans Relief Fund had resonances with the failed campaign headed by Robert Pedley of Leeds in the 1890s. Both endeavoured to establish a national infrastructure to address the problem of the destitution of some old soldiers. They both relied on private support rather than Government assistance. Pedley overreached himself and failed. Lord Roberts, already a stalwart supporter of veterans organisations, achieved some success for the rapidly dwindling numbers of veterans from the two campaigns. In the first report of the Veterans Relief Fund, published in

August 1909, Roberts acknowledged the generous support of the committees of The Soldiers and Sailors Families Association and The Incorporated Soldiers and Sailors Help Society.[56]

In 1909 Old Age Pensions for certain individuals, over seventy years old, were introduced by the Liberal government. This represented Edwardian new thinking and was preceded by bitter debate. Lloyd George's 1909 Budget speech showed an extension of State obligation towards its old working men:

> It is rather hard that an old workman should have to find his way to the gates of the tomb, bleeding and footsore, through the brambles and thorns of poverty. We cut a new path for him, an easier one, a pleasanter one, through fields of corn.[57]

Some established organisations like The Charity Organisation Society deplored it. One of their leaders, Loch, saw State interference that wantonly encouraged dependence. He observed: 'Now charity, rightly understood, strengthens social obligations...but grants without charity weakens them. And only such grants can be made by the State'.[58] While private charities objected to the principle, the detail of the Act was far from comprehensive. There was a long list of exclusions: those on poor relief, inmates in lunatic asylums, serious ex-felons, convicted drunks, habitual idlers – all those who were termed 'undeserving' in the past. The 'deserving' had to pass a good character test, have worked all their lives, resided in the United Kingdom for twenty years and had earnings of less than £31.10s 0d per annum. There are parallels here with the exclusions exercised by Chelsea Hospital in the previous century, regarding eligibility for 'special campaign' pensions for poor veterans. With echoes of the mid-nineteenth century power struggle between the middle-class and landed elites, the cost of funding the new benefit would be found from the taxation of the latter. Old age pensions signalled the triumph of the left wing, radical, non-conformist collectivism that had emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. The background political tenets behind their success however ran counter to those behind the Veterans Relief Fund.

1912 Celebrating Success

In February 1912 'The Red Book' commemorating twenty years of the CIMVAB's work was published and distributed. The cost of the project came from the association's funds. Every effort was made to present the CIMVAB in the most positive light. Much of the background story that led to its establishment was omitted. There was no reference to the agitation on behalf of the veterans that occurred in the early 1890s. The version that appeared emphasised Christian compassion and

56 'Veterans Relief Fund Report', *Morning Post*, 25 August 1909, p. 9.
57 Djuna Thurley, 'Old Age Pensions Act 1908: Research Briefing', *House of Commons Library*, SN4871 (12 August 2008), pp. 1–13. https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn04817/ [accessed 20/11/2020].
58 Owen, pp. 244–245.

private philanthropy. The narrative was shorn of any political references and there was no mention of Pedley or the Bristol radical Tovey. It also glossed over the origins and context of the organisation and referenced the role taken by the Reverend Joseph Wain as its starting point. This does not necessarily suggest a manipulation of the truth, but a perception that the earlier attempts at organisation were of little consequence. Also the objectives of the earlier organisations were not realised. The trio of Joseph Wain, James Fuller-Eberle and Walter S. Paul were the founders of the last and most successful private, philanthropic version that emerged. Despite this, a photograph of the veterans attending a function at Firfield House, Knowle, in August 1893, was included in the publication. Clearly visible, but anonymous, and seated on the ground at the front, are the Reverend J. Wain and R. G. Tovey with his distinctive white side-whiskers.

The local press publicised the volume and the responses to it. One report mentioned that the book had been sent out to many distinguished people and their letters of acknowledgement to the CIMVAB were bound in a neat volume. In the same report it published extracts from the letters received from Royalty.[59] These responses cemented the kudos enjoyed by the organisation and also demonstrated the close relationship with a sympathetic Press. More generally, The *Army and Navy Gazette* announced the commemorative volume in its pages in March 1912.[60]

The opening pages of the commemorative volume are a description of 13 Orchard Street, supported by photographs of the interior, written in 1904, and published in the *Bristol Times and Mirror*. The report concentrated on the significant artefacts and paintings but also mentioned the committee rooms to emphasise the working philanthropy that underscored the organisation. This philanthropy is considered further in the pages that followed, which referenced the 'growing fear of unrelieved penury' that faced many veterans and the association's success against this prospect.

Influential support was found in the list of Patrons and Vice-Presidents. The nation's senior military and naval officers, members of the aristocracy and gentry as well as political and civic dignitaries, composed an impressive roll. Absent from this assemblage are those serving or past members of the governments that spanned the previous twenty years. The unwritten sub-text was that the private organisation had succeeded despite the indifference and bureaucracy of successive governments and the War Office.

The living members, their names, regiments, medals and clasps were found in 'The Roll of the Veterans'. This roll was further expanded giving the modern post-Cardwell titles of the regiments and the veterans who served in their numbered predecessors. Collectively the list amounted to a focused celebration of Victorian military experience, patriotic duty, service and suffering for Queen and Country.

59 'Widespread Admiration', *Western Daily Press*, 16 May 1912, p. 10.
60 'Books &c., Received', *Army and Navy Gazette*, 2 March 1912, p. 199.

A detailed, positive account of the previous year's activities together with a diary of the association's past twenty years provided a selective survey of its work. It was also pointed out that the CIMVAB had been an inspiration to other towns and cities to form similar organisations. Missing from this review are the details of those members who were either poor or teetering on the margins of poverty. Also, there was no mention at all of those who were refused pensions by the Chelsea Commissioners or the failed attempts to get the prefix 'Royal' added to the title of the organisation.

The book used a report for 1911, that had been previously published in the *Bristol Times and Mirror*. It claimed that there were no complaints against the War Office regarding the granting of pensions. It also stated that once a case was made out for a pension, or an increase, it was forthcoming. This was not true. The records kept by Walter Paul show that on numerous occasions applications were unsuccessful because the applicant was either described as a 'bad character' or had not served sufficient time to be considered. This inaccuracy fed into the growing myth that the CIMVAB membership were mostly poor veterans. In reality the opposite was true. Members were not typically poor, but helped the minority within their organisation who were.

A full illustrated account of the unique Royal inspection at Windsor Castle in May 1898 from the *Windsor and Eton Express*, and the Royal visit to Bristol in November 1899, emphasised the Royal support and approval enjoyed by the organisation. Reinforcing this status was a long list of distinguished Royal and aristocratic personages who had inspected the veterans since its establishment. Also, in the same vein, are several pages of positive quotations from leading constitutional, political, military and naval figures. Apart from the plaudits for the work, there is a recurring imperial narrative and references to patriotism and selfless duty, bravely undertaken.

This reportage emphasised the national significance of the CIMVAB, but to balance this, there were detailed descriptions of the local activities of the veterans. These included the visits by Royalty and others to their headquarters, visits by the veterans to Clifton College and Bristol Grammar, to Badminton, as guests of the Duke of Beaufort.

The book concluded with an 'In Memoriam' section with a list of patrons and members who had died each year since 1894. The full name, regiment and campaign were included right up to 1911.

The book was not for sale to the general public and only four hundred were published for distribution.[61]

From the book of letters of acknowledgement, over half of the total print run was sent to those who had supported the organisation or had, in some way, a connection with it and its officers.

61 Bristol Museums and Art Gallery: BVC, 1864 TET, Receipt from Henry Hill, Printer of 11 St Thomas Street Bristol dated, 26 April 1914 for 400 copies at a total cost of £31.5s 6d.

The first letter of acknowledgement, in the bound collection, is from Buckingham Palace on behalf of King George V. The other recipients covered a wide spectrum of national and local civic, military, naval and clerical society and other relevant associations and organisations. These letters demonstrate the impressive range and diversity of contacts enjoyed by CIMVAB over two decades. Significant by their absence are letters from politicians past and present. It is likely they were not on the distribution list.

An Old War Used to Feed a New One

When war was declared in 1914 the political pressures and expected demands for recruits were substantially greater than for any previous conflict. For the first time since Waterloo, Britain faced the mass conscript armies of a western European power. The huge expansion of the Army began almost as soon as the war started, with the familiar image of Kitchener's pointing finger calling for men to enlist for King and Country. An array of different moral, artistic, social and cultural pressures were deployed by the government, aimed at 'men of fighting age', to meet recruiting targets.[62] Peter Reese refers to dubious manoeuvring by the Local Government Board who, in August 1914, instructed charities not to grant relief to those who were unemployed and of fighting age. He cites Bristol as an example, where 10% of the workforce had been laid off in July 1914 and a further 26% placed on short time. This resulted in 9 out of 10 of the men laid off, enlisting.[63]

Many papers reported the willingness of Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans to come forward and their regret that age precluded them from 'doing their bit'.[64] One newspaper observed that the war was the sole topic of conversation when the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans met and how the old soldiers and sailors expressed a wish that youth could be restored so that they might take their place again for 'the honour of the old flag'.[65] The direction of this reportage was subtle but persuasive. Young men reading it might feel uncomfortable that there were old soldiers, thwarted by age, but whose patriotic martial spirits were willing to go and do their honourable duty.

Criticism of the State's long history of neglect for its veterans, through bureaucracy, low budgets and red tape, was put aside. Internal disputes and divisions were subordinated to the external menace posed by the enemy. The need to match the scale of the perceived threat from

62 In a War Office document dated July 1915 the national target of 30,000 recruits per week is recorded. The same document gives totals of recruits for the counties of the United Kingdom from 4 August 1914 to 30 April 1915. Gloucestershire was recorded as 32,938 men or 32% of men of fighting age and Somerset 17,098 or 17.5%. See WO159/19, Recruitment, Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, private office papers, August 1914–May 1915.
63 Reese, p. 86.
64 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', pp. 289–301.
65 'Bristol and the War', *Western Daily Press,* 31 August 1914, p. 5.

Imperial Germany's strength created its own imperative. There was no physical threat to the British Isles in the wars with the Russians and the Boers, but war with Imperial Germany was different. A western European industrial, military and naval power and rival, her strength and ingenuity posed a real menace. If successful, the Kaiser's vast conscript armies and large modern navy, could dominate Europe. As the war developed, for the first time, the British Isles was attacked by German naval and air forces.[66]

In this respect the veterans no longer fulfilled the decorative function as living links with the Victorian imperial narrative. Instead they became a useful, malleable tool in the mixture of pressures and persuasions deployed to boost recruitment. The dual presence of Fuller Eberle on the CIMVAB committee and the Bristol Citizens Recruitment Committee was advantageous to the latter. Surviving correspondence regarding a recruitment rally in 1915 shows how detail involving the rôle of the veterans was handled. They were to be seen in their caps and medals, riding in horse-drawn wagons from the four points of the compass synchronised to arrive at the rally simultaneously.[67] The appearance of old men wearing their medals from past campaigns added an accusatory dimension to the gatherings especially to men 'of fighting age' who were still civilians.

At the rallies and parades, the old were joined by the young in the form of the uniformed Boy Scouts. Walter Paul had connections with Robert Baden-Powell and the Scout leadership. This involvement, at the other end of the age scale, was also exploited to encourage recruitment.

A painting by H. Y. Titcomb entitled 'Cheering the Chief Scout' depicted a crowd of Scouts, some with drums, in Dowry Square, Bristol, acclaiming their founder. It was painted and exhibited in 1913. The recruiting potential in this image was explicitly harnessed as it was exhibited again under the new title 'Send us!'.[68]

The dwindling numbers of the CIMVAB were part of the array of pressures deployed. Apart from patriotism, other avenues of approach focussed on manliness, resisting barbarism and having to account for oneself when the great struggle was over. Kriegel points out that the veterans 'enjoyed a place of prominence on the civic landscape of Great Britain' and that they were 'the focus for patriotic celebration and philanthropic rescue'.[69] The popularity of the CIMVAB, was exploited in the quest to increase the numbers enlisting. The central theme of their appeal for potential recruits was 'duty'.

---

66 Admiral Hipper's squadron bombarded towns along the east coast in 1914. Later Zeppelin airships and Gotha bombers, attacked the south east. A fragment from a destroyed zeppelin is part of the CIMVAB collection.
67 Bristol Veterans Collection: 1601TET, Correspondence 1915.
68 'A Popular Bristolian', *Bristol and the War*, 15 November 1915, p. 38. The central figure in the painting was Thomas Norman Hunt, a King's Scout from Clifton. He was killed in action in the Dardanelles on 28 August 1915, serving with the Royal Gloucester Hussars.
69 Kriegel, 'Living Links to History', p. 2.

‘We have done our duty’

Figure 12: *We Have Done Our Duty*, 1914, photograph, Bristol Veterans Collection, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery (Bristol Cultures)

Within weeks of the declaration of war on 4 August, the CIMVA produced a large banner which read ‘We Have Done Our Duty. Come and Do Yours’.[70] It was first unfurled on 28 August 1914 at a recruiting rally at the Colston Hall in the centre of Bristol. At a similar event at the end of the year, the public regard for the CIMVAB was demonstrated. One report stated:

> The vast audience experienced its first thrill when The Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans filed in and took their place on the platform. Their entrance was the signal for a spontaneous burst of cheering which seemed to make the very hall tremble, and by a happy mistake (apparently under the impression that Mr Balfour had taken his place on the platform) played the national anthem. The audience rose and joined heartily in the singing, and the veterans could not have had a more appropriate tribute even if the demonstration had been carefully pre-arranged.[71]

In November 1914 the veterans champion, Lord Roberts, died in France. Shortly after his death portraits of him in his Field Marshal’s uniform were printed. Above his image was the observation ‘He did his duty’, and below it the question: ‘Are <u>you</u> doing yours?’.

The introduction of conscription in 1916 suggests the failure of the State to meet the essential numbers deemed necessary for victory. Holmes though, presents a very different

70 There is no reference in the financial records of the CIMVAB regarding the expenses of producing the banner. The cost of it might have come from the Recruitment Committee’s finances.
71 ‘Bristol’s New Recruiting Campaign’, *Bristol and the War*, 19 December 1914, p. 56.

interpretation based on the arithmetic of recruitment for 1914-15. He observes that by December 1915 some 2.5 million men had enlisted and that these figures were never surpassed in the conscription years of 1916-17.[72] This observation however is nuanced and ignores the final year of the war. Ilana Bet-El states that between January 1916 and the end of the war just over two and a half million men were conscripted.[73]

The formation of the 12th Battalion Gloucestershire Regiment, known as 'Bristol's Own' took place in September 1914. The men were in civilian clothes but were issued with painted tin lapel badges to identify their status. This points to the growing pressure on civilian men to enlist. Without their badges they might have received accusatory white feathers or other gestures and expressions of odium reserved for those perceived as unpatriotic shirkers and cowards. Led by the Lord Mayor in a horse-drawn carriage, the Battalion marched from Whiteladies Road to the Centre via Park Street. At the bottom of Park Street the CIMVAB were drawn up with their banner. One local newspaper described the scene in detail: 'The Battalion presented a fine picture as viewed on their progress down the steep road way of Park Street. On reaching the veterans, the old saluted the young and the young the old, to the enthusiastic cheers of the spectators'. In the same report the veterans were described as 'gallant old men' and it was highlighted that their standard bearer, Mr Singleton, carried a Union Jack surmounted by a crown.[74]

This reportage echoes the relationship, detailed earlier, between the Crimean War and South African War veterans. The difference here though, was that of experience. Though continuity of patriotic duty may have been implied between the old and young, the latter were yet to experience industrial warfare and its horrors. The prevailing public mood was that it would all be over by Christmas. This cheery optimism grated with Kitchener's prediction that the war would last three years and require huge numbers of men.

As well as recruiting the veterans were deployed in a supportive, compassionate role with the ever expanding population of wounded servicemen in Bristol. They were seen together and photographed, at tea-parties, at the zoo, where they celebrated the King's birthday in 1917. Their presence with these men, especially wounded Anzacs (Australia/New Zealand Army Corps), suggested a shared experience of endurance and suffering, survived in the cause of the mother-country and its Empire. At some functions the reduced numbers of aged veterans were sometimes augmented by the recovering wounded, or repatriated prisoners of war or cadets. The veterans still honoured the anniversaries of Crimean and Indian Mutiny battles and Trafalgar day. But for a nation

72 Holmes, p. 312.
73 Bet-El, Ilana R., *Conscripts: Lost Legions of the Great War* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), p. 2.
74 'The New Battalion's Parade', *Western Daily Press*, 22 September 1914, p. 5.

traumatised by loss and restless for change, their focus tended towards Mons, The Marne, Loos, Gallipoli and The Somme.

The CIMVAB and Post War Society?

The scale of losses suffered in the Somme and the consequences of their demographic concentrations, embittered a broad swathe of British society.[75] The tenets of jingoistic nationalism, expansive imperialism and raw patriotism were seen, by some, as major deceptions responsible for the catastrophe.[76] When the war was over, there was friction between the Establishment, who wanted to direct the narrative of Remembrance, and those veterans who objected to this control. Douglas Higbee explores this tension and describes a riot that took place in Luton after the war. The rioters were mostly ex-servicemen and the target of their wrath were the civic dignitaries. The former had been in the trenches and suffered, the latter had not, and yet they were controlling the form, process and expression of remembrance.[77]

Surviving photographs in the Veterans Collection show less than a dozen ancient veterans of the CIMVAB being inspected by King George V in Bristol in 1917, as part of a larger medal ceremony held on Durdham Downs. Smaller numbers in carriages were part of the peace celebrations in 1918. A decade had passed since Lord Robert set up his Veterans Relief Fund. At the end of the year 1918 the CIMVAB held their penultimate Christmas dinner at Orchard Street. Around the table were nine veterans and numbers of wounded servicemen. The last dinner was in December the following year, and a local paper reported that only six veterans were strong enough to attend and how the imminent closure of their headquarters tinged the occasion with sadness. The Great War, and its horrors, transformed society. Reese observes that:

> A whole generation of men now faced the habitual difficulties which past professional soldier met with on release. These were made more serious due to the huge numbers involved, the larger numbers of seriously wounded who survived and because of the severe social and economic dislocation which attended the war.[78]

Graham Wooton describes this phenomenon after the war, as the 'Ex-service men's movement'. He observes that there already existed voluntary organisations specific to certain conflicts in the nineteenth century and the 2nd Boer War. The scale of the national effort in the Great War led to the establishment of numerous ex-servicemen's organisations 'to demand from the State what had been

75 John Harris, *The Somme: Death of a Generation* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966), pp. 104–110.
76 In conversations with Fred Hill, the secretary of the Bristol Old Contemptibles in the 1970s, he stated to me his reason for enlisting into the Royal Army Medical Corps in 1910 was 'misplaced patriotism.' He also embraced republicanism and suggested that the Royal family should have suffered the same fate as Tsar Nicholas II.
77 Douglas Higbee, pp. 195–215.
78 Reese, p. 88.

given, if at all, by way of charity'.[79] Some of these early organisations were created during the war and had connections to the Trade Union movement and the Labour Party. Their objectives resonated with the agitation of Pedley and Tovey in the 1890s and were directed towards guaranteed State provision rather than the uncertainties of private philanthropy. Reese refers to the returning millions coming home to deteriorating situations whose scale and remedy were beyond any Government or voluntary agency to alleviate.[80]

Kitchener's army was a new national phenomenon that transcended the old social divisions of the nineteenth century. Holmes describes the response to the call to arms in 1914 and the broad social cross-section of those enlisting. Bowler-hatted men from the town halls, tight knit communities from back-to-back houses and corner shops as well as communities from the same work-place were part of the array of volunteers that rushed to the colours.[81]

The New Army radically altered the society from whence it came and moved the idea of the ancient veteran, from the margins of social and cultural life to the centre stage. In a post-war society traumatised by the Great War and faced with enormous problems, the Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans became a quaint and fading historical irrelevance.

Large numbers of the new ex-servicemen faced uncertainty, unemployment and poverty. Whereas this might have been the traditional lot of the veteran in past wars, the scale of the problems after 1918, created its own tensions and a dynamic leading to the creation of the British Legion. The term 'ex-serviceman' was preferred to 'veteran' to describe the membership. The latter term perhaps being negatively associated with the picturesque Victorian avatar and a history of State neglect.

A Great Work Ended: What Did it Mean?

The closure of 13 Orchard Street marked the point of extinction for the CIMVAB as a functioning organization. Reportage of the extinction of the CIMVAB perpetuated a number of myths. The last local veteran, Henry Long, formerly of the Royal Navy, died in 1925. Some local papers in their account stated that the majority of the members 'lived under squalid conditions' and that 'a few had been forced to take shelter in the workhouse'. A national paper, in an obituary for Walter Paul, claimed that before the creation of the CIMVAB, nobody displayed the slightest concern for the welfare of veterans. This was not true. In the society that had emerged from the catastrophe of the Great War, these inaccuracies were of little interest. With the extinction ended the regular

79 Graham Wootton, *The Official History of the British Legion* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1956), p. 1.
80 Reese, p. 77.
81 Holmes, p. 313.

commemoration of the Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman and the last living, tangible connection with the campaigns of the Victorian Army before 1860. Hundreds of thousands of soldiers from the British Empire had come to the aid of the Mother Country in 1914 and suffered enormous casualties. At home the scale of loss from the battles of the Great War challenged pre-war assumptions and practices. There was a tidal wave of disabled servicemen to be supported. Julie Anderson points to the 'numbers of ex-servicemen on the streets, in pubs and in some cases employment, gnawing at people's sensibilities', and, with an echo of the rehabilitaion of invalided Crimean veterans referenced by Furneaux, that 'representations of overcoming disablities and living a useful life, cemented the men's position as heroes in the public mind'.[82] Ana Carden Coyne, referring to the new Ministry of Pensions in 1916, titled her chapter – 'Valuing body parts and the History of pensions'.[83] There are grim parallels here, with their fastidious grading of disability she describes, and the actuarial definitions of 'destitution' deployed by the Chelsea Commissioners in the previous decades. Higbee refers to the Shavian observation that men who had been disabled in the service of the State 'should be supported by it unconditionally'.[84] The post Great War crisis was to test this notion to the extreme and are discussed in my conclusion.

82 Julie Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: 'Soul of a Nation'* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), pp. 64–65.
83 Ana Carden-Coyne, *The Politics of Wounds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 343–347.
84 Higbee, pp. 203–208.

Conclusion

In February 2019, the former head of the British Army, Lord Dannatt, took part in a discussion on the funding of Britain's armed forces, on the 'Today' programme on Radio 4. Significantly he stated that 'you can't have a nation like ours defence on the cheap'. Defence funding cuts and the reductions that followed, have given Britain 'the smallest Army, Navy and Airforce we've ever had'. The question was put to Lord Dannatt that perhaps we have too grand a pretension as a nation. He replied by referring to history and stated that Britain 'wants [militarily] to stay in the first tier of nations'. The discussion ended with the appreciation that there was a tension between money and capability and that 'the Army had lost out big time'.[1] In 2015 it was announced that the size of the British Army was at levels of manpower not seen since the end of the Napoleonic Wars. A succession of defence reviews and 'rationalisations' in the preceding decades, had reduced the regular Army to less than 100,000 men and women. For some, on the left of British politics, this statement is a cause for celebration. For others, on the right, it is deplorable and a cause for grave concern. This demonstrates the continuing uneasiness between Britain's armed forces and its relationship with the various governments and the public.

The scope of this thesis enables comparisons to be made regarding the relationship between the Army and the society that it serves and gauge attitudes towards how it is funded. It also enables an examination of the status and role of the veteran in the wake of fluctuating enthusiasms, literary portrayals, imperial expansion and national crises. Across three centuries there are recurring themes that act as constants amid variables of cultural, political and social pressure.

In the nineteenth century the veteran became a pawn in shifting political dynamics and tensions between ruling elites. Throughout that century the impoverished veteran, perhaps forced into mendicancy, became a figure of reproach, pointing to the ingratitude of those he suffered to defend. The forlorn spectacle continued into the twentieth century and the age of film. Poor disabled veterans of the Great War were photographed and filmed playing mouth-organs in the street and selling bootlaces and matches to gain a few pennies.[2]

In literature the veteran has been a rich source of accusation, nostalgia, drama, sentiment, humour and tragedy. These elements were themselves influenced by political events at home and abroad and changes in technology that widened the promulgation of the various and historically varying images of the veteran.

1 See *Today Programme*, BBC Radio4, 1 February 2019.
2 Wootton, p. 31.

While the nineteenth century had seen the emergence of middle-class political dominance, the first quarter of the twentieth century saw organised working-class movements as a result of the Great War. Politically, socially and industrially, the power groups strove for advantage in the new, restless post-war ferment. Various organisations of discharged soldiers and sailors were set up during the war and after it. Graham Wootton states that they demanded from the State what had hitherto been given, if at all, by way of charity.[3] The rival groups of ex-servicemen eventually combined to form The British Legion. The temper of the times demanded this unifying development.

The establishment of the British Legion saw the convergence of veterans and the State and civil authorities who, as Higbee points out, 'commanded the institutions and funds which structured the commemorative process'.[4] Their first president was Earl Haig.

Haig was to the British Legion what Lord Roberts had been to Victorian veterans.[5] He dedicated the rest of his life to the welfare and care of disabled and disadvantaged veterans. Haig used the word 'duty', that had been a lever to pressure unenlisted men in 1914, and turned it on the post-war government. To him it was the State's duty to accept responsibility for its ex-servicemen. Carden- Coyne refers to the expectations of wounded soldiers who had suffered for 'King and Country'. They felt that the State 'owed them'.[6]

Peter Reese observes that the huge numbers involved 'had the potential to keep the British Governments up to their commitments and to end the traditional neglect of such men when peacetime concerns became uppermost'.[7] The numbers of unemployed and disabled veterans after the war and the scale of the problems facing them, were unparalleled. Rising unemployment figures of over half a million, of which a quarter of a million were ex-servicemen, led to pitiful scenes. Wootten refers to some veterans selling matches and shoe-laces on the streets or forced to go into the workhouse with their families.[8] There was a bitter resonance between their circumstances and those of Victorian veterans in the previous century and even before that.

There had been political revolutions in Russia and Germany and to some disillusioned and discontented ex-servicemen, Communism seemed attractive.[9] In Bristol, in April 1920, there were some 6000 unemployed ex-servicemen. In a series of letters to the local paper, there was outrage expressed that some employers had refused to engage them. The trams in particular, who retained

3 Wootton, p. 1.
4 Higbee, p. 208.
5 Lord Roberts died in France in 1914. Even after his death his work on behalf of veterans continued with the opening on numerous 'Lord Roberts Workshops' for disabled ex-servicemen, during and after the war. See Paget, pp. 12–19.
6 Carden-Coyne, p. 2.
7 Reese, p. 121.
8 Wootton, p. 31.
9 Wootton, pp. 1–9.

women as conductors, were heavily criticised. An organisation calling itself 'The Bristol Branch of the International Union of Ex-servicemen (IUX),' sent an ultimatum to the company and some trams were attacked with stones.[10] This points to a significant difference between the Victorian veterans and some of those of the Great War. All shades of political persuasion had enlisted, or later been conscripted, into the fighting forces. On demobilisation, some of these were militant and prepared to take 'direct action' in the furtherance of their objectives. They cared little for docile, bourgeois respectability. In the wake of the revolutions in Russia and Germany they sought the same impetus for change and this led to the establishment of the left-wing National Union of Ex-Servicemen (N.U.X.). Wootton observes that there was a major divergence between them and all other ex-service societies. The N.U.X. leaders saw no difference between their objectives and those of other working-class groups.[11] This view was inspired by the recent advances of Bolshevism. In Russia and Germany, soldiers and sailors joined the revolutions and overturned what they saw as the oppressive political systems that had created proletarian suffering. There were to be no more Tsars and no more Kaisers, so why not no more Kings? The left-wing press lauded the Bristol Branch of the IUX describing their founder and leader Gilmore, as 'the leader of the Bristol revolutionaries' and claimed a membership of 3000. Through the work of 'Comrade Gilmore' the branch had made itself 'the nucleus of the Bristol Council of Soviets'.[12]

At the other end of the political spectrum there were many with loyalist and imperialist ideas. Paul Burnham refers to 'respectable patriotism and an aversion to party politics' as characteristics of the leadership of the Federation of Discharged and Demobilised Sailors and Soldiers.[13] Different but similar organisations of ex-servicemen were a reflection of this and through tortuous negotiation and compromise, they were eventually able to combine. The N.U.X. however were not part of this amalgamation. There is an irony in these developments when one considers the fears of the ruling elites, over a century earlier, that French Jacobin revolutionary ideas might inspire the discontented poor. The French 'levee en masse' had terrified them. In Britain, in 1914, came the mass enlistments involving all classes. When the war ended those on the extreme left wanted a revolution.

The British Legion became the national organisation for ex-servicemen. Its broad brush title was all embracing and it was able to represent veterans interests to Governments. Britain's economic problems after 1919 though, were uniquely severe and this materially influenced the Government's responses to the rising demands related to veterans. Jürgen Tampke, in his analysis of

10 'More Bristol Trams Attacked', *Western Daily Press*, 28 April 1920, p. 6.
11 Wootten, p. 10.
12 'The Leader of the Bristol Revolutionaries', *Women's Dreadnought*, 7 August 1920, p. 7.
13 Paul Burnham, 'The Radical Ex-servicemen of 1918', *The Great War: Localities and Regional Identities*, ed. by Nick Mansfield and Craig Horner (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 27–52.

the condition of the allies after the Great War, refers to Britain's predicament. Though theoretically a creditor state, the bulk of its debt was owed by the now non-existent Russian Empire and smaller states teetering on the verge of bankruptcy. The British Government 'had made commitments to support its war victims (veterans unable to work and dependents of fallen soldiers) and its unemployed, without foreseeing the long term unemployment in the years after the war'.[14] The burden on the British economy could not be sustained. Inevitably it led to broken promises.[15]

Reese identifies a major difference between the traditional old veteran from the lower classes and those who came after the Great War. The latter came from 'a full cross-section of the population'.[16] Kitchener's New Army was truly, socially and geographically, national in its composition. The early and mid-nineteenth century quest for the 'better class' of recruit was transformed to encompass all classes. This being so, as Kate McLoughlin observes, 'veterancy became the lot of a generation'.[17] Though this was true, the nature of their veterancy was different. The Victorian veteran typically was part of a small community that was separate from mainstream civilian society, and had to make themselves 'respectable' in order to elicit approval and support.

The veterans of 1914-18 were not inhibited by such considerations. Ilana R. Bet-El refers to the volunteer soldiers of the Great War offering a form of justification for the losses sustained and contributing to the ideal of British identity. The State had appealed for volunteers and they had patriotically and freely responded. Despite the destruction, in France, of the old professional army of 1914, volunteers continued to enlist to fill the gaps. This was presented as an idealised continuance of British martial patriotism.

Bet-El adds that they also made it possible to portray the war as a collective endeavour of the State, society and individual.[18] The compulsion behind conscription marred this conceit. Being compelled to risk one's life for the nation engendered a *quid pro quo* response from the survivors.

The moral obligation to support the nineteenth century, deserving veteran, gave way, during and after The Great War, to pressing imperatives accentuated by severity and scale. Nineteenth-century distinctions between exemplary men at one end of the spectrum to bad characters at the other, were confined to oblivion in 1919. Instead, there was a nuanced and gradated scale that separated and identified, the deserving disabled heroes from the rest.

The society that emerged from the Great War was vastly different to the one that existed at the start. Conscription redefined the contract between the State and the individual and for many veterans traditional deference for authority diminished significantly.

---

14 Jürgen Tampke, *A Perfidious Distortion of History* (London: Scribe Publications, 2017), p. 176.
15 Lloyd George's 'Homes for Heroes' is an example of this.
16 Reese, p. 126
17 McLoughlin, *Veteran Poetics*, p. 260.
18 Bet-El, p. 209.

In July 1919 eight CIMVAB members were able to march with and entertain a contingent of Royal Navy sailors who had distinguished themselves in the war.[19] They were the last living links to a receding and increasingly distant past. The Veterans Journal for 1919 lists a succession of tea-parties with wounded servicemen. The CIMVAB had represented moral coercion in 1914. Five years later they were ancient souvenirs from the time of wooden warships, muskets and red coats. The courage and fortitude they had displayed in their youth suggested they were the perfect partners to the young servicemen who had shown the same qualities in action. In that year there had been riots involving ex-servicemen across the country as counter-demonstrations to the peace celebrations. In London, one placard read: 'Demobilised, Demoralized and Pauperised and Pulverised'.[20] To some of the ancient Victorian veterans this would have chimed with their own experiences. Another report speculated that the Army might be used 'to defeat the Workers'.[21] Here there are resonances with previous centuries when use of the Army 'in aid of civil power' was a fear held by radicals and rioters alike.

The CIMVAB became extinct in 1920 and the British Legion was established the following year. The former represented the past and a society in which there was little expectation of assistance from the State. The latter was the result of the convulsion of the Great War that transformed society and its expectations from Government. Although there were anxieties regarding the economic cost and the social burden of supporting Great War veterans, the Government could not evade its obligations.

With resonances of the portrayal of industrious invalids sewing quilts at Fort Pitt in 1855, hospital workshops and veterans re-skilling, produced saleable goods in the 1920s.[22] Both reassured the public that veterans were cared for and could contribute economically despite their disabilities. The huge numbers of amputees generated a growing industry in the manufacture of prosthetic limbs. Carden-Coyne refers to the amputees who 'wanted to be *seen* as normal' and this was part of an '"aggressive" rehabilitation policy', identified by David Gerber, that tried to rationalize militarism.[23]

There were other bleak thematic parallels, specific to disabled ex-servicemen, that resonate with the nineteenth-century veterans experiences. Carden-Coyne refers to a Ministry of Pensions statement, from 1916, that divided veterans into deserving and undeserving categories. The former were idealised into 'noble heroes'. To be acceptable the 'Citizen Cripple' had to be uncomplaining,

19 'The Naval Visitors and Their Reception', *Western Daily Press,* 2 July 1919, p. 5.
20 'Banners of Protest', *Daily Herald,* 21 July 1919, p. 5.
21 'What Shall it Profit a Man?', *Daily Herald,* 18 July 1919, p. 4.
22 Furneaux, pp. 182–3.
23 Carden-Coyne , p. 350.

gainfully employed, respectable and loyal to the state.[24] These were the prevailing prerequisites familiar to all Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations in the 1890s and the prosecution of their claims for pensions. The community of disabled veterans from The Great War, though vast in numbers, suffered similar hurdles and obstacles regarding their rightful pensions.[25] The nineteenth-century spirit of the Ministry of Pensions statement though, written during the war, was at odds with the developing narrative emerging towards the end of the conflict. Kitchener's 'New Army', in size and demography, demanded treatment on a scale appropriate to its status.

At the beginning of The Great War 'ties of kindred and locality' as a result of the Cardwell Army Reforms of the previous century, were refined.[26] The idea was expanded with the 'Pals Battalions' of 1914. From localities, factories, offices, clubs and teams, men enlisted to fight together but few foresaw the consequences if things went badly. In almost every city, town and village in the British Isles, monuments were erected bearing the lists of those who died. In some places not a single able-bodied male returned. Alan Borg refers to the emergence of the 'heroic narrative' where the statues of ordinary soldiers rather than their commanders were preferred.[27] This could be seen as a continuation, but in stone and bronze, of the soldier-hero illustrations that were popular during and after the Crimean War. The motivations though were different. Jay Winter refers to them as 'the post-war search for a language in which to reaffirm the values of the community for which the soldiers had laid down their lives'. In a harbinger of the popular sentiments that emerged during the Second World War, he cites the simple remembrance ceremonies where veterans speak of equality in death and their dedication to promote the idea of equality in life.[28] The paintings and engravings of 1854-56, by contrast, depicted heroic working-class stoicism borne of hardship caused by aristocratic incompetence. Rather than suggest equality, they focused on the class inequalities that led to the unnecessary suffering of the many at the hands of the privileged few.

The political ferment engendered by The Great World War sent those with strong political opinions to the polarised margins. The Communists and Fascists attracted ex-servicemen according to their persuasions. Though there was a General Strike in May 1926, followed, three years later, by the Wall Street Crash, there was no political revolution in Britain.[29] Instead there was bitterness, poverty and despair in areas where the old heavy industries had suffered most. Other areas of Britain, like the south-east, where new technologies were developing, were less affected. In those years the work of the British Legion and other organisations dedicated to the welfare of ex-

24 Ibid., p. 342.
25 Ibid.
26 Spiers, *The Army and Society*, p. 196.
27 Alan Borg, *War Memorials* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. 104.
28 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 79–97.
29 It could be argued that there was a 'gender revolution' in Britain during the Great War. Women occupied the roles hitherto done by men, and this alone led to a transformation of gender relationships after the war.

servicemen continued. Reese refers to their work and the necessity for them to remind the Government of its responsibilities and obligations regarding pensions as the sums involved were 'beyond the resources of any grouping of charitable organisations'.[30]

The British Legion and the 'Establishment' took ownership of remembrance and the solemn ceremonies that still attend it almost a century later. In this they were part of a dynamic loathed by many ex-servicemen. The Monarchy, the Church, the Government, central and local, and leading military and naval figures, combined to fashion and refine the rituals and protocols of remembrance. But they were not part of the mass who had experienced the horrors of war and the gulf between them and those who had, was irredeemably wide. The common soldier-hero of the Crimean War and the 'Absent Minded Beggar' of the Boer War were eventually to find their apotheosis in the 'Unknown Warrior' laid to rest in Westminster Abbey.[31]

When war came again in 1939, conscription was introduced and expanded to include all men between 18 and 41 years, and the economy rapidly transformed to a total war footing. Call-up was later extended to include all adults and some young men were sent to coal mines. Conscription altered the status of servicemen and women. Its comprehensiveness precluded the deployment of the pressures exerted on civilians in 1914–1915. In a sense this was a 'democratisation' of Britain's military, naval and airforce response, especially when allied to the coalition Government of National Unity led by Churchill.

James Fuller-Eberle died in the spring of 1939. By then the 'Veterans Room' in Bristol's Red Lodge was well established. There was one last connection made between the nineteenth century CIMVAB and the Second World War. In 1942 a Nazi flag, captured by Bristolian Lt. A. D. Fear RN in the Dieppe Raid, was ceremonially presented to the City of Bristol in the Red Lodge. It was to be kept in the Veterans Room for future generations to view. More immediate was its use as an inspiration to wounded servicemen who visited The Red Lodge every Thursday and Friday for tea.[32]

The Second World War signalled a profound shift in national politics and expectations. It also added substantial numbers of ex-servicemen to the existing roll of veterans from the Great War and Boer War. Before the war's end, uniformed actors were used in public information films, screened in cinemas, that called for new attitudes and a fairer society. One in particular, *Dawn Guard,* by the Boulting Brothers, commissioned by John Betjemen, featured Bernard Miles as a Home Guard talking:

> ...look at that Dunkirk. Weren't no unemployed there. Each man had a job to do and he done it. And that's what we've got to see they have in peacetime- a job...There mustn't be no

30 Reese, p. 125.
31 This title was controversial. Some preferred 'Unknown Comrade'. See Higbee, p. 209.
32 'Nazi Flag Given to Bristol', *Western Daily Press,* 7 November 1942, p. 5.

> more chaps hanging around for work that doesn't come. No more slums neither. No more dirty filthy back-streets and no more half-starved kids with no room to play in...We can't go back to the old days of living, leastways not all of it. That's gone forever and the sooner we make up our minds about that the better.

The soldiers refer to the unity of national effort that was winning the war and would be essential if they were to 'win the peace'.[33] The five minute film was made in 1941, before victory was assured, but it presaged a growing swell of speculation about the nature of post-war British society. There is a thematic parallel with the changing political power structures of the pre-Crimean period. Both wars encouraged a critique of class privilege and became part of the impetus for post-war change. Eric Hopkins, in his study of the working-class, refers to 'much hostility to the pre-war establishment of privilege and vested interest' after 1940.[34]

The British Army Bureau of Current Affairs was set up in 1942 and encouraged worktime discussion throughout the fighting forces. The process was a demonstration of the strength of the democracies through freedom of speech and debate. Their totalitarian foes equated debate with treason. In the introduction to one film the narrator quoted Oliver Cromwell: 'The citizen soldier must know what he is fighting for and love what he knows'.[35] The debates and films of the time, sharpened the focus on what democratic post-war Britain was to be like. The Beveridge Report pointed the way towards a future free from the unemployment, poverty and despair of the 1930s. The war ended in Europe in May 1945. In July, the general election saw a Labour Party landslide.[36]

In theory the demobilised ex-servicemen would be in the vanguard of the creation of a fairer and more prosperous society. Reese observes that the nature of the war in Britain, with the aerial bombardment of cities and towns with civilian deaths and destruction, had significant consequences. It meant that 'there was never the same irredeemable gulf between the battlefront and civilian life...'.[37]

The Victorian army, drawn mostly from the poor working class, engaged the enemies they were ordered to fight despite any private reservations. Not to do so was an act of mutiny. In the Great War, the huge citizen army was motivated by patriotism and vague ideas of imperial superiority. Though attacked at home by sea and by air there was never any danger of a German invasion. Although the German U-Boat campaign did lead to rationing and shortages.[38]

---

33 Malcolm Smith, *Britain and 1940: History, Myth and Popular Memory* (Oxford: Routledge, 2000), p. 50. 'Dawn Guard' 1941 Boulting Brothers. The phrase 'win the peace' was part of the Labour Party's campaign for a better post-war society. It was used in their party manifesto in 1945.

34 Eric Hopkins, *A Social History of the English Working Classes 1815–1945* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), p. 268.

35 Army Bureau of Current Affairs # 23690: 'The British and Current Affairs'.

36 See John Bew, *Citizen Clem* (London: Riverrun, 2017), pp. 340–362.

37 Reese, p. 192.

38 The German Navy bombarded some towns on the North Sea coast causing death and destruction. Zeppelin airships and Gotha bombers attacked London and the South East.

The conscript forces of the Second World War fought for national survival, especially in 1940, when invasion seemed imminent. The siege mentality of 1940 had resonances with the French threat before 1805. It drew the nation together. Society was reorganised by what some have termed 'war socialism'.[39] The result of the July 1945 General Election was a continuation of this shared impetus and led to the creation of the Welfare State. Key industries were nationalised, the National Health Service was established in 1948, a council house building programme was started and the State accepted its responsibilities for the demobilised and disabled servicemen. The demobilisation of the wartime forces was better prepared and managed than in 1919. Reintegration for many, into a society that had been transformed and traumatised by wartime imperatives and experiences, would always be difficult.

For disabled ex-servicemen the Government set up REMPLOY and this organisation further augmented the existing work of the Lord Robert Workshops and the British Legion. Julie Anderson points to a 'repositioning of disabled people from societal drain to valued workers' because of the demands of the wartime economy.[40] This change in perception continued when the war was over.

There was optimism mixed with a determination to build a better, fairer society fit for children to grow up in.[41]

The 'Home Front' and the military fronts altered the relationship between civilian and ex-servicemen. The gap between their relative experiences of war narrowed. The sense of public involvement during the Crimean War was largely illusory conducted through an traffic of parcels and letters and the reportage in the press. The widespread language of war enabled it to be experienced at a distance. The innovative publication of personal accounts in national and local papers and illustrative engravings in the picture papers created a new dynamic. The reading public became familiar with the soldiers' experiences of the unfolding military campaign as never before.

In 1940–45 the 'People's War' was a hard reality with indiscriminate death and destruction on an unparalleled scale. The shell-shocked soldier and the shell-shocked civilian, to an unprecedented extent, shared similar trauma. The alienation of the veteran from civilian normality, so long a constant in the previous century, still existed but with diminished intensity. In air raids and

39 Government powers became comprehensive and affected every facet of life. Rationing, for some, meant an improvement in diet. 'Fair shares' in a fairer society appealed to many.

40 Anderson, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain*, p. 212.

41 I can refer to my own experience here. When I was born in 1949 my mother received no bill from the doctor. I was born in a brand new council house in Little Stoke and attended a brand new primary school in Filton. Two of the teachers had served in the Royal Tank Regiment in North Africa. At school we received a free bottle of milk each weekday. My mother would take us up to the Food Office and exchange her coupons for dried milk, cod liver oil and American concentrated orange juice. The local newsagent was a D. Day veteran, the local grocer had served in the Royal Artillery and the ex-serviceman across the road was suffering from shell-shock. At the end of the street there was a large Nissan hut which was the home of the local British Legion. Each Christmas in the 1950s the Legion organised a party for all the children in the neighbouring streets.

later missile attacks, scores of thousands of civilians were killed or wounded.[42] Total War was intentionally and internationally indiscriminate.

The universality of national effort in the Second World War created its own hierarchy among ex-servicemen and their organisations. In this there is a contrast with the 1890s and the pre-1860s campaign veterans. McLoughlin's 'mish-mash of well-meaning organisations' was transformed into a national support network in the British Legion. Added to this was the network of charities for the disabled and campaign, regimental and unit associations interacted with them to the mutual benefit of ex-servicemen. The Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Associations in the 1890s were harbingers of the national infrastructure of support that emerged from the two World Wars.

In the same way that the CIMVAB represented veterans interests and pressured the War Office for their rightful entitlements, the British Legion chivvied the post-war Government to rectify anomalies and injustices faced by veterans. The bureaucratic red-tape, unpicked by Walter Paul in the 1890s, had its counterpart in post-1945 Britain. There was still criticism directed at the Government. In 1951 The British Limbless Ex-servicemen's Association (BLESMA) conducted a 'Silent Reproach March' to Downing Street to protest about the declining value of their pensions.[43]

Conscription, in the form of two years National Service, continued into the early 1960s. A conscript army was expensive and increasingly unpopular. The end of conscription returned the British Army to the traditional enlisted volunteer force supported by the Territorial Army Reserve. In popular culture the National Serviceman and in some instances the veterans from the two World Wars, were becoming the focus for comedy on television in the 1960s and 1970s.[44] At the same time experiences in the Second World War became the inspiration for film and drama.

In the spring of 1982 the ruling junta in Argentina invaded the British Overseas Territory of the Falklands. The islands were re-taken by a British task-force in the summer of the same year. Dawson sees the campaign in terms of 'continuities with the post-Victorian tradition of adventure'. He refers to a patriotic British media 'operating under archaic restrictions reminiscent of an era

42 My mother was 14 years old in 1940 and had been to the cinema in Bristol with her brother. When they left they saw numerous waves of low flying German bombers on the way to attack the aeroplane factories at Filton. Either by accident or design, the rear gunner of the one of the Luftwaffe bombers opened up with his machine gun. Dragged behind a wall by her brother, there were bullets flying around in all directions. Later, to get away from the bombing my mother went to Goole in Yorkshire for a short break. Unfortunately her move co-incided with a German raid on Hull and a bomb landed in the street in front of the house where she was staying. She later described those times as the most exciting of her life because one never knew if, how or when one might be killed.

43 Anderson, pp. 188–9.

44 *Carry on Sergeant* (1958) and the television comedy series *The Army Game* laughed at the clash of cultures when National Servicemen try to adapt to military life. Comic veterans include: 'Hobo Haynes', as portrayed by the comedian Arthur Haynes, wore medal ribbons and referred to being 'up to me neck in muck and bullets' on BBC television. Corporal Jones in *Dad's Army*, veteran of the Sudan campaign of 1898 was portrayed as a bumbling old duffer and Uncle Albert in *Only Fools and Horses*, wears his ribbons from the Second World War and is keen to tell them that 'during the war...'. His audience though have heard it all before and are not interested.

before television'.[45] Control and manipulation of intelligence in conflict is part of the order of battle for any warring nation.[46] He draws a parallel between this newspaper reportage of the war with that of the Great War in terms of its coercive and accusatory thrust and a refusal to countenance criticism of the conduct of the war.[47]

The Falklands expedition, however, also had some similarities with the Crimean War and the Army of the East. A hastily organised military and naval force was sent off, with much fanfare, in hired transports, to engage a faraway foe. The British force, composed of regular soldiers, faced a larger number of conscripts. The prestige of the nation was at stake if they failed in their objectives and there was enormous political risk attached to failure. War correspondents accompanied the task force but, unlike in the Crimean War, their reportage was restricted. Profound political repercussions resulted from the campaigns. The Aberdeen Government fell in February 1855. The Thatcher Government was re-elected in 1983. Prior to the war her Government had been deeply unpopular and was expected to lose. The actions of the forces were filmed and edited versions broadcast by the television companies in the UK. This included footage of wounded servicemen and enemy dead and corresponds to the engravings and paintings depicting battle in the Crimea and published in the illustrated papers. In both conflicts there was a wave of patriotic pride that accompanied the home-coming British forces.

The deployment of British forces in other conflicts has been controversial. Divided opinions regarding the use of force have influenced how the forces and veterans are viewed. Also the end of the twentieth century saw the gradual disappearance of the last ancient veterans who had fought in the Great War. Just as the living links with the Crimean War had faded away in the 1920s, the last veterans of 1914–18 enjoyed the celebrity of being the last of a multitude. Richard Van Emden and Steve Humphries collaborated on a joint venture to record, on film and in print, the last testimonies of this generation.[48] The same process is slowly unfolding as the survivors of the Second World War disappear with the passage of time.

The national armies of the two World Wars, in scale and personnel, meant that the veterans were part of the wider 'nation in arms' community. With the end of conscription and the return to a smaller regular army, there has been a return to the old ambivalence from a divided public, nuanced by political persuasions.

Tensions between the cultural honouring and neglect of veterans persist today. In the opening chapter of her survey of life in Britain throughout the Napoleonic Wars, Jenny Uglow

45 Dawson, p. 283.
46 The BBC's Radio announced to the world that British paratroopers had advanced on Goose Green long before the Argentine forces there were aware of it. See Mark Adkin, *Goose Green* (London: Pen & Sword, 1992), pp. 98–9.
47 Dawson, p. 284.
48 Richard Van Emden and Steve Humphries, *Veterans* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper, 1998).

remarks on the closure of barracks in her home town of Canterbury, Kent, in March 2013. She refers to contradictory public sentiments regarding the soldiers. These veered from antipathy ('no squaddies in the bar') to respect and sympathy (Help for Heroes) and then back to suspicion ('why did they join the army in the first place?').

British military action in Iraq and Afghanistan in the twenty first century was widely reported in the media. Soldiers and reporters instantly recorded and transmitted fighting, shelling, patrolling and casualty evacuation. Especially poignant was the televised repatriation of the British military dead.

Their coffins were taken from transports at RAF Lyneham, with military ceremony, and passed through Wootton Bassett. The response of the town to the regular processions of hearses was unexpected and received international attention. The shops closed and ordinary people lined the route. They were joined by clergy, civic leaders, servicemen and veterans from other conflicts. The veterans wore their berets and medals and some, in gauntlets, carried British Legion banners that were solemnly lowered as each cortége passed before them. All bowed their heads. Some threw flowers. Basham refers to 'communities of feeling' created by acts of remembrance each November. There is no doubt that Wootten Bassett encapsulated 'remembrance, as a public political and everyday ritual' and did create an 'arena of emotion'.[49]

Despite official disquiet regarding morale, these unofficial ceremonies focused thoughts on the pity of war and how those who died are honoured and remembered. The presence of bemedalled veterans added gravitas to proceedings, reminding those present, and a wider audience through the media, of the losses and sacrifices of other wars. There is also a political statement made that has resonances with the patriotism that was the underlying ethos of the CIMVAB. On the one hand the ceremonies at Wootton Bassett could be seen to have communicated a form of endorsement of the policies that sent British forces abroad.[50] On the other hand, they could also be seen as an implicit critique by their focus on the cost of the controversial campaign in British lives.[51] The Wootton Bassett phenomenon is explored and analysed by K. Neil Jenkings. He sees the repatriation of British dead as the militarisation of civilian space and indicative of the shifting nature of civilian-military relations as a consequence of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars. Megoran also identifies the changing nature of public sensibilities about the visibility and display of grief and loss. These, he observes, point to the personalisation and domestication of the soldier.[52] In this there is a parallel

49 Victoria Basham, 'Gender, Race, Militarism and Remembrance: The Everyday Geopolitics of the Poppy', *Gender, Place and Culture*, 6.23 (2016), 883–896 .
50 Allan Mallinson, 'Uniting Comrades Past, Present and Future', *The Times*, 13 November 2010, p. 117.
51 Valentine Low, 'More Sad Homecomings but the Public Mood is Changing', *The Times*, 11 November 2009, p. 18.
52 K. Neil Jenkings, Nick Megoran, Rachel Woodward and Daniel Ros, 'Wootton Bassett and the Political Spaces of Remembrance and Mourning', *Area*, 3.4 (2012), 356–363.

with the transformation of the British soldier in the public imagination in the mid-nineteenth century. Favret explores the dynamic of the returning veteran to civilian society at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the tensions caused when the veteran seems to bring home the faraway war. She refers to the distance between the battlefield and home and how the body of a dead soldier occupies a space that recognizes the violence of war that the public sphere cannot easily accommodate. The effects of war 'are registered primarily through intimate feelings and gestures'. Writing about the Napoleonic Wars, Favret refers to Thomas De Quincey bringing war home in a stage coach, 'by relaying the first news of her son's death to a waiting mother'.[53] The weeping widows and grieving mothers and children at Wootton Bassett suggest that this is as true in the twentieth century as it was in the nineteenth. Lord Dannatt saw Wootton Bassett as a demonstration of the public 'keeping the [military] Covenant with the nation's soldiers'.[54]

The British Army suffered over four hundred dead and over two thousand wounded in Afghanistan. The experiences and suffering of the latter have brought, what is termed as, the 'Military Covenant' under scrutiny. There has been a re-examination of the expectations, obligations and relationship between the State, the public and its armed forces. Forster highlights the asymmetry that exists in The Armed Forces Act. It is essentially concerned with the soldier and military law. Absent is any reference to a 'duty of care'. The Ministry of Defence has no liability or obligation toward its service personnel. He observes that the attempt to formalise the obligations and expectations between the Army, Government and civilian society in a single document is 'a striking break with the past'.[55] It was this past vagueness that contributed to the poverty, penury and neglect of nineteenth century veterans. McCartney describes the Military Covenant as a quasi-judicial concept of 'tremendous plasticity' and an unrealistic benchmark for Armed Forces and Society relations. She describes a number of gaps. Chief among these is the distance between what service personnel want and what the public is willing to give. The tension of matching resources to commitments, and falling short, was well understood in the previous centuries. The Armed Forces want to be genuinely valued and understood and not just grudgingly respected by the public.[56] This entails a degree of mutual trust.

Former soldier and member of parliament, Andrew Murrison, puts 'trust' at the centre of the military dynamic. He quotes the political philosopher Anthony Seldon, who observed that 'Trust is key within the military. The armed forces receive low pay, work far from home, operate under

53 Mary A. Favret, 'Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War', *Studies in Romanticism*, 33 (1994), 539–548.
54 Richard Dannatt, *Boots on the Ground: Britain and Her Army Since 1945* (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2017), p. 334.
55 Anthony Forster, 'The Military Covenant and British Civil-Military Relations: Letting the Genie Out of the Bottle', *Armed Forces and Society*, 38.2 (2011), 273–290.
56 Helen McCarthy, 'The Military Covenant and the Civil-Military Contract in Britain', *International Affairs*, 86.2 (2010), 411–428.

extreme duress, risk their lives, and yet are given commensurately little public recognition when they are away fighting'.[57] Though written in the twenty-first century these observations would have been familiar to soldiers and veterans in the preceding three centuries. The resonances extend and multiply further when Murrison cites Eric Joyce, a member of The House of Commons Defence Select Committee, who observed that: 'When it comes to negotiating pension and compensation entitlements...the Armed Forces are disadvantaged, because there is no one to negotiate on their behalf as employees'.[58] Joyce went on to suggest that Parliament has a vital role in ensuring that the Armed Forces get the pension and compensation entitlements due to them.

The national efforts of the two World Wars, when the entire nation was geared to total war, can be seen as aberrations. Post 1945 conflicts have seen the reappearance of familiar tensions between the Treasury and the Ministry of Defence. Shortages of manpower, inadequate equipment, poor living accommodation and successive defence reviews resulting in reduced capability, have combined to see the re-emergence of a troubled relationship between Government, public and Armed Forces. In a forward to Andrew Murrison's book, the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, observed that the post cold-war conflicts 'have put our Armed Forces centre stage in a way that few could have anticipated in 1989'. He added that Murrison's findings 'show there is still much work to be done...to generate a renewed sense of pride in our military; with a government that looks after our Service men and women and their families; and a country that values them for what they are: the bravest of the brave'.[59]

Cameron's observation that there is still much work to be done is revealing. Whether the rhetoric will be matched with significant government expenditure on behalf of servicemen and their families and veterans, remains an unfolding dynamic. Sarah Ingham traces the changing ownership of the concept of the Military Covenant. She points to its migration from the military to the civilian sphere and how this changed the understanding of its meaning. Rather than a tri-lateral (Army, Navy and RAF) understanding based on reciprocal expectations and obligations, it morphed into a bi-lateral agreement between Government and soldiers imbued, erroneously, with legal status.[60] In this respect it mirrors the conceptual malleability of the nineteenth-century veteran. Lord Dannatt refers to the Military Covenant's obscure origins and the way it emerged in 2006 and subsequent years. He suggests that far from being an ancient agreement between the Army and Government, it

57 Murrison, p. 57.
58 Ibid.
59 Murrison, pp. xiii–xiv.
60 Sarah Ingham, *The Military Covenant: Its Impact on Civilian-Military Relations in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 1–5.

was dreamed up in the late 1990s by a group of officers who wished to codify the 'moral component' of fighting power.[61]

In 2011 the Military Covenant was 'enshrined in law'. It is nuanced, cautious and conditional. In the preamble of a House of Commons briefing paper on the subject of 'Support for UK Veterans' written in June 2019, there is the observation that 'the Covenant does not create legally enforceable rights for service or former service personnel'.[62] Forster's observation, mentioned above, regarding an absence of a 'duty of care' and no Government liability or obligations regarding service in the Armed Forces, suggests an unresolved dynamic.[63]

Controversies related to military status suggest, however, that once again the veteran has become a malleable, exploited and exploitable abstraction. Alongside discussions of veterans' rights to support, there is another uneasy discourse in which veterans appear as war criminals. In both these very different contexts the emphasis is on the strained relationship between the veteran and the civil society to which he or she returns. The prosecution of veterans accused of historic crimes continues to be politically controversial. These developments run counter to the dynamic described by Bulmer and Eichler, where some twenty-first century veterans are held up as 'model citizens' and as such can exert leverage for better benefits or even criticism of foreign policy.[64] Here there is a resonance with the Crimean veterans idealized as heroes to a man, though the leverage for reform was in the hands of the Press, philanthropists, artists and poets.

In recent years others, though, have enthusiastically promoted their support for servicemen and veterans. Entertainers and artistes have exploited their celebrity to hold the Government to account when they appear to renege on the Military Covenant.[65] The deaths of civilians in Londonderry at the hands of the Parachute Regiment, almost half a century ago, has resonances with the loathing of the military when called out 'in aid of civil power' in the nineteenth century.[66] When it became known that a bill protecting veterans from prosecution, was not to be included in the Queens Speech in October 2019, the former head of the Army, Lord Dannatt, stated that he was 'very disappointed' that soldiers might be punished for 'doing their duty'.[67]

---

61 Dannatt, pp. 310–311.
62 'Support for UK Veterans: House of Commons Briefing Paper', *House of Commons Library*, No. 7693 (5 November 2020), pp. 1–61 (p. 4) https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7693/ [accessed 20/11/2020].
63 Forster, p. 274.
64 Sarah Bulmer and Maya Eichler, 'Unmaking Militarized Masculinity: Veterans and the Project of Military-to-Civilian Transition', *Critical Military Studies*, 2.3 (2017), 161–181.
65 See, for example, Joanna Lumley's support for the Gurkhas when their veterans were faced with unfair discrimination preventing them from residence in the United Kingdom.
66 The use of the Parachute Regiment was questionable. They are 'shock troops' trained to be ultra-aggressive and their response to the perceived attack by concealed gun-men was tragic but unsurprising.
67 'Amnesty for Veterans Won't be in Queen's Speech', *BBC News* (12 October 2019) https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-50026951 [accessed 20/11/2020].

The Crimean and Indian Mutiny veterans banner in 1914 reminded potential recruits that 'We have done our duty' and exorted them to 'come and do yours'. The link between 'duty' and the Military Covenant continues to excite political reaction. The word 'duty' itself is open to interpretation depending on context. The Victorian veterans defended the imperialism of the age, the recruits of 1914 saw their role as resisting German aggression against neutral 'Brave little Belgium' in Europe.[68]

Concern for the families of serving soldiers pre-dated the outbreak of the Crimean War in March 1854. As the year progressed various funds were established to assist those left in difficulties when their bread-winners embarked for service overseas. Almost half a century later there was a similar reaction, on behalf of dependants, as the British Army marched off to the war in South Africa. The predominant effort in both these wars came from civilian initiatives. In the twentieth century there was a bitter irony in the broken promise of 'homes fit for heroes' following the Great War. The generally poor quality of housing for serving soldiers families during and after the Second World War, points to a continuing difficulty for Governments to fulfil adequately, their part in the fair treatment of servicemen and women. These deficiencies have resurfaced in this century. The *Daily Telegraph* in September 2019 reported that the Ministry of Defence did not uphold the Armed Forces Covenant in its provision for Armed Forces families. The report stated that the Covenant is 'enshrined in law and is meant to codify the moral obligation that government owes to service personnel, veterans and their families'. The report mentioned former soldier and member of parliament, Johnny Mercer, 'the new minister for military people and veterans' who stated that 'the MoD needs to improve "the offer we give those who sign up to protect the freedoms and privileges we enjoy"'.[69]

The Government further reinforced their initiative to be seen as supportive of veterans, with the creation of a minister, Oliver Dowden, whose portfolio was exclusive to veterans matters in Cabinet.[70] However on 24 October 2019, in a discussion on the BBC 'Today' programme relating to the delivery of the Covenant, one veteran stated that 'it wasn't worth the paper it was written on' and Johnny Mercer, now promoted to Minister of Defence, agreed that it wasn't being delivered. The focus of the discussion was on the betrayal of the Covenant for veterans suffering from mental illness because of their service experiences. Former Royal Marine, Professor Neil Greenberg, the lead advisor to the Academic Department of Military Mental Health, stated in the same discussion

68 Treaty of London 1839 saw Britain sign as a guarantor of Belgian neutrality.
69 Dominic Nicholls, 'MoD Accused of "Immoral" Failure to Provide for Armed Forces Families', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 September 2019, p. 12.
70 See 'Press Release: PM Creates New Office for Veterans' Affairs to Provide Lifelong Support to Military Personnel', *Government News and Communication* (29 July 2019) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-creates-new-office-for-veterans-affairs-to-provide-lifelong-support-to-military-personnel [accessed 20/11/2020].

that the Military Covenant was not working and priority mental health care for veterans was not being delivered. The veteran, Les York, expressed a view that would have been understood by veterans over the past three centuries: 'If they send us away to these places, we see and experience things that you can't unsee and you can't un-experience'. Despite fine words, the Military Covenant is not universally understood and Professor Greenberg observed that many suffering veterans fear that no one cares.[71]

Media coverage on 25 January 2020 headlined the reduction in Government financial support for Combat Stress, a charity specific to the mental health of veterans. Their budget was to be cut by six million pounds. Sue Freeth, the CEO, announced on radio and television, that they could no longer take any new cases in England and Wales and that applicants would have to take their conditions to the NHS. She also observed that public subscription would not be able to make up the shortfall in funding. The Veterans Minister, Johnny Mercer, has sought an urgent meeting with the charity.

Contrasting with the political fog surrounding the Military Covenant, other significant elements within the British State have had unambiguous, positive relations with the military. There is continuity regarding Royal interest. The Royal family's concern for the Crimean wounded has found its modern equivalent in the support of the present Royal family for the wounded and disabled of Iraq and Afghanistan and other earlier conflicts. Also, there are a plethora of charities that specifically help military casualties. They are in turn supported by the media. Though the wars of the twenty-first century involving British forces have been contentious, the public continue to support veterans through private charity. In this they have been encouraged by the over-use of the term 'Hero'. Not everyone who served in previous wars and conflicts was, or wishes to be identified as 'a hero' but the equivalence of the word 'veteran' with 'hero' suggests a cultural impetus. It adds weight to public perceptions of obligation between the people and their armed forces. There is no distinction made between the soldier who risks life and limb in combat and the non-combatant support troops who work round the clock to feed and maintain him/her.[72] This has resonance with the 1890s, when the idealised Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans were all presented as 'heroes' regardless of their actual experiences.[73] Then and now their mere presence in the campaign was seen as a the sole qualification for the epithet.

Kriegel's 'living links' exist in our own time. The national ceremony on Remembrance Sunday, in Whitehall, after the official wreath laying, concludes with a mass march past of veterans.

---

71 *Today Programme*, BBC Radio4, 24 October 2019.

72 Since 2018 the British armed forces have admitted females in all roles including combat.

73 Non-combatant units, like the Land Transport Corps, and soldiers who came out in the spring of 1855, received the same medal as those who had endured the battles of 1854 and the awful winter. These were distinguished by the clasps on their medal ribbons.

The streets are always thronged with people regardless of the weather. In cities, towns and villages across the United Kingdom similar ceremonies are held. Veterans and civilians of all ages are drawn together by the occasion. Kate McLoughlin describes the veteran as 'a charged figure since antiquity' and a focal point for debate regarding what a community owes to those who serve it.[74]

They continue to be so and increasingly their sons and daughters can be seen wearing their fathers or grand-father's medals on the right side of their coats, to honour and remember them. The day will soon come when there will be no more veterans from the Second World War to march past the Cenotaph, but it remains to be seen if the national focus of remembrance will be maintained. Following them will be the veterans of the Korean War and the post-war campaigns of the 1950s and 1960s in Malaya and Borneo, Cyprus and Aden, Darfor and Oman. The National Arboretum in Staffordshire is full of memorials to those who have died in conflicts after 1945. That it exists at all, is indicative of the cultural need for, and investment in, remembrance in Britain.

There are clear resonances between the Victorian veteran and his modern equivalent in continuing debates about who should support the former soldier. In 2018, I was handed a flyer from a charity entitled 'Homeless Heroes Aid'. One of the illustrations on the leaflet, shows a man next to a hand-written cardboard notice with the heading 'Ex-British Soldier. Homeless 7 Weeks'. Details of his 11 years service covered the rest of the notice. In the bottom right hand corner were the words 'Please Help'. Bulmer and Eichler refer to the 'triumphant and heroic' representations of successfully reintegrated veterans and how they can be used to legitimize their deployment. They also observe that these representations sit alongside those of mental illness, alcoholism, homelessness and destitution.[75]

The destitute veteran has a long history. The inability of some to reintegrate into society because of mental trauma is a symptom well understood in this century. In the last century, after the First World War, the effects of 'shell shock' were impossible to ignore. For the traumatised veteran in the nineteenth century, little was known or understood about his condition and prospects were bleak.

Lifeline, a BBC programme that focuses on appeals for donations to charities, featured 'Walking with the Wounded' on 20 January 2019. Part of its content involved an interview with a veteran. He mentioned eight hour fire-fights and the loss of five of his closest friends. He found it impossible to share his experiences with civilians and was suffering depression and other mental health problems.[76]

74 McLoughlin, *Veteran Poetics*, p. 1.
75 Bulmer and Eichler, p. 168.
76 Nick Knowles, 'Walking with the Wounded', *Lifeline*, BBC1, 23 January 2019.

The following day the *Daily Telegraph* reported that veterans suffering from the symptoms of post traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) waited an average of four years before they sought treatment. In a survey Help for Heroes identified the reluctance of veterans to seek help due to a belief among them, that civilian services would not understand or support them.[77]

In Iraq and Afghanistan there was a scandal regarding the suitability of vehicles and equipment used by the British Army. As well as lives lost, the treatment of the wounded has been reported fully in the media. In the name of 'rationalisation' and economy the Army's own military hospitals have been closed. This led to military casualties in public wards in NHS hospitals and the Guardian headline: 'Scandal of Treatment for Wounded Iraq Veterans'.[78] Lord Guthrie described their treatment as a 'scandalous failure of care'.[79] The Ministry of Defence (MOD) claimed the decisions made were based on the availability of specialist medical care at Selly Oak Hospital. This may have been true, but it reveals an ignorance of, and lack of empathy for, the close-knit military culture and community. The nature of physical and mental wounds suffered by service personnel in modern warfare are unique. To some extent the disappearance of military and naval hospitals added to the trauma of the sick and wounded servicemen and women. Lord Guthrie's observation suggests a move away from the state's understanding of the value of hospitals specific to military and naval casualties. It contrasts sharply with the prevailing sentiments that led to the construction of Netly Hospital immediately after the Crimean War.

The vivid presentation of suffering has led to some veterans becoming national celebrities and they in turn exploit that celebrity to raise awareness, level criticism and attract funds. In this there is a thematic parallel with the named invalids of the Crimean War. Sergeant Dawson of the Grenadier Guards, for example, could be seen as the forerunner of Simon Weston of the Welsh Guards. The latter was terribly burnt in the *Sir Galahad* attack during the Falklands War. The story of his injuries and his recovery was documented and screened on television. The technologies of the twenty-first century have enabled real-time reportage of combat and instant communication from the theatre of war to home. The medical reports of catastrophic injuries suffered by soldiers in the Crimea, described in their discharge documents, and made public by the photography of Cundall and Howlett, have found their equivalence in modern media reportage and literature. Harry Parker's 2016 'Anatomy of a Soldier' is a biographically informed example related to his protagonist's double amputation.[80] Closer to my home, 'Pink Mist' by Owen Sheers, tells the story of three

77 Jamie Johnson, 'Veterans Wait Four Years to Seek PTSD Help', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 2019, p. 12.
78 Ned Temko and Mark Townsend, 'Scandal of Treatment for Wounded Iraq Veterans', *Guardian*, 11 March 2007, front page.
79 I trace the care of Crimean wounded in Glenn Fisher, 'Treatment of the Crimean Wounded', *The War Correspondent*, 28 (2010), 33–44.
80 Harry Parker, *Anatomy of a Soldier* (London: Faber & Faber, 2016).

Bristolians, Arthur, Hads and Taff, transformed into fighting soldiers and by their experiences in Afghanistan.[81]

Furthermore, the dissemination of details of soldiers' and veterans' experiences of suffering, via social media, has transformed the dialogue between military, political and civilian spheres with consequences that are still evolving.

This thesis has used previously unconsidered sources to fill in a missing section in the history of the veteran. It has shown the long duration of the difficult and delicate negotiation of the State's responsibility to its former military personnel and changing public attitudes towards the veteran. While some aspects and perceptions of the CIMVAB were distinctly Victorian – patriotic imperialism and the celebration of Crimean anniversaries – others are familiar to the twenty-first century treatment of veterans. June 2019 saw the 75th anniversary of the D. Day landings. There was extensive media coverage. Some three hundred Normandy veterans in their nineties, and even older, attended. With echoes of the *Punch* cartoon of 1908, historian Dan Snow, spoke of the overwhelming sense of gratitude expressed by the younger generations for the veterans. BBC correspondent Fergal Keane observed that 'war, once known, follows the veterans to the end of their lives'. Some rejected the description 'hero' and spoke of only doing their duty and their obligations to their friends. With resonances to Lara Kriegel's work on Victorian veterans as the last 'living links' of another time during the Great War, the reportage, in words and pictures, focused on the veterans as the last living links to a great battle and the commitment of future generations to honour their memory.[82]

On 8 May 2020, the seventy-fifth anniversary of VE Day, and in a global pandemic 'lockdown', the media in the United Kingdom focused on veteran survivors. On the BBC's *Today* programme, Mishal Husain interviewed the head of the British Army and Chief of the Defence Staff, General Sir Nick Carter. She raised the question regarding the treatment of some veterans and their pensions. Those Second World War armed forces pensioners who moved abroad have, as a consequence, had their pensions frozen. The General side-stepped the question regarding the propriety of this and directed it to politicians to answer.[83] As a locus for public feelings, debates about responsibility and funding, attitudes to war and peace, the veteran continues to be a charged figure.

81 Owen Sheers, *Pink Mist* (London: Faber & Faber, 2013).
82 *Remembering the Fallen*, D. Day 75th Anniversary Programmes, BBC1, 6 June 2019.
83 *Today Programme,* BBC Radio4, 8 May 2020.

Archival sources

Bristol Records Office (BRO)

Bow, Harry, *Diary*, January–July 1895, ref. 31416/3

Bristol Veterans Collection (BVC)

Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol (CIMVAB):

1541 TET, Letter from Walter S. Paul to James Fuller Eberle, 24 September 1908

1583 TET, Manuscript Letter, John Gamble to James Fuller Eberle, 2 November 1913

1601 TET, Correspondence, 1915

1663c TET, Manuscript Letter, 22 December 1914

1663d TET, Manuscript Letter, 4 January 1915

1663h TET, Manuscript Letter, 21 December 1914

1667 TET, Letter from James George to James Fuller Eberle, 30 October 1911

1677 TET, Newspaper Cutting, *Lydney Observer,* 3 July 1914

1698 TET, Manuscript Letter, 1 January 1913

1864 TET, Receipt from Henry Hill, printer of 11 St Thomas Street Bristol dated, 26 April 1914 for 400 copies at a total cost of £31.5s 6d

1873 TET, Printed Letter re Guard of Honour, 1912

1873 TET, Printed Notice re Royal Visit and Veterans' Caps and Gloves, 20 June 1912

2081 TET, Hand Written Letter, re William Porter from his Daughter to James Fuller Eberle, 1914

2305a TET, Portrait Photograph of James Graham, Royal Artillery

2361 TET, Rent Book, Mr John King, Bengough's Almshouses, Horfield Road, St Michael's, Bristol

2422 TET, Draft Letter from James Fuller Eberle to Lord Wraxall, 21 April 1928

Application forms:

0220 TSH, Walter Paul, Manuscript Record: Applications for Pensions Annual Lists, Bound Volume

0220 TSH, 18, Matthew Brogan, 49th regt.

0220 TSH, 19, Isaac Brooks, 6th Inniskilling Dragoons

0220 TSH, 22, William Burke, 1st Madras Fusiliers

0220 TSH, 34, Robert Cummings, 54th regt.

0220 TSH, 37, Charles Dent, Royal Artillery

0220 TSH, 40, William Eite, Rifle Brigade and 7th Fusiliers
0220 TSH, 50, William Harper, Royal Marines
0220 TSH, 54, John Johnson, Land Transport Corps
0220 TSH, 56, James Graham, Royal Artillery
0220 TSH, 61, William Lavington, Royal Navy
0220 TSH, 66, John McCarthy, 4th regt.
0220 TSH, 70, William Pearce, Royal Artillery
0220 TSH, 74, Thomas Piper, 67th and 19th regts.
0220 TSH, 115, Edward Winter, 56th regt.
0220 TSH, 125, John O'Brien, 9th regt.
0220 TSH, 131, Robert Staples, Royal Navy
0220 TSH, 134, George Francis, 21st Royal Scots Fusiliers
0220 TSH, 149, James Moorhouse, Royal Engineers
0220 TSH, 156, John Vincent, Royal Marines Artillery
0221 TSH, Pensions Record Book
0222 TSH, Committee Minute Book, 1904–1929
Committee Minute Book, Meeting, 7 July 1905
0223 TSH, Hand Written Journal of the C&IMVAB, 1892–1920
0226 TSH, Photograph: Clement Brophy
0227 TSH, Photograph: Thomas McKevery
0249 TSH, Programme, Fete of the Veterans
0254 TSH, *Commemorative Volume* (Bristol: Henry Hill, 1912)
0257 TSH, Year Book, 1899
K6349, 5 Framed Wooden Panels Containing 45 Painted Portraits of Bristol Crimea and Indian Mutiny Veteran Soldiers and Sailors, by George Edmund Butler, c. 1909
'Transcript of Obituary of Walter Stuckey Paul', *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 26 November 1925

General Register Office (GRO)
Census Returns for 10 St Luke's Crescent, Bristol, Bristol East, RG13/2364/14/20
Death Certificate, Maurice Barrett, Bristol vol. 6a, March ¼ 1907, p. 124
James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, HO107/358/14/7/9
James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, HO1-7/1956/532/1
James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG09/1743/112/24
James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG10/2577/41/22

James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG11/2509/100/26

James Stoneham, Census Returns for Chipping Sodbury, 1841, RG12/1994/81/18

John Lear, Census Returns for Bristol Workhouse (part of), Stapleton, Bristol, 1901, RG13/2395/138/18

Patrick Larkin, Census Returns for St Andrews and St James, 1901, RG02/2365/50/30

Robert Perry, Census Returns for 1 Silver Street, St James, Bristol, Gloucestershire, 1901, RG12/1963/12/18

Robert Perry, Census Returns for 17 Monk Street, St Agnes, Bristol, Gloucestershire, 1901, RG13/2400/113/6

William Lavington, Census Returns for 33 York Street, St Phillips and St Jacobs (out), Gloucestershire, Barton Regis, 1881, RG11/2500/55/8

William Lavington, Census Returns for 33 York Street, St Phillips and St Jacobs (out), Gloucestershire, Barton Regis, 1891, RG12/1985/7/7

William Lavington, Census Returns for Vessel 'Argos' Redcliffe, Bristol, 1901 RG13/2377/164

William Lavington, Census Returns for 16 Ranelagh Street, Barton Hill, St Phillips and St Jacobs, Bristol, 1911, RG14/15028/139

The National Archives (TNA)

HO144/775, Royal Title File

WO12/661, Muster Roll and Pay Lists 4th Light Dragoons, 1856–57

WO22/10, Royal Hospital Chelsea, Returns of Payments of Army Pension and other pensions, Bristol, 1856

WO23/61, Royal Hospital Chelsea, Admission Books, Registers and Papers, 1702–1876, 91st-109th Foot, 1865–1875

WO31/1442, Commander in Chief's Memoranda, Correspondence, December 1868

WO33/164, War Office: Reports, Memoranda and Papers (A & O series): Report of Committee on Special Campaign Pensions and Pensions for Soldiers Incapacitated by Climatic Disease

WO97/133, Chelsea Pensioners, British Army Service Records, 1760–1913, box 2009

WO97/1397/94, Discharge Documents 3028, pvt. James Stoneham, 4th Regiment

WO97/1407/112, Discharge Documents relating to James Redman, 7th Royal Fusiliers

WO97/1794/96, Discharge Documents, James Graham, Royal Artillery

WO97/2259/88, Discharge Documents, Private Maurice Barrett, 16th Regiment

WO97/6006/51, Francis Charles Stone, 2nd Battalion Gloucestershire Regiment, British Army Service Records, 1760–1913

WO159/19, Recruitment, Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State for War, private office papers, August 1914–May 1915
WO250/428, Royal Hospital Chelsea Board Meetings and Papers, Minute Books, 1 July 1891–30 June 1891

National Records of Scotland (NRS)
'Dundee Old Soldiers Union Friendly Society', FS4/1255/1–9
'Dundee Old Soldiers Union Friendly Society', FS4/1255/10

Royal Archives (RA)
Queen Victoria's Journal, RA/QVJ/VIC/MAIN, 22 February 1855, p. 119
Queen Victoria's Journal, RA/QVJ/VIC/MAIN, 3 March 1855, p. 144
Queen Victoria's Journal, RA/QVJ/VIC/MAIN, 16 May 1898, vol. 107, p. 16

Primary Texts

'Administrative Reform', *Illustrated London News*, 12 May 1855
'All That was Left of Six Hundred', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 15 April 1890
'Another Court Job', *Reynold's Newspaper*, 19 August 1883
'Appeal from Lord Roberts', *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, 8 January 1908
'The Army', *Illustrated London News*, 18 February 1854
'Army and Navy Veterans Association', *South Wales Echo*, 25 November 1895
'The Army Before Sebastopol', *Globe*, 13 March 1855
'Army Estimates 1891-2', *Hansard*, 25 June 1891
http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1891/jun/25/supply-army.
'Army Reform', *Farringdon Advertiser and Vale of the White Horse Gazette*, 28 February 1891
'Back From the Jaws of Death to Find the Gratitude of Their Country Dispensed in Workhouses', *Leeds Times*, 11 January 1890
'Balaclava Banquet', *Illustrated London News*, 25 October 1875, pp. 417–443
'Balaclava Heroes at Olympia', *London Daily News*, 3 July 1890
'Balaklava', *Punch*, 17 February 1855, p. 67
'Banners of Protest', *Daily Herald*, 21 July 1919
'Banquet to Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *South Wales Echo*, 30 August 1893

Benson, Arthur and Reginald Viscount Esher Brett, *The Letters of Queen Victoria* (London: John Murray, 1908)

'Bluejacket in Liverpool', *Bristol Mercury*, 26 September 1863

'Bogus Medals', *Shields Daily Gazette*, 6 October 1897

'Books &c., Received', *Army and Navy Gazette*, 2 March 1912

'The Boys of the Old Brigade', *South Wales Daily News*, 13 December 1894

'Bringing Contempt on the Queen's Uniform', *Bristol Times and Mirror*, 2 December 1897

'Bristol and the War', *Western Daily Press*, 31 August 1914

'Bristol War Veterans Association', *Western Daily Press*, 28 April 1894

'Bristol's New Recruiting Campaign', *Bristol and the War*, 19 December 1914

Bristow, Reverend W. E., *Banners of the Barrack-Room* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1908)

'Broadmead Rooms', *Western Daily Press*, 16 November 1864

'Budget of Facts', *Leeds Intelligencer*, 15 September 1860, p. 6

'Cardiff Veterans Club', *South Wales Daily News*, 14 October 1898

'The Charge of the Light Brigade', *Political Examiner*, 9 December 1854, p. 780

'A Chelsea Pensioner', *Jottings From My Sabretache* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), pp. 106–131

'The City Members and Their Constituents', *Dundee Advertiser*, 3 November 1890

'Civil and Military', *Star*, 9 May 1876

'The Claims of the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Dundee Courier*, 30 April 1890

Colonel Gildea, *For King and Country Being a Record of Funds and Philanthropic Work in Connection with the South African War, 1899-1902* (East Sussex: Naval and Military Press, repr. no date)

'The Coming of the Royalties to Leeds', *Leeds Times*, 22 September 1894

'Condition of the Army of the East', *The Times*, 23 December 1854

'A Convalescent from Inkerman', *Illustrated Times*, 1855

'Correspondence, Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 8 July 1893

'Correspondence: Our Veterans', *Dundee Advertiser*, 17 July 1890

'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Bristol Mercury*, 7 August 1893

'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Leeds Mercury*, 9 July 1891

'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Leeds Mercury*, 21 March 1892

'The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Leeds Mercury*, 3 October 1894

'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Morning Post*, 17 July 1891

'Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans', *Western Daily Press*, 23 May 1892

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’, *Western Daily Press*, 29 January 1894

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’, *Western Daily Press*, 5 March 1894

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association’, *Leeds Mercury*, 12 May 1892

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association (Bristol Branch)’, *Western Daily Press*, 19 March 1894

Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association Bristol, Commemorative Volume 1912 (Bristol: Henry Hill, 1912)

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Banquet’, *South Wales Daily News*, 25 September 1893

‘The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’ Pensions Movement’, *Western Daily Press*, 19 May 1892

‘The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’ Pension Movement’, *Western Daily Press*, 8 November 1892

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’ Pensions Movement’, *Western Daily Press*, 12 December 1892

‘The Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’ Pensions Movement’, *Yorkshire Gazette*, 25 June 1892

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Proposed Re-Union in Cardiff’, *South Wales Daily News*, 20 October 1894

‘Crimean and Indian Veterans’, *Aberdeen Evening Express*, 1 July 1891

‘Crimean and Indian Veterans’, *Dundee Advertiser*, 12 August 1890

‘Crimean and Indian Veterans’, *Gloucester Journal*, 2 January 1904

‘Crimean and Indian Veterans: Parade and Dinner at Sheffield’, *Sheffield Independent*, 15 February 1893

‘The Crimean Veterans Dinner: Proposed Formation of a Permanent Corps’, *South Wales Echo*, 26 November 1894

‘Death and Funeral of Sergeant Gamble 23rd Royal Welch Fusiliers’, *Lydney Observer*, 3 July 1914

‘Death of Another Local Veteran’, *Bristol Mercury*, 4 September 1900

Douglas, Sir George, and Sir George Dalhousie Ramsay, *Panmure Papers* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1908)

‘Dundee Old Soldier’s Grievances’, *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 20 March 1890

‘The English Regard for Heroism’, *Shields Daily Gazette*, 8 January 1890

‘The Evening News’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 22 May 1890

‘Farewell Orders by Colonel Goldsmid’, *South Wales Echo*, 13 April 1897

Flood, Lawrence, ‘England’s Heroes and the Balaclava Charge: Letter to the Editor’, *Manchester Courier*, 21 May 1890

Fusil, ‘The Army As It Is, and as it Ought To Be’, *United Services Magazine* (London: Henry Colburn, 1836), pp. 252–253

‘General Havelock’s Latest Victory’, *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, 17 October 1857

‘General News’, *Bradford Observer*, 22 April 1874

‘General News’, *Edinburgh Evening News*, 2 July 1890

‘General Wilkinson Puts His Foot in it’, *Leeds Times*, 29 September 1894

‘The Gloucestershire Regiment Memorial’, *Gloucester Journal*, 11 March 1905

Gowing, Timothy, *A Soldier’s Experience* (Nottingham: Foreman and Sons, 1901)

‘The Guard of the Veterans’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 12 September 1894

H. F. D., *Letters from the Crimea* (London: Norris & Son, 1855)

‘Here and There’, *Westmorland Gazette*, 11 January 1890

‘Honouring the Veterans’, *South Wales Daily News*, 25 November 1893

‘How the Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans are Treated by the War Office’, *Dundee, Perth, Forfar and Fife’s People’s Journal*, 7 November 1891

‘How We Testify Sympathy with Suffering Soldiers’, *The Times*, variously reprinted, eg. *Elgin and Morayshire Advertiser,* 20 October 1854

‘How We Treat Our Veterans’, *Bristol Mercury,* 18 November 1892

‘Imperial Parliament, Grants to Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’, *Western Daily Press*, 2 June 1893

‘Imperial Parliament, Petitions, Pensions to Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’, *Western Daily Press*, 24 March 1893

‘Indian and Crimean Veterans Entertained’, *South Wales Daily News*, 28 June 1902

‘Inquiry into the Alleged Abuses at the Andover Union Poor House’, *Hampshire Advertiser*, 6 September 1845

Isaiah 2.4

James, Henry, ‘The British Soldier’, *Lippincott’s Magazine* (Project Gutenberg, August 1878), pp. 214–221

‘The Kaffir and Basuto Campaigns of 1853 and 1853 by an Old Soldier who Served in them’, *Rifle Brigade Chronicle 1934*, ed. by Major H. Pearse (London: The Rifle Brigade Club and Association, 1935), pp. 219–243

‘The Last Charge of the Light Brigade’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 23 April 1890

‘The Leader of the Bristol Revolutionaries’, *Women’s Dreadnought*, 7 August 1920

Lee, Emanoel, *To The Bitter End: A Photographic History of the Boer War, 1899-1902* (London: Guild Publishing, 1985)

‘The Light Brigade’, *Glasgow Herald*, 20 May 1890

‘The Light Brigade Relief Fund’, *London Evening Standard*, 20 May 1890

‘Local News’, *Bristol Mercury and Daily Post*, 17 November 1893

‘Local News’, *Manchester Times*, 4 January 1890

‘Local Notes’, *Western Daily Press*, 27 June 1902

‘Local Notes’, *Western Daily Press*, 28 June 1902

‘London’, *The Times*, 12 October 1854

‘London Press Opinions’, *York Herald*, 11 September 1894

‘Lord Roberts and the Crimean Heroes’, *Yorkshire Evening Press*, 12 September 1894

‘Lord Roberts in Birmingham’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 15 December 1894

Loy Smith, George, *A Victorian RSM* (Winchester: Royal Hussars Museum, 1987)

‘The Mailed Fist of Australasia’, *Sphere*, 14 July 1900, p. 55

‘Man about Town’, *South Wales Echo*, 13 December 1894

‘Man about Town’, *South Wales Echo*, 7 November 1898

‘Meeting of Army Veterans in Sheffield’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 14 May 1892

‘Meeting of the Crimean and Indian Veterans’, *Leeds Times*, 22 September 1894

‘Men and Times’, *Sheffield Independent*, 16 February 1893

Messrs Moffat & Page, *Sporting Times*, 30 December 1899

‘Military and Volunteer Notes’, *South Wales Echo*, 25 August 1894

‘Military Notes’, *Leeds Mercury*, 6 October 1894

‘The Military Veterans Movement’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 27 October 1894

‘Mr Stanhope and the Light Brigade’, *Manchester Courier*, 26 June 1890

Mitchell, Albert, *Recollections of One of the Light Brigade, Late Sergeant in the 13th Light Dragoons* (Tunbridge Wells: Richard Pelton, 1884)

‘More Bristol Trams Attacked’, *Western Daily Press*, 28 April 1920

‘Morning Express’, *Leeds Mercury*, 21 September 1894

‘The Naval Visitors and Their Reception’, *Western Daily Press*, 2 July 1919

‘Nazi Flag Given to Bristol’, *Western Daily Press*, 7 November 1942

‘Neglected Military Veterans’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 9 August 1894

‘Neglected Veterans’, *Gloucester Chronicle*, 30 September 1905

‘The New Battalion’s Parade’, *Western Daily Press*, 22 September 1914

‘Newport Board of Guardians: Four Indian Mutiny Veterans in the Workhouse’, *South Wales Echo*, 30 September 1893

‘Niggardly Patriotism’, *Nottingham Evening Post*, 26 April 1890

‘No Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans Association in Hastings’, *Hastings and St Leonards Observer*, 7 July 1906

‘The Non-Commissioned Officers of the British Army’, *Illustrated London News*, 25 February 1854, p. 175

‘Notes on Current Topics’, *Yorkshire Post*, 14 October 1889

‘Oddfellows A. M. C’, *Bristol Mercury*, 25 May 1896

‘The Old Soldiers and Their Grievances’, *Dundee Courier*, 15 July 1890

‘Original Poetry’, *Falkirk Herald*, 15 February 1873

‘Our London Correspondence’, *Liverpool Mercury*, 24 May 1890

‘Our London Letter’, *Tiverton Gazette*, 2 January 1900

‘Our Old Soldiers’, *Dundee Courier*, 25 February 1891

‘Our Prospects’, *Morning Post*, 8 January 1873

‘Pensions for Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’, *Dundee People's Journal*, 24 December 1892

‘Pensions for Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 24 February 1892

‘Pensions for Military Veterans Meeting in Bristol’, *Western Daily Press*, 20 March 1893

‘People’s Opinions: How Our Old Soldiers are Treated’, *Dundee Perth Forfar and Fife People's Journal*, 15 February 1890

‘The People's Palace’, *Western Daily Press*, 4 January 1895

‘Politics and Society’, *Leeds Mercury*, 16 March 1892

‘Polytechnic Institution’, *Morning Post*, 16 May 1855

‘A Popular Bristolian’, *Bristol and the War*, 15 November 1915

Portsmouth Evening News, 3 December 1892, p. 2

‘Postscript’, *Evening Mail*, 29 December 1854

‘Queen Victoria to the Duke of Newcastle, 30 November 1854’, *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. by Arthur Christopher Benson and Viscount Esher, 3 vols (London: John Murray, 1908)

‘The Re-Assembling of Parliament’, *Illustrated London News*, 27 January 1855

‘Relief of Veterans’, *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent*, 29 July 1891

‘Relieved’, *Punch*, 15 January 1908, p. 47

Reports of the Sub-Committee Appointed by the Committee of Management of the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, for the Revision of Their Workhouse (London: Parish of St. Paul Covent Garden Committee of Management, 1831)

Robinson, R.N., Charles N., ‘An Ancient Military Charity’, *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 11 February 1899, p. 506

Robinson, R.N., Charles N., ‘The Navy and Army Diary’, *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 25 February 1899, p. 561

Robinson, R.N., Charles N., ‘Two Notable Guardsmen’, *Navy and Army Illustrated*, 20 December 1895, p. 18

‘The Royal Academy Exhibition 1874’, *Daily Telegraph and Courier*, 11 May 1874

‘Royal Collection’, *Queen Victoria’s Journal*, volume 107, 16 May 1898, p. 160

‘Royal Visit’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 10 September 1894

‘Royal Visit to Leeds, Meeting of Army Veterans’, *Leeds Mercury*, 24 September 1894

‘The Royal Visit to Leeds’, *Leeds Mercury*, 6 October 1894

‘Sad Death of a Crimean and Indian Hero’, *Dundee Evening Telegraph*, 1 January 1890

‘Sergeant Dawson’, *Illustrated Times*, 9 June 1855

‘Sheffield Army Veterans: A Noteworthy Muster’, *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, 15 February 1893

‘Soldiers Female Orphans’, *Illustrated London News*, 21 January 1854

The South African War Casualty Roll (Suffolk: J. B. Hayward & Son, 1982)

‘A Supplementary Ceremony’, *Western Daily Press*, 6 March 1905

‘The Survivors of Balaclava’, *Morning Post*, 30 June 1890

‘The Talk of Bristol’, *Bristol Mercury*, 6 March 1893

‘The Talk of Bristol’, *Bristol Mercury*, 30 October 1895

‘The Talk of Bristol’*, Bristol Mercury*, 7 January 1896

‘The Talk of Bristol’, *Bristol Mercury*, 5 May 1896

‘Tatler on Our Worn Out Soldiers and How We Treat Them, *Leeds Times*, 18 January 1890

‘The Thrilling Story of Sergeant John Gamble’, *South Wales Daily News*, 28 November 1893

‘Tommy Atkins Has His Innings’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 20 February 1891

‘Topics of the Day’, *Gloucester Citizen*, 16 April 1890

‘Topics of the Day’, *Western Daily Press*, 2 March 1908

‘Tuesday February 4th 1890’, *Peterhead Sentinel and General Advertiser for Buchan District*, 4 February 1890

‘Unemployed Reservists’, *Western Daily Press*, 10 March 1903

‘Veterans’, *Bristol Mercury*, 30 October 1894

‘Veterans’, *Western Daily Press*, 30 November 1894

‘Veterans at the People’s Palace’, *Bristol Mercury*, 4 November 1899

‘Veterans at Windsor’, *London Evening Standard*, 17 May 1898

‘Veterans Fund Mansion House Gathering’, *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, 19 March 1908

‘Veterans in Workhouses’, *Daily Telegraph & Courier*, 24 December 1907

‘The Veterans Movement in Birmingham’, *Birmingham Daily Post*, 16 December 1895

‘Veterans Pensions to be Increased’, *Western Daily Press*, 29 June 1906

‘Veterans Relief Fund Report’, *Morning Post*, 25 August 1909

‘Veteran’s Tragic Death’, *Western Daily Press*, 3 May 1904

War Office, *The Official Army List, January 1892* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1892)

‘What Shall it Profit a Man?’, *Daily Herald*, 18 July 1919

‘When Shall Their Glory Fade!’, *Northern Echo*, 8 January 1890

‘Widespread Admiration’, *Western Daily Press*, 16 May 1912

‘Widows, Orphans, Wounded and Reservists’, *Western Daily Press*, 28 October 1899

Wordsworth, William, *Wordsworth: Extracts From the Prelude, with Other Poems*, ed. by George Mallaby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932)

Wyndham, Horace, *The Queen’s Service or The Real Tommy Atkins* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1899)

‘Yorkshire Echoes’, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 15 March 1892

‘Yorkshire Echoes’, *Yorkshire Evening Post*, 27 September 1894

‘Young Tommy Atkins: A Personal Experience’, *Strand Magazine*, July–December 1891, pp. 239–247

Secondary Texts

Abbott, P. E., *Recipients of the Distinguished Conduct Medal 1855–1909* (Polstead: Hayward, 1987)

Adkin, Mark, *Goose Green* (London: Pen & Sword, 1992)

Anderson, Julie, *War, Disability and Rehabilitation in Britain: ‘Soul of a Nation’* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011)

Anderson, Olive, ‘The Janus Face of Mid-Nineteenth Century English Radicalism: The Administrative Reform Association of 1855’, *Victorian Studies*, 8.3 (1965), 231–242

Attridge, Steven, *Nationalism, Imperialism and Identity in Late Victorian Culture* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

Badsey, Stephen, ‘New Wars, New Press, New Country? The British Army: The Expansion of the Empire and the Mass Media, 1877–1918’, ‘Victorians at War New Perspectives’, *The Society for Army Historical Research*, special publication ed. by Ian Beckett (2007), 34–46

Basham, Victoria, ‘Gender, Race, Militarism and Remembrance: The Everyday Geopolitics of the Poppy’, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 6. 23 (2016), 883–896

Bates, Rachel, ‘“All Touched My Hand”: Queenly Sentiment and Royal Prerogative’, *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 20 (2015), [1–25]

— *Curating the Crimean War: The Cultural Afterlife of a Conflict* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Leicester, 2015)

— ‘Negotiating a Tangled Web of Pride and Shame’, *Museum and Society*, 13. 4 (2015), 503–517

Beckett, Ian, *The Amateur Military Tradition, 1558–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991)

Beckett, Ian, *The Victorians at War* (London: Hambledon and London, 2003)

Berridge, A. L., 'Off the Chart: The Crimean War in British Public Consciousness', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies of the Long Nineteenth Century*, 20 (2015), [1–23]

Bet-El, Ilana R., *Conscripts: Lost Legions of the Great War* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999)

Bew, John, *Citizen Clem* (London: Riverrun, 2017)

Bingham, John, 'Walter Mitty Veterans Should be Jailed, Says MPs', *Daily Telegraph*, 22 November 2016

Borg, Alan, *War Memorials* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991)

Bow, W. H., *The Diary of a Bristolian, 1893* (Bristol: Engart Press, 1986)

Boyden, Peter B., *Tommy Atkins' Letters Home: The History of the British Army Postal Service from 1795* (London: National Army Museum, 1990)

Brown, Colin, *The Scum of the Earth: What Happened to the Real British Heroes of Waterloo?* (Stroud: Spellmount, 2015)

Bruce, Anthony, *The Purchase System in the British Army, 1660–1871* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1980)

Bulmer, Sarah, and Maya Eichler, 'Unmaking Militarized Masculinity: Veterans and the Project of Military-to-Civilian Transition', *Critical Military Studies*, 2.3 (2017), 161–181

Burnham, Paul, 'The Radical Ex-servicemen of 1918', *The Great War: Localities and Regional Identities*, ed. by Nick Mansfield and Craig Horner (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), pp. 27–52

Campbell, James, 'Combat Gnosticism: The Ideology of First World War Criticism', *New Literary History*, 30 (1999), 203–215

Carden-Coyne, Ana, *The Politics of Wounds* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014)

Casey, Patrick, and Richard Hale, *For College Club and Country: A History of Clifton Rugby Football Club* (London: MX Publishing, 2009)

Childs, John, *The Army of Charles II* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1976)

Cormack, Andrew, *'These Meritorious Objects of the Royal Bounty': The Chelsea Out-Pensioners in the Early Eighteenth Century* (London: Andrew Cormack, 2017)

Costello, Kevin, and Richard Burley, *Charity on Camera: A Photographic Survey of the City Properties of the Bristol Municipal Charities* (Derby: Breedon Books Publishing Company, 1997)

Daniell, David Scott, *Cap of Honour* (Stroud: Sutton, 2005)

Dannatt, Richard, *Boots on the Ground: Britain and Her Army Since 1945* (London: Profile Books Ltd., 2017)

Das, Santanu, and Kate McLoughlin, *The First World War: Literature, Culture, Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018)

David, Saul, *All the King's Men: The British Soldier from Restoration to Waterloo* (London: Penguin Viking, 2012)

— *The Homicidal Earl* (London: Little Brown and Company, 1997)

Dawson, Graham, *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imaginings of Masculinities* (London: Routledge, 1994)

Dereli, C., *A War Culture in Action: A Study of the Literature of the Crimean Period* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2003)

Dixon, Thomas, *The Invention of Altruism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

Douet, James, *British Barracks, 1600–1914* (Norwich: The Stationary Office, 1998)

Favret, Mary A., 'Coming Home: The Public Spaces of Romantic War', *Studies in Romanticism*, 33 (1994), 539–548

Fisher, Glenn, 'Crimean Dodge and a Lock of Hair', *The War Correspondent*, 35 (2017), 35–39

— 'Queen Victoria's Heroes: Parts 1 & 2', *The War Correspondent*, 29.4 (2012), 16–21 and 30.1 (2012), 16-25

— 'Rifleman John Fisher', *The War Correspondent*, 29 (2011), 10–17

— 'Treatment of the Crimean Wounded', *The War Correspondent*, 28 (2010), 33–44

Forster, Anthony, 'The Military Covenant and British Civil-Military Relations: Letting the Genie Out of the Bottle', *Armed Forces and Society*, 38.2 (2011), 273–290

French, David, *Military Identities: The Regimental System, the British Army & the British People, c.1870-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Furneaux, Holly, *Military Men of Feeling: Emotion, Touch and Masculinity in the Crimean War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016)

Gernsheim, Helmut, and Alison, *Roger Fenton: Photographer of the Crimean War* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1954)

Girouard, Mark, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry and the English Gentleman* (London: Yale University Press, 1981)

Gorsky, Martin, 'Mutual Aid and Civil Society: Friendly Societies in Nineteenth Century Bristol', *Urban History*, 25.3 (1998), 302–322

Gorsky, Martin, *Patterns of Philanthropy: Charity and Society in Nineteenth Century Bristol* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999)

Greenacre, Francis, *The Bristol School of Artists: Francis Danby and Painting in Bristol, 1810–1840* (Bristol: City Museum and Art Gallery, 1973)

Guise, Hilary, *Great Victorian Engravings* (London: Astragal Books, 1980)

Hall, Donald, *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994)

Harries-Jenkins, Gwynn, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977)

Harris, John, *The Somme: Death of a Generation* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1966)

Hichberger, J. W. M., *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988)

Higbee, Douglas, 'Practical Memory: Organized Veterans and the Politics of Commemoration', *British Popular Culture and the First World War*, ed. by Jessica Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 195–216

Hobsbawm, E. J., *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour* (London: Weidenfeld Goldbacks, 1968)

Holmes, Richard, *Redcoat: The British Soldier in the Age of Horse and Musket* (London: Harper Collins, 2001)

Hopkins, Eric, *A Social History of the English Working Classes, 1815–1945* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979)

Ingham, Sarah, *The Military Covenant: Its Impact on Civilian-Military Relations in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2016)

Jenkins, K. Neil, Nick Megoran, Rachel Woodward and Daniel Ros, 'Wootton Bassett and the Political Spaces of Remembrance and Mourning', *Area*, 3.4 (2012), 356–363

Johnson, Jamie, 'Veterans Wait Four Years to Seek PTSD Help', *Daily Telegraph*, 21 January 2019

Kaye, M. M., *Rudyard Kipling: The Complete Verse* (London: Kyle Cathie, 1990)

Keller, Ulrich, *The Ultimate Spectacle: A Visual History of the Crimean War* (London: Routledge, 2001)

Kidd, Alan, *State, Society and the Poor in Nineteenth-Century England* (Hampshire: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1999)

Kipling, Rudyard, *Barrack-Room Ballads and Other Verses*, centenary edition (London: Methuen, 1892; repr. 1992)

Kriegel, Lara, 'Living Links to History, or, Victorian Veterans in the Twentieth-Century World', *Victorian Studies*, 2.58 (2016), 289–301

— 'The Strange Career of Fair Play, or Warfare and Gamesmanship in the Time of Victoria', *Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*, ed. by Juliet John (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 268–281

Lalumia, Matthew, *Realism and Politics in Victorian Art of the Crimean War* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1984)

Lee, Louise, 'Deity in Dispatches: The Crimean Beginnings of Muscular Christianity', *Religion, Literature and Imagination* ed. by Mark Knight and Louise Lee (London: Continuum, 2009), pp. 57–74

Longford, Elizabeth, *Victoria* (London: Abacus, 2000)

Low, Valentine, 'More Sad Homecomings but the Public Mood is Changing', *The Times*, 11 November 2009

Lummis, William M., and Kenneth G. Wynn, *Honour the Light Brigade* (London: Hayward, 1973)

MacCarthy, R., *The Romance of the Boer War: Humours and Chivalry of the Campaign* (London: Elliot Stock, 1901)

MacKenzie, John M., *Popular Imperialism and The Military, 1850–1950* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)

McCarthy, Helen, 'The Military Covenant and the Civil-Military Contract in Britain', *International Affairs*, 86.2 (2010), 411–428

McDonald, Lynn, *Florence Nightingale and The Crimean War* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010)

McLintock, Anne, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1995)

McLoughlin, Kate, *Authoring War: The Literary Representation of War from Iliad to Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

— *Veteran Poetics: British Literature in the Age of Mass Warfare, 1790–2015* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018)

Mallinson, Allan, 'Uniting Comrades Past, Present and Future', *The Times*, 13 November 2010, p. 117

Mann, Michael, *The Veterans* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 1997)

Markovits, Stefanie, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Mather, F. C., 'Army Pensioners and the Maintenance of Civil Order in Early Nineteenth-Century England', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 36 (1958), 110–124

Mayhew, Henry, *London Labour and the London Poor*, ed. by Robert Douglas-Fairhurst ([1851]; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

Medal Yearbook 2013, ed. by John W. Mussell (Honiton: Token Publishing, 2013)

Merritt, Douglas, and Francis Greenacre with Katherine Eustace, *Public Sculpture of Bristol* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011)

Newton, H. C., *Idols of the Halls* (Wakefield: EP Publishing, 1975)

Nicholls, Dominic, 'MoD Accused of "Immoral" Failure to Provide for Armed Forces Families', *Daily Telegraph*, 25 September 2019

Nielsen, Caroline, *The Chelsea Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Out-Pensioners: Image and Reality in Eighteenth Century and Early Nineteenth Century Social Care* (unpublished doctorial theses, Newcastle University, 2014)

— 'Continuing to Serve: Representations of the Elderly Veteran Soldier in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *Men After War*, ed. by Stephen McVeigh and Nicola Cooper (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 18–35

Opie, Robert, *Rule Britannia: Trading on the British Image* (Middlesex: Viking, 1985)

Owen, David, *English Philanthropy, 1660–1960* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965)

Paget, Julien, *No Problem Too Difficult: The History of the Forces Help Society and Lord Roberts Workshops* (Hampshire: Julien Paget, 1999)

Parker, Harry, *Anatomy of a Soldier* (London: Faber & Faber, 2016)

Parkes, Simon, 'Wooden Legs and Tales of Sorrow Done: The Literary Broken Soldier of the Late Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth Century Studies*, 36 (2013), 191–207

Pike, W. T., *Bristol in 1898: Contemporary Biographies* (Brighton: W. T. Pike and Co., 1898)

Poovey, Mary, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (London: Virago Press, 1988)

Raugh, Harold E., 'The Battle of the Books: An Indian Mutiny Historiography', *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, 380 (2016), 294–313

Reese, Peter, *Home-Coming Heroes: An Account of the Re-assimilation of British Military Personnel into Civilian Life* (London: Leo Cooper, 1992)

Richardson, Ruth, *Dickens and the Workhouse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012)

Riding, Jacqueline, *Peterloo* (London: Apollo Books, 2018)

Rogers, Col. H. C. B., *The British Army of the Eighteenth Century* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1977)

Rumsby, John, 'Making Choices: Constructing a Career in the Ranks of the Early Victorian Army', *Victorians at War: New Perspectives*, ed. by Ian Beckett, Special edition, 16 (The Society for Army Historical Research, 2007), 23–33

Russell, David, '"We Carved Our Way to Glory": The British soldier in Music Hall Song and Sketch, c. 1880-1914', *Popular Imperialism and the Military, 1850–1950*, ed. by John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 50–79

Sabbagh, Dan, 'Army Targets Poorer Under-18s to Fill Ranks', *Guardian*, 22 August 2019

Sheers, Owen, *Pink Mist* (London: Faber & Faber, 2013)

Skelley, Alan Ramsay, *The Victorian Army at Home* (Montreal: Croom Helm Ltd., 1977)

Smith, Malcolm, *Britain and 1940: History, Myth and Popular Memory* (Oxford: Routledge, 2000)

Snape, Michael, *The Redcoat and Religion* (Oxford: Routledge, 2005)

The South African War Casualty Roll (Suffolk: J. B. Hayward & Son, 1982)

Spiers, Edward, *The Army and Society, 1815–1914* (London: Longman, 1980)

— *The Late Victorian Army, 1868–1902* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992)

Stearn, Roger, 'War Correspondents and Colonial War, c. 1870-1900', *Popular Imperialism and the Military*, ed. by John MacKenzie (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 139–161

Strachan, Hew, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830–54* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984)

Sweetman, John, *Raglan: From the Peninsula to the Crimea* (London: Arms and Armour Press, 1993)

— *War and Administration: The Significance of the Crimean War for the British Army* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1984)

Tampke, Jürgen, *A Perfidious Distortion of History* (London: Scribe Publications 2017)

Temko, Ned, and Mark Townsend, 'Scandal of Treatment for Wounded Iraq Veterans', *Guardian*, 11 March 2007, front page

Thompson, E. P., *The Making of the English Working Class* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1982)

Turner, David, *Disability in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Routledge, 2017)

Uglow, Jenny, *In These Times: Living in Britain Through Napoleon's Wars, 1793–1815* (London: Faber & Faber, 2014)

Usherwood, Paul, and Jenny Spencer-Smith, *Lady Butler Battle Artist 1846–1933* (London: Alan Sutton, 1987)

Van Emden, Richard, and Steve Humphries, *Veterans* (Barnsley: Leo Cooper 1998)

Warner, Phillip, *Fields of War* (London: Book Club Associates, 1977)

Winstock, Lewis, *Songs and Music of the Redcoats 1642–1902* (London: Leo Cooper, 1970)

Winter, Jay, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Woodham-Smith, Cecil, *The Great Hunger, Ireland 1845–9* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1964)

Wootton, Graham, *The Official History of the British Legion* (London: Macdonald & Evans, 1956)

Online Articles

‘Amnesty for Veterans Won’t be in Queen’s Speech’, *BBC News* (12 October 2019) https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-50026951 [accessed 20/11/2020]

‘Press Release: PM Creates New Office for Veterans’ Affairs to Provide Lifelong Support to Military Personnel’, *Government News and Communication* (29 July 2019) https://www.gov.uk/government/news/pm-creates-new-office-for-veterans-affairs-to-provide-lifelong-support-to-military-personnel [accessed 20/11/2020]

Kings Centre for Military Health Research https://www.kcl.ac.uk/kcmhr/publications/reports/index [accessed 20/11/2020]

‘Crimean and Indian Mutiny Veterans: Commons Chamber Questions’, *House of Commons Hansard*, vol 2 (8 March 1892) https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1892-03-08/debates/1dbb9026-e67c-44c8-9e69-fc71454f0bd7/CrimeanAndIndianMutinyVeterans [accessed 20/11/2020]

Hiberman, Anatoly, ‘Old Slang: Rogue’, *OUP Blog*, 12 May 2013 https://blog.oup.com/2010/05/old-slang-rogue/ [accessed 20/11/2020]

Thurley, Djuna, ‘Old Age Pensions Act 1908: Research Briefing’, *House of Commons Library*, SN4871 (12 August 2008), pp. 1–13 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/sn04817/ [accessed 20/11/2020]

‘Support for UK Veterans: House of Commons Briefing Paper’, *House of Commons Library*, No. 7693 (5 November 2020), pp. 1–61 https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-7693/ [accessed 20/11/2020]

‘Bristol Town Council, 1835–2000’, *Bristol Historical Resource* http://humanities.uwe.ac.uk/bhr/Main/abstract_politics/Politics%203.htm [accessed 20/11/2020]

‘Military Pensions: Commons Chamber Questions’, *House of Commons Hansard*, Vol. 2 (14 March 1892), cc. 736–7 https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1892-03-08/debates/1dbb9026-e67c-44c8-9e69-fc71454f0bd7/CrimeanAndIndianMutinyVeterans [accessed 20/11/2020]

Matthew, H. C. G., ‘Stanhope, Edward’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26245 [accessed 20/11/2020]

‘Mr. Otway’, ‘Mutiny Bill – Committee’, *House Of Commons Hansard*, vol. 191, 26 March 1868, cc. 321–6 (cc. 321–232) https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1868-03-26/debates/1a3c28e9-b353-40d8-9d90-fb6e9e1f56b7/MutinyBill%E2%80%94Committee [accessed 20/11/2020]

Media Broadcasts

Knowles, Nick, 'Walking with the Wounded', *Lifeline*, BBC1, 23 January 2019

Macmillan, Margaret, 'The Mark of Cain', *War and Society*, BBC Reith Lectures, BBC Radio4, 28 July 2018

Macmillan, Margaret, 'The Mark of Cain: War and Humanity', *War and Society*, BBC Reith Lectures, BBC Radio4, 30 June 2018

'Remembering the Fallen', *D. Day 75th Anniversary Programmes*, BBC1, 6 June 2019

Today Programme, BBC Radio4, 1 February 2019

Today Programme, BBC Radio4, 24 October 2019

Today Programme, BBC Radio4, 8 May 2020