The Pen and the Sword: The Development of Military Periodicals and Military Professionalisation, 1790-1914

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the University of Greenwich for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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DECLARATION

I certify that the work contained in this thesis, or any part of it, has not been accepted in substance for any previous degree awarded to me, and is not concurrently being submitted for any degree other than that of Doctor of Philosophy being studied at the University of Greenwich. I also declare that this work is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise identified by references and that the contents are not the outcome of any form of research misconduct.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis will answer a number of questions regarding the development of military periodicals from 1790 to 1914. It will explore why they emerged when they did, the different forms that they took, and how they fitted into the wider publishing environment. Alongside that, it will investigate those people who were involved with these publications, the proprietors, publishers, printers, contributors and readers, including how they were purchased and where they were read. Finally it will look at the role that military periodicals played in the development of professional identity within the military during this period. In doing all this it will establish the intersections between the military, the media, and civil society during the long nineteenth century.

The body of the thesis itself has four distinct sections. The first chapter deals with the methods, concepts and subjects that underpin the project, and covers many issues common to periodicals studies, while also raising some of the challenges unique to researching military periodicals. Chapters Two and Three form a second section comprising a chronological outline of the development of military periodicals, looking at the variety of forms, styles and roles that these publications took. They will investigate periodicals produced by commercial publishers, religious organisations, military institutions, and British army regiments. Chapters Four and Five constitute the third section. They take a thematic approach, investigating how military periodicals engaged with a number of the important issues of the day, including war, peace, peacetime preparedness, and professional identity. The conclusion will draw together the different strands discussed in all of the chapters, showing common themes and issues that run through the thesis. Importantly it will also indicate areas for future research.

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Chapter One: Introductory Chapter

Introduction

This thesis will answer a number of questions regarding the development of military periodicals from 1790 to 1914. It will explore why they emerged when they did, the different forms that they took, and how they fitted into the wider publishing environment. Alongside that, it will investigate those people who were involved with these publications, the proprietors, publishers, printers, contributors and readers, including how they were purchased and where they were read. Finally it will look at the role that military periodicals played in the development of professional identity within the military during this period. In doing all this it will establish the intersections between the military, the media, and civil society during the long nineteenth century.

Periodicals studies is itself a relatively young branch of research developing in the 1960s. Michael Wolff, in his essay entitled 'Charting the Golden Stream: thoughts on a directory of Victorian Periodicals', which is often seen as a founding document of the movement, clearly indicated how he felt that these publications had been underutilised:

> journals have rarely been thought of as independent pieces of evidence but rather as attachments or appendages to movements or to people important in their own right – they have been seen as secondary confirming evidence and not as primary representative sources.[1]

If periodicals in general used to be much neglected by researchers, then military periodicals still are. Like many specialist publications, they have not received even the level of interest from scholars that has been given to well-known newspapers like the *Times*[2], or to periodicals with links to canonical authors such as Dickens or Thackeray[3]. By military history these periodicals have been used, though that use is almost exclusively limited to mining for

[1] Wolff, "Charting the Golden Stream', p. 28.
[2] See Andrew Hobbs' article on the problematic overuse of the *Times* as a historical source: Hobbs, 'The Deleterious Dominance of *The Times* in Nineteenth-Century Scholarship', pp. 472-497.
[3] Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age,* p. 28

facts and information, and little interest has been shown in the periodicals themselves or how they fitted into the military environment of the time. In this thesis I recover the publications as historical artefacts, assessing their publication and use, as well as their contents and dissemination.

This type of work requires an interdisciplinary approach, crossing the borders between media history and military history, and drawing on elements from a much wider range of disciplines that include literature, economic history, social history, gender studies and sociology. This has proved challenging methodologically, requiring an understanding of a number of different approaches, but it has also really pushed me to imbed the periodicals that I am studying right at the centre of everything I do. While I have gained a broad understanding of the nineteenth-century military and the environment in which they operated, I have also developed a deep knowledge of the publications that emerged to serve them. Because of the nature of my research I have felt it important to clearly outline the parameters of what I am doing. This requires a longer introduction than is the norm for a humanities dissertation, and so I have chosen to present it as an introductory chapter, giving it as much weight as the rest of my thesis.

Thesis Outline

The body of the thesis itself has four distinct sections. This first chapter deals with the methods, concepts and subjects that underpin the project, and covers many issues common to periodicals studies, while also raising some of the challenges unique to researching military periodicals.

Chapters Two and Three form a second section comprising a chronological outline of the development of military periodicals, looking at the variety of forms, styles and roles that these publications took. Chapter Two focuses on those periodicals produced from outside of the military, by interested individuals, commercial publishers and religious organisations. It looks at how, while the commercial imperative was strong, other forces were also at work,

including the desire for accountability of the military hierarchy, the need for voices advocating for improved conditions, and the strong sense of the military forming part of local society. Chapter Three explores the later development of semi-official and official military periodicals, produced by military institutions and regiments. It focuses on the role that military periodicals played in the development of professional education, and their importance as a tool of creating, communicating and maintaining esprit de corps.

Chapters Four and Five constitute the third section. They take a thematic approach, investigating how military periodicals engaged with a number of the important issues of the day. Chapter Four's focus is one that seems central to the military, war, but it also looks at the huge range of content that engaged with peacetime experience and non-military topics. Chapter Five explores the role that military periodicals played in negotiating and disseminating ideas about professional identity, and how that interacted with notions of martial masculinity. Both chapters demonstrate that military periodicals were active agents in the creation of ideas, identities and communities, and also that they provided a voice for a wide range of differing and often contradictory viewpoints.

The conclusion will draw together the different strands discussed in all of the chapters, showing common themes and issues that run through the thesis. Importantly it will also indicate areas for future research.

Finally, some of the most important information within this thesis comes at the end of the thesis. The Title List, which is included as an appendix, pp. 284-300, provides key data about the periodicals that this research centres on, in particular charting dates and title changes and will be referred to throughout the thesis.

Introductory Chapter

This chapter will begin by establishing the parameters of the research project, before providing three different literature reviews, covering the main disciplines of this interdisciplinary project: military periodicals, periodicals studies, and military history. It will then give an explanation of and reflection on the methodologies used, and a brief history of the military during the long nineteenth century, illustrating some of the key events and issues that shaped the development of military periodicals, and demonstrating the variety of experiences faced by officers and men at the time. Finally it will outline some of the key concepts in periodicals studies, looking at issues such as frequency of publication, readership and political orientation, and seeing how military periodicals fitted into the wider environment.

Parameters

I begin my survey in 1793, as this is the year that the first military periodical appeared. I had initially thought to start in 1815, at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, providing a neat hundred-year time-span to cover, but those preceding twenty years felt too important to ignore, and ultimately provided a rich and fascinating background to where the later publications came from. The end date of 1914 was more straightforward, and has continued to feel like the correct place to stop throughout the development of my research. The outbreak of World War One has often been characterised as a break in history. While nothing is ever quite that clear cut, it is true that the war itself was very different from those that had been fought before, and it had a huge impact on the military, which had to adapt to mass mobilisation and industrial warfare. It also caused significant changes to the production of military periodicals. Many publications were suspended, or appeared more irregularly, and other new publications sprang up, particularly trench newspapers and journals aligned to the newly formed regiments that came about because of conscription. To discuss these changes is a research project in itself, and

some work has already been undertaken in this area[4], so it seems sensible to stop at the point before war breaks out.

Secondly, deciding what should be studied under the title of 'periodicals' can be challenging. While dictionary definitions tend to broadly include any publications that are published regularly or periodically, including newspapers, magazines and scholarly journals, past studies of print history have often drawn finer distinctions. Publications have often been separated into two different categories, with their own unique schools of study and methodologies. As Laurel Brake states,

> Until recently, most histories of the nineteenth-century press fell into the categories of newspaper history (normally undertaken by historians) *or* periodical studies (often emerging from departments of literature or art history). Distinct methodologies in newspaper and periodical studies echoed their respective disciplinary origins.[5]

The term 'periodical' is indeed often used interchangeably with 'journal' or 'serial', and even within these larger terms there are distinctions drawn between 'newspapers', 'magazines', 'reviews', 'journals', and 'annuals'. These discrete types of publication, it has been argued, were often aimed at different audiences, frequently based on gender and class and were seen to exert varying types and levels of influence. [6] These differences are central to our understanding of how these publications functioned and cannot be ignored in any study of the periodical press. While the increasing prominence of media history has allowed these lines to be blurred, it can still feel as though borderlines are being breached rather than ceasing to exist.

Professional publications, such as those produced for military readerships, often straddled these distinctions, and utilised the various formats for different purposes. Therefore, within this study I am going to use the word 'periodical' in its widest sense, including newspapers and magazines, as well as

[4] See for example: Ivelaw-Chapman, *The Riddles of Wipers;* Nelson, *German Soldier Newspapers of the First World War;* Seal, *The Soldiers' Press;* Pegum, John. 'British Army trench journals and a geography of identity'.
[5] Brake, 'Markets, Genres, iterations', p. 238.
[6] Ibid, p. 237.

professional and scholarly journals. The distinct types of periodical will nonetheless be recognised and addressed, and the diversity of publications will hopefully serve to illustrate the different methods and aims of those involved in military publishing. I hope this will also serve to problematize some of the categorisation that has previously taken place when looking at periodicals, demonstrating that different formats were read across gender and class, and that single publications could fulfil the roles often ascribed to very different types of periodical.

A further layer of definition is needed when thinking about what constitutes a 'military periodical'. Many newspapers and periodicals dealt with military news and military subjects, but alongside a wide range of general news: the military was not a dominant theme. Similarly, some publications (like Newnes's *Navy and Army Illustrated*) contained exclusively military content but were not aimed at an exclusively military audience. My focus is on periodicals that self-consciously market themselves to a military readership, or which deal predominantly with military subjects, but I have also included a number of publications that focus on specific conflicts even where their readership appears more general. While I occasionally touch on periodicals aimed at the Militia, the Yeomanry or the Volunteers, these have not been central to my research, and in general I have concentrated on titles that related to the professional branches of the British army. And while I have included a few titles that were produced overseas, this is only ever in relation to the British empire, and titles that were aimed at the British military.

Literature Reviews

Because of the interdisciplinary approach of this research project, it is important to outline the pertinent work that has already been done across three separate areas. The first is the narrow focus of this thesis: military periodicals. The other two are the wider fields of Periodicals Studies and Military History. I have utilised material produced in all of these fields to help

me understand the contexts in which military periodicals were produced and consumed, and also to give me some insight into the influences that the periodicals themselves had.

There are subjects and materials that I have left out of these introductory literature reviews. Each of the chapters that follow deals with different themes and topics, ranging from the development of periodicals to military education, and from specific military conflicts to gender studies. Where necessary, there will be a short literature review covering those topics at the start of a chapter or section. Here I want to focus on those works which have impacted my thesis more generally, and which have guided my research across chapters.

Military Periodicals

Military periodicals alongside other specialist professional and trade publications have long been neglected by researchers. To date, only four works have focussed entirely on military publications. The first, an unpublished bibliography produced by Frederick H. Lake, is fairly comprehensive in its coverage, listing a large number of military periodicals that were published from 1660 to 1981, including some that now exist only as references in other material. His entries are, however, minimal in detail (his bibliography was a thesis submitted for a fellowship of the Library Association, and therefore contains only the bibliographic detail required by library catalogues); they are arranged in such a way that requires a detailed understanding of military organisation; and the bibliography is only available at four locations[7] and in hard copy (and is therefore not searchable). I have also discovered a small number of titles that are not included in his work, and a number of errors and inconsistencies. Despite these, his bibliography has proved invaluable to my own research, acting as a base on which to build my own bibliographic database, an on-going project, which adds to and amends the basic data that he provided.

[7] The Institute of Historical Research, University of London; The Imperial War Museum; The National Army Museum; and The British Library.

The second work is a chapter by Albert Tucker on military periodicals contained within one of the guides to nineteenth century periodicals edited by J. Don Vann and Rosemary Van Arsdel, *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*[8]. The chapter is part of a larger section investigating how a range of 'professions' saw, used and interacted with Victorian periodicals, and provides a very useful and broad context for any study of 'professional publications'. Tucker's chapter provides a succinct history of the military periodical press from the end of the Napoleonic Wars until the start of the twentieth century, and provides brief introductions to some of the period's periodicals. It is, however, very much an introduction to the subject – Tucker deals with only 31 titles, where I have identified over 200. It therefore provides more of a brief introduction to the subject than an in-depth investigation. Once again, however, it has acted as a valuable jumping off point for my own research, particularly in outlining some basic information about a few of the important characters involved in producing these publications.

The third work is T.R. Moreman's chapter on military periodicals in India included in Finkelstein and Peers' *Negotiating India in the Nineteenth Century Media*. Its narrow geographic coverage is clearly indicated by its title ('The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98'), but in fact its focus is even narrower - on just one late Victorian periodical, the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* (1871-). A few other periodicals are mentioned but only to place the one journal in context.[9] Again, the information provided is helpful, but in this case such a restricted coverage means it has limited use even when looking at the imperial aspect of military periodicals production.

The final work is a chapter in Huw Strachan's book *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54*[10], entitled 'The Identity of the

[8] Tucker, 'Military', pp.62-80.
[9] Moreman, 'The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98', pp. 210-232.
[10] Hereafter referred to as *Reform of the British Army.*

Reformers'[11]. This has been one of the most useful books for any area of my research that focuses on the first half on the nineteenth century, and I have used it extensively. The chapter looks at a wide range of forces that influenced ideas and policy in the British army during the period, but places military newspapers and journals at the centre of the reforming movement.[12] It discusses only 10 titles, but goes into detail about who founded and contributed to them, and also demonstrates that key figures in the military hierarchy were reading and interacting with the publications[13]. This is the only work to date that engages with the context in which these military periodicals existed.

While limited in number, what these works do collectively is provide the basic groundwork for further research, illustrating the wealth of material, but also the lack of any comprehensive study on the subject.

Periodicals Studies

A good place to start when undertaking any research into nineteenth century periodicals is with three of the large reference works that have been compiled and edited over the last fifty years or so. *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals, 1824-1900,* a collaborative project that began in 1965, aims to provide 'an index to the authorship of articles, and a bibliography of articles written by each contributor, and using each pseudonym.'[14] Its current avatar is as an online database, to which has been added the *Curran Index,* which provides corrections and additions to the original document. At this point in time it includes the contributions to '45 important monthly and quarterly titles'[15] and covers the period from 1824 to the end of the century (with the exception of *The Edinburgh Review,* where coverage starts in 1802). This is a huge piece of scholarship, and yet its scope is still very limited, illustrating just

[11] Strachan, *The Reform of the British Army,* pp. 6-49.
[12] Ibid, p. 20.
[13] Ibid, p. 26.
[14] 'About the Wellesley Index', *The Wellesley Index,* 2015. [accessed 11th September 2015: http://wellesley.chadwyck.com/marketing/about.jsp]
[15] Ibid.

how vast the field is and how much work is involved in comprehensively researching and indexing even a small part of the whole. None of the 45 titles included are military periodicals, and therefore this database has been of very limited use for this project.

The *Waterloo Directories* to Victorian English, Scottish and Irish periodicals, comprise a series of bibliographies listing entries for periodicals produced in those countries between 1800 and 1900. It was a collaborative effort, overseen by John North, and has scoured the collections of a number of libraries and institutions to create its records[16]. The English directory alone has over 50,000 entries, and yet it does not so much offer an overview as snapshots – always in need of checking from other sources – of individual periodicals. The directories themselves provide disclaimers, urging users to be cautious, explaining the sampling methods, and acknowledging that its coverage is not exhaustive.[17] It is currently maintained as an online database, and while it includes records for a large number of military titles, there is no easy way to find these unless one already knows how to look for them. Using the "Subject" option to search with the term "military" brings up 66 pages of results, including not only periodicals largely concerned with military matters or aimed at a military readership, but a wide variety of periodicals that contained occasional articles on military matters, from the *Agricultural Magazine* (1799-1816) and the boys' adventure weekly the *Aldine Cheerful Library* (1894-1911) to the *Yorkshire Weekly Herald* (1790-1916). Many of the records for military periodicals are skeleton records, containing only the most basic information about title and start date. Occasionally the entries are more detailed, giving some details of printers, publishers, price and pagination, but even these are based upon sampling and are therefore rarely complete. *Waterloo* has been a useful tool for checking information and for finding likely references material, but for those like me, working on lesser-known periodicals, it has a more limited utility than for those researching the better-known titles.

[16] 'Our Sources of Information', *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals,* pp. viii-ix.
[17] 'Disclaimer', *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals,* pp. ix-x.

The *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* (2009) is the final reference work that defines the field of periodicals studies. The *Dictionary* provides definitions for a wide-range of terminologies and concepts to do with periodicals, including some that have been very useful to me, such as 'War and Journalism'[18], the 'Trade Press'[19], and ''Class' Publications'[20]. These definitions sometimes need to be problematized or challenged, but they provide a good basis to begin from. The vast majority of the dictionary, however, is devoted to authors, publishers, and periodical titles that have no relation to the military publications that I am researching. It is another valuable resource, but its limitations quickly become apparent when using it to research a specialist subject.

There are only a limited number of book-length works covering the subject of periodical studies as a field. *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings* (1981), edited by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff, was a first attempt to present a systematic and overarching study of the Victorian periodical press, but it also recognised its own shortcomings. The editors would have liked to present a comprehensive investigation of such a rich subject, but were aware that:

> ...given the present state of research this was simply not possible. The task was too vast and the amount of ground work left to be done was too great for such a comprehensive history to see the light of day in the foreseeable future.[21]

They recognised that the subject was too diverse and too huge to be covered in one book, and chose instead to present a series of case studies that would illustrate some of the themes that they felt were particularly important. This provided a template for others to build upon, and the works that followed generally followed the same approach. *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society* (1994) has been particularly useful for my research, as it contains the

[18] Jones and King, 'War and Journalism', pp. 660-661.
[19] King, 'Trade Press', pp. 634-635.
[20] King, ''Class' Publications', p. 126.
[21] Shattock and Wolff, 'Introduction', p. xvi

chapter, discussed above, by Albert Tucker that deals with military periodicals[22]. Alongside this are a number of other chapters looking at specialist, professional and trade publications, and these have helped me to understand the context in which military periodicals existed, including Richard A .Cosgrove's chapter on 'Law'[23], William H. Brock's chapter on 'Science'[24], and Bernard A. Cook's chapter on 'Agriculture'[25]. Laurel Brake's *Print in Transition, 1850-1910* (2001), has provided some thoughtful ideas about addressing the form and gender, and Andrew King and John Plunkett's *Victorian Print Media: A Reader* (2005), provides an interesting introduction to the subject, using primary source, self-reflective materials. It operates as useful starting point for thinking about some issues, such as reading spaces, influence, and popularity, but does not look at specialist, trade or professional titles. However, there remains no single comprehensive study of the subject (I concur with Shattock and Wolff's early assessment that this is ultimately impossible) and there are still wide gaps in what has been included.

Three new volumes have been produced in recent years, which have built upon the solid foundations laid by these earlier books, and which aimed to fill in some of the gaps that they left. *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers* (2016), and *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies* (2017) contain a wide range of chapters covering numerous aspects of the periodical press. Both were edited by Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton, who have expanded the resources for periodicals studies greatly in these two volumes. *The Routledge Handbook* has been particularly useful, as it ranges beyond the established canon, looking at magazines and journals covering specialised topics and with defined readerships. There are also a number of chapters discussing aspects of periodical production[26], distribution[27],

[22] Tucker, 'Military', pp. 62-80.
[23] Cosgrove, 'Law', pp. 11-21.
[24] Brock, 'Science' pp.81-96.
[25] Cook, 'Agriculture', pp. 235-248
[26] Law, 'Distribution', pp. 42-59.
[27] Smith, 'Technologies of Production', pp. 29-41.

economics[28], and the taxonomies used to understand these[29], that have proved invaluable for my research. *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press* focuses more on methodological approaches. My own chapter in the volume, 'Bibliographic Issues: Titles, Numbers, Frequencies', while exploring general themes and challenges, uses military periodicals to illustrate key points.[30]

There is also a much higher number of books covering newspaper history, rather than periodicals in their wider sense. These have been helpful for my work in Chapter Two on the development of early military periodicals, and for research into factors such as taxation, and other legal and economic factors. They are, however, almost entirely focused on daily or weekly newspapers, and have concentrated, in the most part, on the politics of these publications. Publications I have found useful are George Boyce et al's *Newspaper History* (1978); Bob Clarke's *From Grub Street to Fleet Street* (2004)*;* Kevin Williams' *Read All About It: A History of the British Newspaper* (2009)*;* Joad Raymond's *The Invention of the Newspaper* (1996); Jeremy Black's *The English Press* (2001); Aled Jones' *Powers of the Press* (1996), and Hannah Barker's *Newspaper, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855* (1998). There are also a couple of newer publications that look at provincial newspapers, which have also been useful for my research into non-metropolitan based military publications, including Rachel Matthew's *The History of the Provincial Press in England* (2017) and Andrew Hobbs' *A Fleet Street in Every Town* (2018).

Finally, Richard Altick's *The English Common Reader: a social history of the mass reading public, 1800-1900* (1957) devotes several chapters to the consumption of periodicals*.* This is a seminal work for anyone working on reading habits in the nineteenth century[31], but it has its limitations, many of them self-consciously acknowledged by the author.[32] Most problematic for my

[28] King, 'Periodical Economics', pp. 60-74.
[29] Brake, 'Markets, Genres, Iterations', pp. 237-248.
[30] Gaskell, 'Bibliographic Issues: Titles, Numbers, Frequencies', pp.
[31] See Rose's 'Rereading the English Common Reader', pp. 47-70 for a useful discussion of how it has used and has been built upon.
[32] Altick, *English Common Reader,* pp. 9-10.

research is the fact that despite dealing with a number of forms, and having two chapters devoted to newspapers and periodicals[33], this book does not make mention of professional publications at all. It has still provided a useful grounding, providing a jumping off point to think about production, distribution and reading habits during the nineteenth century.

Military History

Military History is the most established field in which my research has operated. The field is vast, and there are numerous sub-fields, including the social history of the military, the strategy of particular units or during specific battles, and the impact of politics on the military or vice-versa. As mentioned above some of these topics relate to specific sections of chapters of my thesis, for example, in Chapter Four I investigate a number of conflicts including the Napoleonic, Crimean, and Boer wars. Where this is the case there is a short literature-review at the start of the section touching on the material that directly links to the content that follows. Here I provide an overview of the general military histories that have influenced my research.

As mentioned, almost no work in the field of nineteenth-century military history deals with the role of military periodicals, besides Strachan's chapter in *The Reform of the British Army* (1984). Not only that, but, as Strachan points out in the introduction to his book[34], most histories of the British army have written off the period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 and the beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 as one of stagnation, with few developments in military practice, thought or professionalism. This is true of Cecil Woodham-Smith's *The Reason Why* (1953)[35], Gwyn Harries-Jenkins' *The Army in Victorian Society* (1977)[36], Correlli Barnett's *Britain and Her Army, 1509-1970* (1970)[37], Edward M. Spiers' *The Army and Society, 1815-*

[33] Altick, *English Common Reader,* pp. 318-347, and pp. 348-364.
[34] Strachan, *The Reform of the British Army,* p. 1.
[35] Woodham-Smith, *The Reason Why,* p. 274.
[36] Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society,* pp. 3-4.
[37] Barnett, *Britain and Her Army,* p. 290.

1914 (1980)[38], Brian Bond's *The Victorian Army and the Staff College 1854-1914* (1972)[39], and even more recent works such as Nick Mansfield's *Soldiers as Workers* (2016)[40]. However, the development of military periodicals, a professionalizing force in themselves, challenges this presumption. The articles, notes, letters and discussions that appeared in their pages give clear evidence of innovation, of thoughtful challenges to established norms and practices, and lively debate about professional ideas and developments. Therefore, while the books mentioned above have provided some useful background, it is has been Strachan's work, including his two later books, *From Waterloo to Balaclava* (1985) and *The Politics of the British Army* (1997), and those that have built upon it, which have proved most useful to my research. David French's *Military Identities* (2005) has been particularly useful when thinking about professional identity and the regimental system, and *Advancing with the Army* (2006) by Marcus Ackroyd et al has been useful when investigating military professionalization.

Much of the work that has guided and informed my work falls under the (slightly controversial) label of 'new military history'[41], which broadly means works focusing not on battles or strategy, but on the military's role and place in society, and society's impacts on the military and its practice. Stefanie Markovits' *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (2009), James D. Campbell's *"The Army Isn't All Work": Physical Culture and the Evolution of the British Army, 1860-1920* (2016), Graham Dawson's *Soldier Heroes: British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities* (1994), Michael Snape's *The Redcoat and Religion* (2005), and Holly Furneaux's *Military Men of Feeling* (2016) while rarely dealing with military periodicals, have proved useful in placing those publications in context and thinking about how they reflected and fostered connections between soldiers and society.

[38] Spiers, *The Army and Society*, pp. 6-8
[39] Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College,* p. 8.
[40] Mansfield, *Soldiers as workers,* p. 40.
[41] See Citino, 'Military Histories Old and New: A Reintroduction', pp. 1070-1090, for an overview of this issue.

The final group of military history works that have influenced my thesis as a whole are those written about the relationship between the military and the media. Again, these rarely even acknowledge the existence of military periodicals, but they have still proved useful in thinking about how the interactions between military and media were governed, how the relationships developed over time, and how, particularly in the late nineteenth century, media savvy soldiers learned to control their own public image. A number of chapters and articles looking at Lord Frederick Roberts (1832-1914) have been particularly useful, as he fully embraced the power of the media, and also cut his teeth writing articles for the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India.*[42] Useful works on this have been Heather Streets' 'Military Influences in Late Victorian and Edwardian Popular Media: the Case of Frederick Roberts' (2003) and Rodney Atwood's ' So Single-Minded a Man and so Noble-Hearted a Soldier: Field Marshall Earl Roberts of Kandahar, Waterford and Pretoria' (2007). A number of works on War Correspondents have also explored the varying relationships between the military and media, and also thrown light on the number of correspondents who began life as soldiers. These include Phillip Knightley's *The First Casualty* (1975), Peter Young and Peter Jesser's *The Media and the Military* (1997), Gregory McLaughlin's *The War Correspondent* (2002), Kevin Williams' 'War Correspondents as Sources for History' (2012), and Catherine Waters' recent book on *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture, 1850-1886* (2019). The work in these on William Howard Russell, used alongside Alan Hankinson's *Man of Wars* (1982) and Douglas Peers' chapter on ''The blind, brutal, British public's bestial thirst for blood': Archive, Memory and W.H. Russell's (Re)Making of the Indian Mutiny' have also proved useful, as Russell was both War Correspondent and owner/editor of a military periodical, the *Army and Navy Gazette* (1860-1921).

[42] See Chapter Four for details.

Methodology

Firstly it is important to acknowledge that because of the lengthy time period that I am covering, and because of the large number of titles I have looked at, this thesis is necessarily a broad rather than a deep exploration of military periodicals. This was important, as so little work had previously been done. Therefore this thesis will track developments over time, and the broad aims, expectations and impacts of the genre, rather than drilling down in the minute details of individual titles, individuals or themes. In doing so, this research project will lay the groundwork, so that such work can be carried out in the future.

My research has been focussed on and led by the periodicals themselves. I have spent a great deal of time with these military newspapers, magazines, and journals, reading their contents, looking at their layouts, examining the adverts they contained, and investigating the names that appeared within their pages. While secondary and archival research has provided me with a strong grounding in the period and an understanding of the wider context in which these publications were produced, I have always returned to the periodicals to make sense of what I have learned.

Much of the work I have done has been bibliographic, creating a database of the titles that I have researched, and collecting data about their publishers, printers, and proprietors; recording the patterns of their production including frequency and numeration; and also collecting information about where these publications can now be found and accessed. The creation of this database is on going, but it has underpinned much of the work in this thesis, providing the details and the data to make larger patterns and individual events visible.

This has seemed necessary, because as demonstrated by the limited sources listed in the literature review, very little research has previously been done into military periodicals. Not only does this mean that there has been little

analysis undertaken into their production, their use and their impact, but also that, at a very basic level, little has been done to create comprehensive lists of the archive of military periodicals. Therefore even knowing what exists and where to find it can be difficult. Lake's bibliography and the *Waterloo Directory* have been invaluable in this respect, but their entries are so brief that it is impossible to see any changes over time, and the archives they list are very limited.

This bibliographic approach has thrown up some challenges, in part because historically, bibliography as a discipline largely focused on books, the investigation of their properties and the relationships between editions. For books it is important to establish clear patterns of textual evolution, as this allows the creation of hierarchies of provenance and value. This type of bibliographic work is well established with its own distinct theoretical and methodological practices.[43] Periodicals bibliography on the other hand, as John S. North lamented in 1989, has been "a much neglected field"[44]. This is due in part to the huge amount of material involved, and also how the serial nature of periodicals' production makes them more complicated than books: each number is intrinsically linked to what comes before and after, yet it is also separate, and rather than the number it is the continuous relationship *between* numbers that is fundamental to our understanding of the whole. These methodological challenges are long recognized[45], but while a great deal of work has been done to overcome these and to create methodologies[46] unique to periodicals studies, each new genre and format throws up a new set of problems to unpick.

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[43] See for example: Tanselle, *Essays in Bibliographic History;* McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students;* Foxton, *The Technique of Bibliography;* and Krummel, *Bibliographies: Their Aims and Methods.*
[44] North, 'Preface', *Waterloo Directory*, p. 9.
[45] See Brake, 'Production of Meaning in Periodicals Studies', p. 116; Pykett 'Reading the Periodical Press', pp. 3-4; and Liddle, *The Dynamics of Genre,* pp. 2-5.
[46] See for example: Brake, 'Markets, Genres, Iterations', pp.237-248; Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age*, *pp. 49-56;* Schelstraete, 'Connecting the dots'; Brake and Humpherys, 'Critical Theory and Periodical Research', p. 94; Tildesley, 'Mergers', p. 409, and Tildesley, 'Title Changes', p. 630-31.

Three of the key defining aspects of periodicals, the title, frequency and numeration, become fundamental to any bibliographic effort to organize and analyze them, but as I have argued elsewhere, all three elements are incredibly unstable in periodicals produced during the nineteenth century[47]. This has meant I have spent a great deal of time disambiguating titles (for example, the three separate *Military Magazines* that were published in the first half of the nineteenth century[48]), untangling missed or repeated issue numbers[49], and trying to work out what happened that caused a periodical to merge with another title. While challenging and at times frustrating, this work has proved invaluable. Each change, mistake, or uncertainty forced me to look closer, and that was often when I discovered circumstances behind the scenes, which had left clues in the outside alterations. Issues were missed because of violent disputes[50], titles changes indicated changes in management[51], and changes in frequency were often attempts to revive a dwindling circulation[52]. There is often little information about these events outside of the publications themselves, and it is only by noticing anomalies that you know where to look.

Undertaking this research has made me realize how complicated it can be to represent a periodical as a single coherent entity, particularly one that is published over a long period, and which has several title changes or changes to format. I have often had to make a decision about what to call a periodical, so that it can be recognized as the same publication, even when there have been title changes. Most often I have chosen to use one title, whether that be the first used, the best known, or the one that was used for longest, and have

[47] Gaskell, 'Bibliographic Issues', pp. 46-59.
[48] See Title List for details, pp. ?
[49] See Gaskell, 'Bibliographic Issues', p. 55.
[50] An issue of the *Military Register* was missed due to the ransacking of Robert Scott's office: see *The Military Register,* vol. VII, no. 160, Wednesday, March 5, 1817, pp. 250-265.
[51] For example *Jones' Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette* changed to *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette* February 1853 (See Title List (pp. ?) for details), due to William Parry Jackson taking on full ownership of the periodical. The date of the change was, however, a couple of years after he took the paper over.
[52] For example the *Military Review* (1852-1853) changed from weekly to monthly shortly before its last issue, as is discussed in Chapter Two.

used that title throughout the main text, but always used the exact title for the date in the footnotes. This makes the Title List (Appendix pp. 284-300) very important, as it gives the title I have used, and then the changes of title chronologically with dates. On a few occasions I have deviated from this scheme, and have used the varying titles for the same publication, in particular in the section covering regimental periodicals. In such cases I felt that one umbrella title obscured an important aspect of the publication, particularly if there were very noticeable changes to the structure or format of the periodical that went along with the title changes, or where there were title or regimental mergers represented by the variant titles. Where this has been done I have included a note in the footnote to say under what title it will appear on the Title List.

This work involves spending a great deal of time with these periodicals, but that in itself can be a challenge. As mentioned, there is little information about where collections of military periodicals are held, and these is no one comprehensive archive. While the British Library has extensive holdings, and the National Army Museum has additional resources, many publications can only be found in small specialist institutions, such as regimental museums and institutions such as the Royal United Service Institute. This is particularly true of regimental periodicals, which are often only held by regimental museums, but these tend to be small collections, manned by volunteers, and they rarely have catalogues and frequently don't have full details of what they hold. This has limited my research in some areas, as I have simply not been able to access the periodicals.

The collections of periodicals available to researchers, even when found are often incomplete. Periodical publications are often ephemeral but even where runs of publications have been collected, usually for libraries, runs can be incomplete. For example, the 1860 Newspaper Press lists the *Wellington Gazette* (1857-1880) as being published from 1857[53], but the British Library only has copies from July 1869 onwards, and my research has confirmed the

[53] *Newspaper Press*, p. 36.

Waterloo Directory's assertion that nowhere else has copies of this publication at all. The spread of what was collected was also not uniform, and often not representative. Brian Maidment has lamented the

> inevitability of selective survival, that combination of accident, prejudice and available resources which ensure, say, the survival of many complete runs of a low circulation but influential journal like the *Edinburgh Review*, but which also ensures that a mass circulations popular fictions journal like the *London Journal*, so widespread that its presence was taken for granted by most Victorians, so unselfconsciously ephemeral that its survival was never an issue, so far down the cultural scale that librarians or scholars never put in a plea for its preservation, can now scarcely be found in anything like a complete run. [54]

Many specialist, trade and professional publications suffered disproportionately because of this selection, and military periodicals are certainly included within that. Regimental periodicals in particular can be incredibly hard to find in complete runs. While some issues were bound together in beautiful volumes, collected and stored for posterity in regimental libraries, others, particularly the early examples were seen at the time as ephemera, and were not kept. For example the British Library only has a copy of issue one of *XII: East Suffolk Gazette* from December 1863, but records suggest that the publication continued irregularly until 1868. At the time of writing, no other copies have been located. The *North Lincoln Sphinx,* a publication that will feature extensively in the Chapter Three section on regimental journals, is another example where copies are hard to locate. In the preface to the facsimile copy of the journal produced by Pretoria State Library, we are told that the 'periodical was printed for private circulation, and it is not therefore surprising that few copies can now be found.'[55] This selective preservation can present innumerable problems with understanding a periodical in its entirety, as missing issues and material might contain important information that would add to the larger picture or solidify patterns in

[54] Maidment, 'Victorian Periodicals and Academic Discourse' p. 145.
[55] 'Preface'. *The North Lincoln Sphinx: a regimental periodical compiled from original papers, furnished principally by the officers and men of the Second Battalion of the Tenth or North Lincoln Regiment of Foot.* State Library, Pretoria, reprints, no. 21. Pretoria: State Library, 1968.

production or presentation. The future frustrations of researchers such as myself was predicted by one reader of the *Broad Arrow,* who wrote in suggesting:

> Would not the circulation of regimental papers be increased if a depot for the sale of them were established in London? These papers must be very interesting to all who care for military literature, to judge from the notices of them which appear from time to time in *The Broad Arrow.* Perhaps the publisher of *The Broad Arrow* would not mind, as an experiment, keeping a few copies of each on sale? Of course, one would expect to see them alongside other Service papers at the Royal United Service Institution, but, strange to say, the famous military library in Whitehall Yard does not exhibit a single copy of any regimental paper. For want of a little business management somewhere, it is doubtful whether a perfect set of all the issue of every regimental paper has been preserved for reference, and the military historian of the future will probably be deprived of a unique source of information.[56]

The digitisation of periodicals, which has been taking place at an increasing pace over the last 10 years or so, has also made accessing many periodicals easier, and allowed for new research methods such as key word searching, corpus linguistics analysis, network mapping and distant reading. However, using these resources and methodologies present their own challenges, many of which have been discussed by scholars such as James Mussell[57] and Paul Fyfe.[58] Digitisation projects are also limited and selective, and have often reinforced existing biases towards particular titles, authors or geographies. Again specialist and professional publications have generally been overlooked, and very few are represented in digital archives. When I started this project, only one military periodical, *The Naval and Military Gazette* had been digitised, and even then only in part (and five years later the run of digitised issues remains incomplete). By the time of submission, three more titles had been digitised, the *Army and Navy Gazette; Sheldrake's Aldershot Gazette;* and *The Military Register*, but only the last of these is represented in its entirety. All of these feature on the *British Newspaper Archive,* the largest

[56] 'Historicus', 'Letters to the Editor: Regimental Papers', *The Broad Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 1282, 28th January 1893, p. 109.
[57] Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age.*
[58] Fyfe, 'An Archeology of Victorian Newspapers', pp. 546-577.

collection of online newspapers and periodicals, which is run by a family history company, FindMyPast, in collaboration with the British Library. While a few volumes or issues of other titles, such as the *United Service Journal* have been digitised by Google Books, no other sources of digitised military periodicals exist. The access to these few digitised titles has, at times, skewed my research. In instances where key words searches have helped, I have had to rely on just these, and therefore they have been over represented. I have tried to limit the impact of this, using these titles to locate references to events, people or viewpoints, and then cross referencing these with other titles published at similar times. It has also meant that I have not been able to use many digital scholarship methodologies within my research, as the corpus is just too small, too incomplete, and not representative.

Because I have been using a mixture of both digital and hardcopy volumes of those military publications that have been digitised, I began by referencing articles identically regardless of which way I had accessed them. Only late on in my research did I realise that this obscures some of my methodology, and in particular hides my use of the British Newspaper Archive. When referencing other digitised newspapers and periodicals, for instance when using the *Times Online*, I have made my use of a digital archive explicit. On reflection it would have perhaps been more transparent and allowed for more awareness of myself in the research process if I had clearly indicated when I had used digital and when hard copies of each periodicals, although this would have been complicated at times, as I sometimes referred to both hard copy and digital versions of the same titles and issues. This is something that has been highlighted by James Mussell in his work investigating the use of digital archives of the nineteenth-century press[59], and is an aspect of my research that I would like to consider more carefully in advance before starting any future projects.

A final point to draw attention to is the way that I have referenced material. Because of the sheer number of primary source articles I have referenced

[59] Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age*, p. 179.

from military periodicals, I felt that it was unhelpful to include each of these individually in my bibliography. Each footnote has a full reference, including the exact title of the publication at the date of the reference, volume, issue, date, and page numbers. This information can be used alongside the Title List (Appendix, pp. 284-300) to locate any articles of interest. All other references have been given fully in the bibliography.

The military context, 1790-1914

To fully cover over a century of army history, including all the events and developments that took place, is impossible within the limited space of a thesis introductory section. What I hope to achieve instead is to highlight some of the key themes, events and policies that impacted the development of the British army during this period. The majority of these will be expanded upon later in the thesis, but this should serve as an overview that allows the development of military periodicals to be seen in context.

Three large-scale conflicts, the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815), the Crimean War (1853-1856), and the Boer War (1899-1901), divide the long nineteenth century at nearly 50 year intervals. They have dominated scholarship on the military during the period, and impacted upon wider views of late Georgian and Victorian society. And yet, in many ways, this was a time of relative peace, at least in the European sphere. Of the 115 years covered by this research project, less than 30 were spent at war with other European nations, or their descendants (in the case of the Boers). It is important to acknowledge the huge impact that these conflicts had on the British military, and on British politics, public opinion, literature and international relations. They dragged large numbers of young men into military service[60], caused the fall of governments[61], and saw the emergence of a new kind of civilian war reporting[62]. However, it is crucial to also recognise that many of those serving

[60] Colley, *Britons,* p. 287.
[61] Ffrench Blake, *The Crimean War,* p. 113.
[62] Knightley, *The First Casualty, pp.* 1-3; and Taylor, *Munitions of the Mind* pp. 158-175.

in the British army during this period saw limited active service, and those that did were more likely to be stationed in empire than in Europe.

This was a period when the empire was rapidly expanding and British troops were dispersed across the globe, as a comparison of Figures 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3, below, will show.

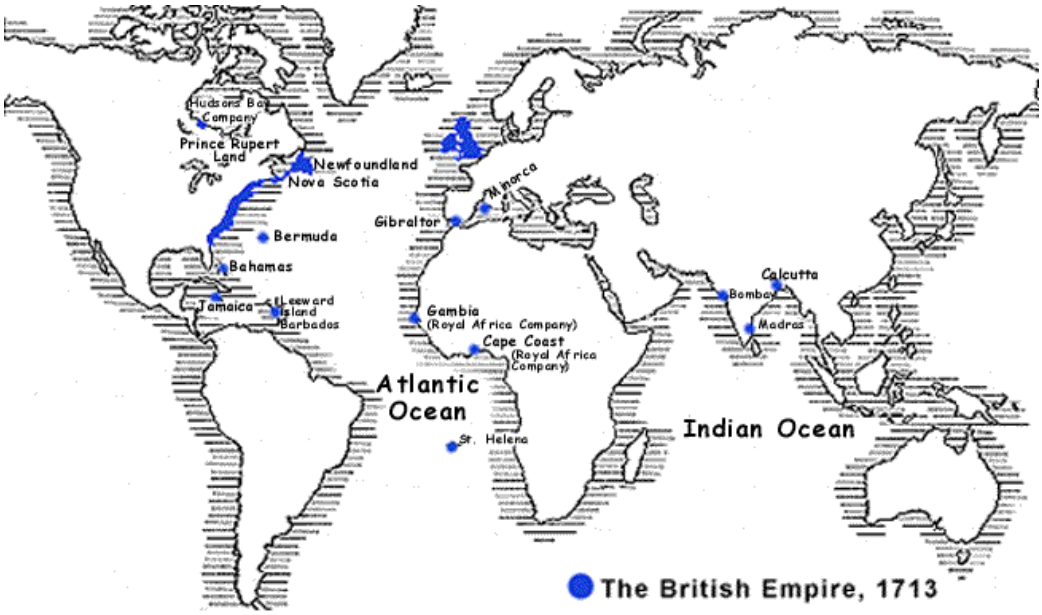

Figure 1.1: 'The British Empire, 1713', James, Lawrence, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, p.60.

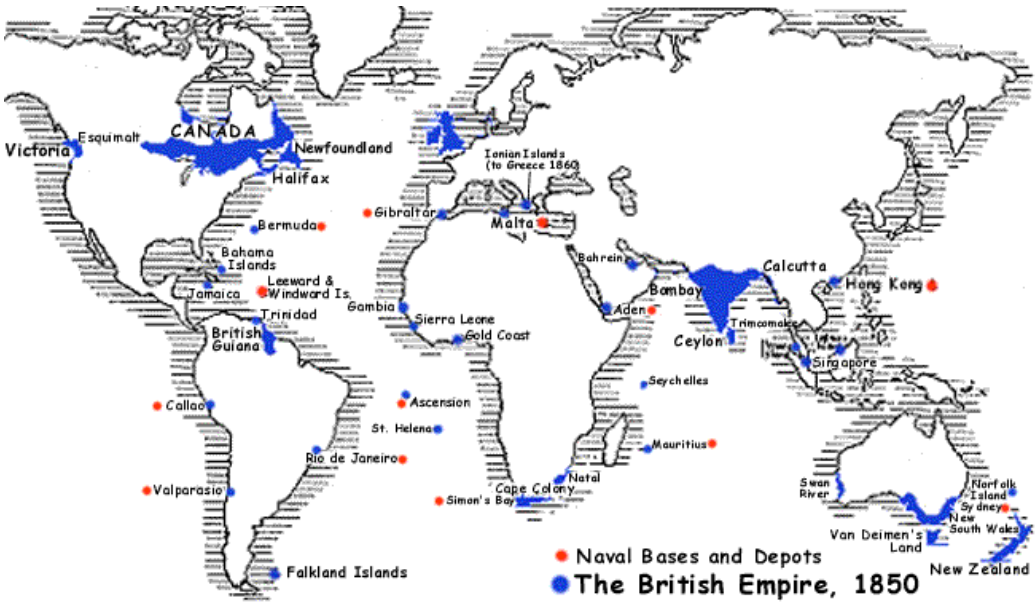

Figure 1.2: 'The British Empire, 1850', James, Lawrence, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, p.175

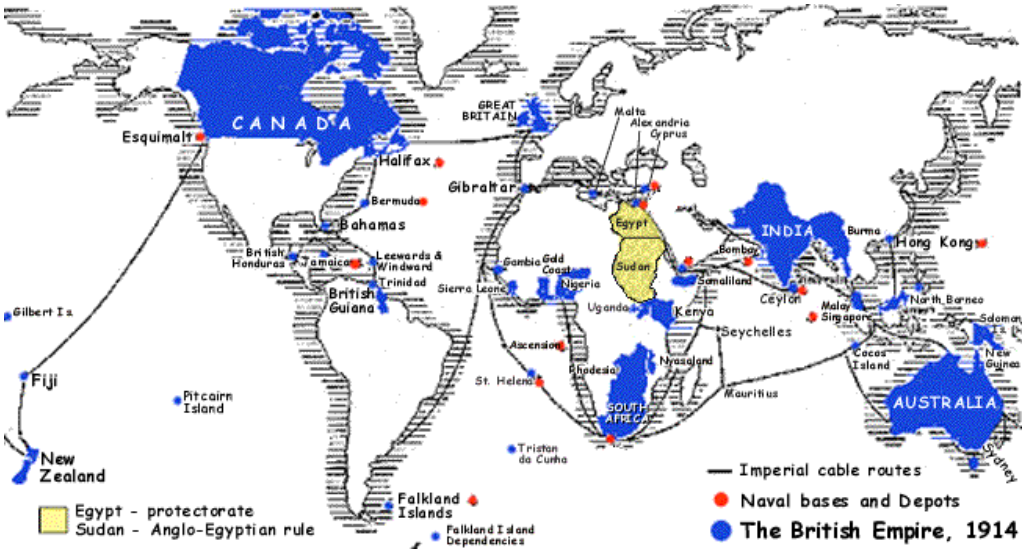

Figure 1.3: 'The British Empire, 1914', James, Lawrence, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire*, p. 352

These maps illustrate the growth of the British empire from the early 18th century through to the early 20th century, showing that by the beginning of the First World War, Britain's commitments in empire were extensive. Those stationed in distant outposts were faced with different forms of warfare: insurgencies, skirmishes, local uprisings and raids. Their experiences challenged existing strategies for recruitment, training and organisation, and the required education and skills of a professional military officer. Brian Bond explains that 'Victorian campaigns were conducted against a bewildering variety of enemies, many of whom were far from primitive in the popular sense or contemptible as military opponents. No two enemies were alike in their weapons, tactics or military discipline.'[63] British soldiers – and local forces raised by the British – had to be prepared to fight under such diverse conditions and so wide a range of enemies that it was almost impossible to provide them with suitable training.

The turn of the nineteenth century saw the founding of the Royal Military College and rapid evolution of the Royal Military Academy, and in 1858 the first British Staff College was founded. Developments in military training and education during this period reflected both the evolution of attitude towards

[63] Bond, 'Introduction', *Victorian Military Campaigns,* p. 18.

education across British society[64] and also the changing needs of the army. In general the 'scientific' branches of the army, The Royal Artillery and The Royal Engineers were at the forefront of these developments, for example by 1815 all Artillery and Engineers officers already had to pass exams to qualify, but it wasn't until the 1870s that officers from other branches of the military were required to do so. This had the effect of encouraging more men from the middle classes to join the scientific branches, as they could hope for some opportunities of advancement based on merit, and did not have to rely on an independent income[65].

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 and the victory of the Prussians also had a huge impact on the discussions about the organisation and training of armies across Europe, and influenced both political and military thought. The Prussian victory was seen as a challenge to a view that had been held by many in Britain since the end of the Napoleonic Wars – that Wellington's victories had formed a successful army that did not need reforming. Lieutenant-Colonel Charles C. Chesney, in a lecture given at the Royal United Service Institution and reported and discussed in their journal, stated his opinion that in future wars, unlike the experience that Wellington had 'it is not to be imagined that there will be seven years, or three, or even one year granted us in which to form an Army out of the raw material.' He remarked on the 'sudden astonishment of the world at finding an Army so much better than other armies; an Army that had not been much heard of during the preceding peace; an Army that yet had been formed in peace, and whose leaders had had a peace-training principally…'[66] This idea – of an army formed in a time of peace, and of its success, would become an obsession of late nineteenth century military thought. How did one train such an army? And how could such an army be tested?

[64] Social and political agitation and parliamentary investigations led to legislation in the 1870s and 1880s that increased the provisions of education and made school attendance compulsory for those between the ages of five and ten. For more information see Altick, *The English Common Reader;* and Parker, *The Old Lie*.
[65] Hacker, 'Engineering a New Order: military institutions, technical education, and the rise of the industrial state', p. 8; and Omnium, "Letter I", p. 11.
[66] Chesney, "The study of military science in time of peace", p. 255.

The Prussian model was based upon conscription, and this became another point of focus for discussion regarding the future of the British Army. Many of those who were anxious about Britain's place within Europe and the militarisation and nationalism that was perceived to be spreading across the continent, saw some form of conscription as Britain's only answer. Lord Roberts in particular was a champion of the cause and used his influence both overtly and covertly to try to change Britain's models of recruitment and training.[67] He was ultimately unsuccessful and conscription was not introduced in Britain until after the outbreak of World War I.

Technological and scientific developments throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also had a huge impact on all elements of the British military.[68] Perhaps the most obvious facet of this was strategic: Strachan suggested that 'in allowing technology to determine tactical doctrine, rather than doctrine to create its own technological demands, the pre-Crimean army set the pattern for its successors up until our own day.'[69] He argued that many of the debates of the period were fuelled by 'the Royal Artillery and Royal Engineers, who had themselves received a technical education, and who were therefore poised to welcome the advent of the rifle and the breech-loader.'[70]

However, many scientific developments less obviously military, such as the electric telegraph, railways, steam power and those to do with medicine and sanitation, had perhaps even more profound effects on how the military was able to operate.[71] Leaps forward in organisation, logistics and communication were in many ways responsible for Britain's abilities to maintain her presence

[67] For an interesting investigation of some of the ways he went about this see Streets, 'Military influence in Late Victorian and Edwardian Popular Media: the Case of Frederick Roberts', pp. 231-256.
[68] See Ponting, *The Crimean War*, pp. 23-24; Bailes, 'Technology and Imperialism: a case study of the Victorian Army in Africa', pp.83-104; and Van Creveld, *Technology and War,* pp. 146-149.
[69] Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava*, p. ix.
[70] Ibid, p. 142.
[71] Black, *Rethinking Military History*, pp. 111-112.

in empire throughout this period and on into the twentieth century. Perhaps key for this project, are the ways that developments in printing, publishing and distribution also impacted on the operation and development of the British Army during this time.

All of these experiences and events raised a raft of questions about what it meant to be an army in peace time; what was important for officers to learn; what could be taught and what just had to be experienced, and how professional development could be maintained in an environment where soldiers were constantly on the move between stations both in Britain and in the Empire. The interactions between these issues and the growth of the periodical press during this period will be a central thread of this thesis.

Military Periodicals in Context

This section will explore some of the general elements and themes that studies of periodicals are often built around, such as frequency of publication, the role of advertising and the ability to ascertain readership. It will look at how military periodicals fit into the wider landscape of publishing during the long nineteenth century, and highlight the ways in which they fit more general patterns, and stress when they followed a particularly different approach. Some of the themes discussed here will be picked up more fully later in the thesis, while others only need to be touched upon to provide a general overview of the genre.

Frequency:

As Laurel Brake has stressed, frequency is one of the key facets of periodicals[72]: the regular publication at defined periods, and the relationship between one issue and the next is what defines a periodical[73]. Beyond this

[72] Brake, 'Markets, Genres, Iterations', p. 237.
[73] Mussell, *The Nineteenth Century Press in the Digital Age,* pp. 29-30 and pp. 53-54.

frequency can tell us much about intended audience, type of content, price and geographical coverage.[74] As Brake notes, quarterlies were generally highbrow, serious reviews; dailies were driven by speed and timeliness and were filled more exclusively with news; weeklies tended to summarise the week's news and were aimed at a lower social class than monthlies, which were less time driven and more miscellaneous.[75]

Interestingly the first two frequencies mentioned were not, generally, very popular in the genre of military periodicals. There were few attempts at quarterlies. While the first two military periodicals that appeared were intended to be published at this frequency, they were very short lived. 1858 saw the launch of the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*[76], which has been published quarterly for the majority of its run[77]. This publication, while hugely significant for the military, was an outlier in the marketplace. It was largely made up of transcripts of the meetings and papers given at the Royal United Service Institution (RUSI) as well as responses to these, and had a focus on long-term strategic thought, military history, and items with a more scholarly emphasis. Other than this one publication, it wasn't until the 1890s that quarterlies were really established, as the frequency proved popular for regimental periodicals, and its use accelerated to peak during the mid-twentieth century. It seems likely that the relative unpopularity of quarterlies was driven by the needs of readers, who required up-to-date professional news[78] or were looking for regular entertainment. Added to this was the fact that until the late nineteenth century, those few technical publications that were less time-driven were more likely to appear annually.[79]

It is questionable whether there were any daily military periodicals at all. A small group of titles claiming to be military periodicals, which were published

[74] Brake, 'Markets, Genres, Iterations', pp. 242-243
[75] Ibid.
[76] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for change of title.
[77] It was briefly published twice a year between 1859-1860, and then increased to 5 times a year after 1975.
[78] Vann and VanArsdel, 'Introduction', p. 7.
[79] For example: Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers (1837-1951).

daily, appeared around the time of the Crimean War, such as the *Daily War Telegraph* (1854-1855)[80] and the *War Express and Daily Advertiser* (1854). However, as will be discussed below, these were actually titles launched to challenge the Stamp Tax, and were not truly military titles. No other attempts were made at producing a daily.

This lack of quarterlies and dailies seems to be in keeping with other forms of specialist, trade and professional periodicals.[81] The timelines for this type of news were not so urgent as to require being delivered daily, and yet it needed to be communicated more frequently than four times a year. Military readers would also have had access to daily national and local newspapers, as well as to quarterly reviews, and would likely have turned to these more general publications to fulfil the specific needs that they met.[82]

Monthlies were the most popular form of military periodicals, particularly between the 1850s and 1890s. During this time the majority of the more scholarly publications, and a large number of the regimental and institutional publications took this form. This ties in very closely with other scholarly and specialist publications, which favoured the monthly frequency. Weekly military newspapers and magazines were also popular, increasing after the mid-century reduction in taxation, and more often produced by commercial publishers. Again, this mirrors other professional and trade publications, in aiming to provide timely news and professional updates.[83]

Frequencies were not always fixed, and could change over time for a number of reasons. For military periodicals, this sometimes came about during times of conflict, when outside pressures made it hard to keep to the peacetime schedule, as will be discussed in Chapters Three and Four. There was also a

[80] See Title List (pp. ?) for changes of title.
[81] See for example: Richardson and Thorne, 'Architecture', p. 46; and Cosgrove, 'Law', p. 15.
[82] See 'The Military Staff of Blackwood's', *Annals of a Publishing House,* vol. III, pp. 22-266, and Murphy, Sharon. 'Imperial Reading? The East India Company's Lending Libraries for Soldiers, c. 1819-1834', pp. 74-99 for further discussion of this.
[83] King, 'Professional Journals', p. 510.

move from monthly to quarterly publication for a number of regimental journals from the last few years of the nineteenth century into the early years of the twentieth century, and this will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Subject Matter:

The subjects covered by military periodicals were diverse, and varied depending on the publication. A number of military periodicals, such as *The Military Review* (1852-1853) and *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (1837-1951), focussed entirely on technical subjects, while institutional publications, such as the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (1858-)[84], published more scholarly papers that were read during their meetings.

A number of regimental publications focussed entirely on news and information concerning the regiment, eschewing general news and entertaining material. Many such periodicals charted a regiment's travels across the British empire, including material on local customs, sightseeing, and the perils of boredom at military outposts.

The vast majority of military periodicals contained a wider range of material, including a mix of military and general news, such as military inspections[85], army returns[86], and army estimates[87], but also foreign news[88], crime (including the Jack the Ripper murders)[89], and sports reports[90]. Many also included literature, poetry, travel writing and a vast array of other subjects, only very loosely linked to military life. This non-military material will be discussed in Chapter Four.

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[84] Se See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[85] 'The Commander-in-Chief at Dover. Inspection of the Troops', *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 255, 4th October 1865, p. 1.
[86] 'Editorial', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. LVI, no. 646, 1st August 1898, p. 126.
[87] 'The Estimates for 1863-64: Army', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1572, 31st February 1863, p. 4.
[88] 'The French in Mexico', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1574, 7th March 1863, p. 4.
[89] 'Another Whitechapel Horror', *Curragh News,* vol. I, no. 3, 21st February 1891, p. 2.
[90] 'The Turf', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1879,* pp.171-213.

This diversity of content separated military periodicals from the vast majority of other specialist and professional periodicals, which tended to focus on the specifics of their field[91]. The reasons for this will be discussed in more detail in all of the chapters that follow, and this forms one of my central arguments: that military periodicals served as much to link military men to society as they did to ring-fence any professional community. Military service was both developing into a profession and continuing to be a life-style, and military periodicals during the long nineteenth century reflected this. It also serves to highlight an issue that the military struggled with throughout the period, the problem of defining professional military knowledge. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, the range of skills, knowledge, and useful information required by a military officer could be hugely diverse, and could vary depending on where he was stationed. Military periodicals clearly illustrate this, but this is also a point which demonstrates the utility of military periodicals, as they served as a means of disseminating knowledge and as a repository, meaning individuals didn't need to know everything, but knew where to turn to find out.

Economic Models:

The price of military periodicals varied over time and between different types of publication. Those produced by commercial publishers were more influenced by many of the same outside forces that impacted the wider press, such as cost of production and distribution, competitive pricing and fiscal legislation[92]. These saw a steady decrease in price over the long nineteenth century, in line with the general trend towards cheap mass-circulation publications. Institutional and organisational military publications were often financed via subscription, and were less subject to the vagaries of the marketplace. They were, however, often more expensive, as subscription numbers tended to be limited. Such publications often expressed anxieties

[91] See for example the listed subjects covered in medical periodicals in Peterson, 'Specialist Journals and Professional Rivalries in Victorian Medicine', p.25; and in legal periodicals in Cosgrove, 'Victorian Legal Periodicals', p. 21-25.
[92] Jones, 'Price and Cover Price', p. 506.

about their financial model, particularly in their early years, as they were reliant on a steady number of subscribers and on those subscribers paying their subscriptions on time.[93]

Religious or special interest organisations produced a number of military periodicals, and these were, for the most part, funded by charitable subscriptions, via the founding organisation, or by individuals devoted to their cause. Such publications were often distributed gratis, and aimed to reach an audience unwilling or unable to pay for them. They often operated at a financial loss, but, as Andrew King has pointed out, this was rarely seen as a failure: so long as they were reaching their intended audience and promoting their espoused ideal they were fulfilling their objective.[94] This could, however, be a precarious model, with the fate of 'Bo'Sun' Smith, owner/editor of the *Soldiers' Magazine* (1828-1861)[95], who died penniless after problems with debt and a schism in the Bethel Flag movement of which he was a founding member, serving as a prime example.[96]

A few military periodicals, such as regimental journals varied their price depending on the reader, with a number using the higher prices that the officers paid to subsidise the cost for the men of the rank and file.[97] This is something regimental publications were able to do, as they were not commercial undertakings, and could rely on the good-will of their subscribers who had close, often paternalistic relationships.

Advertising:

[93] See for example: 'Chairman's Address', *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, vol. III, no. IX, 1859, pp. 88-89.
[94] King, 'Periodical Economics', p. 60 and p. 61-62.
[95] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for details of numerous changes of title.
[96] See Roald Kverndal's book: *George Charles Smith of Penzance: from Nelson sailor to mission pioneer,* for the full details of Smith's life.
[97] See for example: 'Editor's Notes', *Tiger and the Rose,* vol. xii, no. 1, January 1898, p. 12.

Advertising played an important role in the financial model of many periodicals, and periodicals provided a significant platform by which advertisers could reach a mass audience.[98] The majority of military periodicals contained adverts, with the exceptions of those institutional and religious publications, mentioned above, which were financed via a subscription model or charitable donations.

The use of advertising saw a large increase after the abolition of the advertising duty in 1853[99], and therefore became a more important factor for the financing of periodicals in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Graham Law explains, many newspapers and periodicals from this point on would try to fill around half of their available copy space with advertising.[100] By the beginning of the twentieth century advertising had become even more popular and more prominent, with publications such as the *Naval and Military Review* (1900-1902) including adverts on every page, and the *Army and Navy Omnium Gatherum* (1900-1913)[101] containing more adverts than any other materials.

Such adverts can provide a snapshot into the interests and lives of the reader of a specific title, and also show us how advertisers hoped to shape the tastes of their intended audiences.[102] Many of the adverts contained within military periodicals were aimed specifically at their military readership, with examples including adverts for guns[103], military and colonial agents and bankers[104], camp caterers[105], and military tailors[106]. Some items were marketed at a military audience, despite having more general uses or appeals, such as a soap, which the producers claimed was

[98] Nevett, 'Advertising', p. 223.
[99] Ibid, p. 222.
[100] Law, 'Distribution', p. 55.
[101] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[102] Nevett, 'Advertising', p. 221.
[103] 'Adams's New Patent Improved Double Action Revolver', *Wellington Gazette,* no. CLXLXIII, 15th December 1869, p. [iii].
[104] 'Henry S. King and Co.', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1983, 7th January 1871, p. 8.
[105] 'Smale & Co.', *Army News,* vol. I, no. 7, 13th May 1896, p. 13.
[106] 'B. Woolf, Military and Naval Tailor and General Outfitter', *British Army Despatch,* vol. VIII, no. 295, 17th February 1854, p. 1.

> …specially suited for "Home and Foreign Service." Its peculiarities are, that it is equally available, in any climate, for softening and allaying the irritation of the skin, and also possesses excellent detergent qualities.[107]

Similarly, the Rem Sho Typewriter was marketed as

> …the strongest, most durable and convenient writing machine manufactured… therefore for the battle field or the battle ship it cannot be excelled.[108]

These adverts are particularly interesting, as they show the advertisers tailoring their offering for a specific audience, or targeting an audience with products peripheral, but related to, their specific occupation or interest.

There were also a wide range of items advertised that were aimed at a more general audience, such as adverts for billiard tables[109], medicines[110], brandy[111], fish[112], and matches[113]. Some of these were probably blanket advertisements, placed in a wide range of publications, but some would have been deliberately placed within military publications. Advertisers would have been aware of the wider social interests, domestic requirements, and familial obligations that linked military consumption to the wider marketplace. These adverts can demonstrate the enduring link between the military and civil society; a central theme that runs throughout my thesis.

However, while a useful source of information on a wide variety of subjects, periodical adverts can, at times, be hard to come by. The processes via which

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[107] 'Messrs. Osborne, Bauer, and Cheeseman', *Wellington Gazette,* no. CLXLXIV, 15th January 1870, p. [i].
[108] 'The Rem Sho Typewriter', *The Naval and Military Review,* vol. I, no. 2, July 1900, p. 6.
[109] 'Henning Bros. Billiard Table Makers', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. LVIII, no. 663, 1st January 1900, p. 1.
[110] 'Health Restored! Holloway's Pills', *Army and Navy Register,* no. 199, 1st February 1853, p. 1.
[111] 'Plaisted's Colonial Brandy', *Jones' Woolwich Journal,* vol. X, no. 100, January 1853, p. 1.
[112] 'To the Lovers of Fish', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1097, 14th January 1854, p. 1.
[113] 'Bryant & May's Special Patent-Safety Matches', *Army and Navy Omnium Gatherum,* no. 14, 15th February 1901, p. 50.

many periodicals have survived, as bound volumes in library collections, has meant that, often, 'supplementary' material such as advertisements and wrappers have been discarded[114]. While Laurel Brake has, rightly, called for more scholarly focus on such material[115], this is very much reliant on their availability, and I have certainly found this to be very patchy.

Class Periodicals and Taxation:

As mentioned above, one of the key influencers of price of a periodical, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century was fiscal legislation – in large part in the form of the Stamp Tax. As will be discussed in Chapter Two, the rate of this tax varied over time, but it added a significant cost to the production of newspapers and magazines, and kept prices high. The tax was particularly high in the decades following the end of the Napoleonic Wars, and served to stifle, to some extent, the development of the press. After a relatively successful campaign of civil disobedience, called the 'War of the Unstamped'[116], the tax was reduced from 1836.

Monthly journals were already exempt from the Stamp Tax, but as part of the revised 1836 legislation, a new category of publication, the 'Class' Periodical was legally codified. These publications were defined as coming out more frequently than every 26 days and aimed at a very specific audience. Crucially, they could not contain any general news. This classification was vague enough that many specialist periodicals were covered by it, but it was arbitrarily applied to some publications and not to others.[117] Military periodicals formed a particularly problematic genre in this respect, as their audience was very specific, but the professional information that they contained was often, it could be argued, related to the news. Many military periodicals, particularly the weekly military newspapers, chose to pay the tax,

[114] Mussell, *The Nineteenth-Century Press in the Digital Age,* p. 34; and Brake, 'The Longevity of Ephemera', p. 11.
[115] Brake, 'The Longevity of Ephemera', p. 8.
[116] See Joel Weiner's in depth scholarship on this: Weiner, *War of the Unstamped.*
[117] The entry in the *DNCJ* succinctly sums up both the definition and the problems with it: King, ''Class' Publications', p. 126.

but others chose to define themselves as 'Class' publications. This fuzziness of definition would ultimately be the final undoing of the Stamp Act.

The Crimean War provided an opportunity for repeal campaigners to challenge this weak link in the legislation of the Stamp Act. The ambiguity surrounding what constituted 'news', allowed a number of publications to spring up that only reported on the Crimean conflict, and therefore claimed they were not subject to the stamp. Many modeled themselves on *Holt's Army and Navy Despatch* (1854-1855; 1877), which began publication in March 1854, several months before Britain's first engagement in the conflict. The paper presented itself as a 'class' publication, like other contemporary military periodicals, and yet it was covering the Crimean War, the biggest news story of the time. *Holt's* was silently tolerated by the Board of Revenue, and therefore drew the attention of those looking to undermine the tax, such as the Association for the Repeal of the Stamp Act.[118] James Watson Finlay, editor of the *Edinburgh Guardian* was first to launch a similar paper, with the express purpose of exploiting the loophole in the legislation and therefore challenging its existence.[119] He launched the *War Telegraph* on 8th October 1854, which was followed by a raft of similar publications including the *Daily War Telegraph* (1854-1855) and the *War Express and Daily Advertiser* (1854). These papers, while emulating the style of military publications, broke the mold on frequency, publishing daily, or on occasion more frequently, with multiple editions appearing 'immediately on the arrival of important or interesting intelligence from the East.'[120]

By November 1854 the Revenue Board, alerted to the challenge, began agitating for prosecutions, particularly focusing on *Holt's* as a candidate for ending the whole campaign. This resulted in angry responses from the papers involved, with the *War Express* arguing that

> …papers similar in plan to our own had existed for many months in many parts of the kingdom, and that the Government has sanctioned

[118] King, ''Class' Publications', p. 126.
[119] Collet, *History of the Taxes on Knowledge,* pp. 5-6.
[120] 'Editorial'. *War Express and Daily Advertiser,* 24th October 1854, p. 2.

> their existence by never addressing them the slightest accent of warning or of reproach. In our own case, for four weeks, the authorities observed similar silence.[121]

And the *War Telegraph,* focusing on the crux of the challenge, pointed out the flaws in the definitions of 'news', by saying

> …it was objected to the *War Telegraph* that it contained news of *universal interest.* So far as we are aware, this is the first time that the extent of interest has been made the ground for which to convict any publication of being a newspaper. The distinction has been created expressly for the occasion.[122]

While both of these responses reinforce the central tenets of the campaign, the threat of prosecution did induce the majority of publications to begin carrying a stamp, although they all apologized for doing so. The *War Express* was adamant that despite bowing to pressure, their inclusion of the stamp was only temporary, stating

> The newspaper stamp is doomed. In all probability, a few weeks will send it to the same limbo we have already wended rotten boroughs and the Test Corporation Acts, dear postage, and the corn-laws.[123]

By linking their campaign to previous successful legislative challenges, they reinforced the perceived power of the press, and placed themselves in a longer history of press agitation.

Holt's was the only true victim of the threatened prosecutions, ceasing publication in January 1855[124], whereas the 'war news' periodicals began publishing stamped editions and, since such focus was no longer required, they often moved into much wider coverage of local and general news and adopted names that reflected this. For example the *War Telegraph* became the *Northern Telegraph* in December 1854, the *War Telegraph and General Daily Advertiser* became the *Daily Telegraph and Northern Counties Advertiser* and the *War Express and Daily Advertiser* became the *Manchester*

[121] 'Editorial'. *War Express and Daily Advertiser,* 21st November 1854, pp. 2-3.
[122] *The War Telegraph,* no. 46, 30th November 1854, p. 2.
[123] 'Editorial'. *War Express and Daily Advertiser,* 21st November 1854, 2.
[124] Although it did reappear in for a brief second run between August and September 1887.

Express and Daily Advertiser. Explaining the move the later publication stated that

> Our readers will perceive that to-day we have effected the modification of our name which we have for some time contemplated…In effecting this change, we have principally in view the wish to convey, in the title of our journal, the idea of that permanence which the patronage of the public agreeably compels us to anticipate for it… War is temporary, but Manchester is permanent.[125]

These publications had only ever been military periodicals in the loosest sense, and while interest in the war remained, once no longer required to follow such a tight focus, they began catering to the wider interests of their editors and their local readership. The 'war news' papers had also proved their point; their challenge to the ambiguous definition of what constituted 'news' was successful, and enough momentum was gained for the campaigners to once again try to pass the repeal through parliament. In May 1854 Milner-Gibson introduced a motion to repeal the Stamp Act, speaking of how 'the law in reference to the periodical press and the newspaper stamp and ill defined and unequally enforced'[126] It passed in the Commons, but its implementation was held up by the fall of the Aberdeen Government. When the Bill was finally re-introduced under Sir George Cornewall Lewis, the new Chancellor, it allowed newspapers and periodicals to choose whether to be stamped or not, with the stamp allowing the free transmission of papers through the post.[127] It passed, on 15th June 1855, with less fanfare than campaigners might have previously predicted, but both the government and the press had larger issues on which to concentrate.

While the revoking of the Stamp Act did not entirely end the use of 'class' publication as a classification for periodicals, as the *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* explains, 'its once fraught political associations had become commercial or at most, moralistic, pointing the way towards even

[125] 'To Our Friends and the Public', *Manchester Express and Daily Advertiser,* no. 47, 18th December 1854, p. 2.
[126] Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers,* vol. II, pp. 218-219.
[127] Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain,* p. 68.

more subtle market segmentation.'[128] The term was still used by those periodicals that aimed their content at specific and limited audiences, such as trade journals and the more technical portion of the military press, but its use spoke predominantly to potential advertisers and commercial interests.

The role of military periodicals in the fall of the Stamp Act is important, because it problematized the definition of 'Class' periodicals, both then and now. Military periodicals defy easy classification, and contained a myriad of content, including material of interest beyond their specific audience. They blur the lines between news and information, between professional and social, and between genres of publication, which makes them both interesting and useful and tools to interrogate the existing definitions that surround periodicals studies.

Readership:

Pinning down the readership of a title or genre of periodical is notoriously difficult. Statistics on sales are difficult or impossible to come by. Stamp returns, which are one of the few sources we have for newspaper sales, only applied to certain publications, and importantly these tell us only sales and not circulation. As mentioned above, only a small number of military periodicals paid the Stamp Tax, and for those that did not, there is little reliable information about sales or circulation.

As acknowledged by numerous scholars looking at reading habits, many periodicals were read in shared reading spaces such as libraries, coffee house and pubs[129]. Stamped papers could also be freely transmitted by post multiple times, and so publications were often passed on and shared[130]. Military periodicals were often housed in regimental reading rooms,

[128] ''Class' Publications'. *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland,* p. 126.
[129] See for example: Altick, *The Common Reader,* pp. 322-323;
[130] See for example: Altick, *The Common Reader,* p. 324

institutions, soldiers' homes and common rooms, which means knowing anything of the numbers or identities of readers is near impossible.

However, there are opportunities to uncover some collective patterns of military reading by looking at the collecting policies of early military libraries[131], by examining the prevalence of articles on military subjects in general newspapers and journals[132], and by examining archival information left to us by military officers and institutions[133]. Where information is available this will be included throughout this thesis.

What we do know is that early military periodicals were mostly aimed at officers, although a notable minority, including religious periodicals such as the *Soldier Magazine: and Military Chronicle* (1828-1861) aimed themselves at a wider audience. By the middle of the nineteenth century this had shifted a little, and more military periodicals were aiming themselves at the full spectrum of military personnel, with the preface to the *Military Magazine* (1846-1847) stressing its aim to appeal to all ranks of the military[134]. Literacy was on the rise, and facilities were made available such as barrack libraries, reading rooms and soldiers' homes.

A circular memorandum that was published in many of the military periodicals explicitly lays out how the lower ranks and men have priority in these facilities, stating:

> They will please to bear in mind that these libraries have been formed at the public expense, for the express benefit of the soldiers of the army, and that although it is now proposed to extend the use of them by allowing the books to circulate amongst the officers also, the concession has been made with the clear understanding that it shall in

[131] See for example: *Catalogue of the Library of the Royal United Service Institution.* London: Royal United Service Institution, 1865.
[132] See for example: 'Our Correspondence from the Crimea', *Times*, 16th January 1855, p. 12.
[133] See Murphy's article: 'Imperial Reading?', for an interesting use of this type of material.
[134] 'Preliminary Observations', *Military Magazine,* vol. I, no. 1, November 1846, p. 3.

> no case be allowed to interfere with the free use of the books by the non-commissioned officers and men…[135]

It goes on to suggest that officers using the libraries should mainly do so to set a good example of their reading habits for the men.

Regimental periodicals, which will be discussed fully in Chapter Three, were often aimed at all the men of a regiment, and these actively tried to attract readers from the lower ranks, subsidising the cost of subscriptions and encouraging these men to contribute[136].

The periodicals themselves can also provide clues as to their readership. A number of regimental publications include lists of subscribers[137], or notes on new subscribers[138]. Some copies of periodicals in the British Library have stamps or notes indicating that they originally came from government departments, coffee houses, or officers' mess rooms. Finally, some regimental periodicals contained acknowledgements of other periodicals and newspapers received, giving an insight into the reading materials that would have been available for the men to read[139].

Geographic Coverage:

Military periodicals had a wide geographic reach, due to the dispersed nature of the audiences they were aimed at. While in the general press the term 'national' is disputed until at least the end of the nineteenth century[140], it may

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[135] 'Barrack Libraries for Officers', *Jones' Woolwich Journal,* vol. X, no. 100, January 1853, p. 13.
[136] See Chapter Three for examples.
[137] See for example: 'List of Subscribers', *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle* for the year 1893, pre-matter.
[138] *The Thin Red Line: The Regimental Paper of the 2nd Batt. (Princess Louise's) Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders,* vol. 1, no. 2, 28th February 1894, p. 31.
[139] See for example: 'Our Contemporaries', *The Bugle: A Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News,* vol. X, no. 233, 5th January 1899, p. 2730; and 'Acknowledgements', *I'm Ninety-Five,* Vol. XV, No. XI-XII, November-December 1899, p. [17].
[140] See for example Brown, 'Growth of a National Press', pp. 133-140; Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town,* pp. 10-12; and Matthews, *The History of the Provincial Press in England,* pp. 20-27.

have held more truth for some military periodicals. Publications such as the *United Service Journal* (1827-1920) and the *Army and Navy Gazette* (1860-1921) were circulated amongst the military community, which was spread across the country, reaching camps and bases in Hampshire, Yorkshire, Devon, Ireland and even stations in the empire. Such copies may have been shared by soldiers on the move, sent by post, or distributed via local agents. Copies sent through mail might be passed on a number of times, as stamped publications were allowed multiple transmissions through the post, with the strange exclusion of those posted in central London, and those destined for the colonies.[141] Technologies such as railways, improved road transportation[142], and steamboats increased the speed of transmission, both across the country and abroad[143]. While some of the more locally based publications such as *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Military Gazette* (1844-1901) would have had less of a geographic reach, even these might have been sent to subscribers who had moved overseas or shared by officers travelling to visit other towns, cities and military bases.

The international reach of some military periodicals placed them at the centre of networks that help us to understand the relationship between colonial periphery and metropolitan centre (however much such concepts can be problematized)[144], very much following the 'British World' approach taken by historians such as Simon Potter.[145] With military periodicals, it was British military identities that were forged and reinforced by media across the empire.[146] They also help us to see connections between Britain and Europe, which were surprisingly strong, particularly when, at times, those nations had strained relations or were actively at war. Translations of foreign works, continued correspondences between officers from different countries, and accounts of visits to other European nation's military camps and exercises were all frequent within the pages of military periodicals, pointing to the

[141] Law, 'Distribution', p. 46.
[142] Ibid, p. 50.
[143] See Kaul, 'Introductory Survey', p. 5.
[144] See Codell, 'Introduction', p. 16.
[145] Potter, *News and the British World,* pp. 1-11.
[146] Tusan, 'Empire and the Periodical Press', p. 155.

emergence of a new form of professionalism, part competitive and fed by anxieties about rival power, and part collaborative and reciprocal. They illustrate that some in the British military read foreign military periodicals, while those from abroad read British publications, and dispel ideas about British isolationism, even in the late nineteenth century.

There is evidence from within regimental journals about the distribution of military periodicals. For example, the January 1899 issue of the *Bugle: a Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News* for the Durham Light Infantry included a list of the periodicals that they had been sent. The regiment was, at that time, stationed in Poona in India, but still received journals such as the *Thistle* (Journal of the Royal Scots), the *Maple Leaf* (Journal of 1st Battalion Leinster Regiment (Royal Canadians)), and the *Men of Harlech* (Journal of the 2nd Battalion, the Welsh Regiment). Most of the journals and newspapers were from a month or two previous.[147] Lists of subscribers also often included readers based overseas, showing a wide geographic reach for publications that are often seen as small and tied to inward facing communities.

Politics:

In general, military periodicals marketed themselves as being politically neutral, with most avoiding political subjects except those that directly impacted upon the military. This fits with the commonly held view from the time that the military was necessarily a politically neutral organisation, loyal to Queen (or King) and country and above politics. Strachan has challenged that idea[148], but it made sense for the majority of military periodicals to eschew an overt political stance, allowing them to attract the widest readership and protecting them from upsetting military or governmental authorities. Having said that, the majority of military periodicals did express concerns about

[147] 'Our Contemporaries', *The Bugle: A Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News,* vol. X, no. 233, 5th January 1899, p. 2730.
[148] Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army*, pp. 18-19.

Radical politics, as well as the Whiggish desire for retrenchment and army reductions.[149]

A small number of periodicals that were linked to other portions of the population as well as the military, in particular those which acted as the local newspaper, did have more openly expressed political standpoints. For example the *Cinque Ports Pilot* (1860-1867)*,* which was a local newspaper covering costal areas in Kent, featured both local and national politics in great detail, and with a decidedly Tory perspective. Its coverage of the general election in May 1865 vocally supported the local Tory candidate, suggesting that

> Whig ministerial acts have done much to impede [local] development, and stultify the prosperity of our town and port. [150]

The paper was able to express such political preferences because it was run by civilians, who did not have to swear loyalty to the government. In general, military publications were much more circumspect in their coverage of political events.

Impact:

Much of the research carried out into the Victorian press during the 1970s and 1980s focussed on using periodical publications as a window into the past, reflecting the culture and views of the period. Wolff went as far as to say that 'the years that we call Victorian are best mirrored in the serial publications…'[151] This view of the press as a passive representation of events, people and viewpoints is problematic, and has since been challenged by those who see the press, and those who engaged with it, as playing a

[149] 'The Rumours of Reductions', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1545, 16th August 1862, p. 520; and 'Coast Defences', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXXIX, no. 2028, 3rd December 1898, p. 1164.
[150] 'Editorial', *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 236, 24th May 1865, p. 2.
[151] Wolff, Michael. "Charting the Golden Stream: thoughts on a directory of Victorian Periodicals', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter,* no. 13, September 1971, p. 26

much more active role within the society they inhabited. As Lyn Pykett sums up, periodical publications

> can no longer be regarded in any simply reflective ways as 'evidence' (either primary or secondary), as transparent records which give access to, and provide the means of recovering, the culture which they 'mirror'. Far from being a mirror of Victorian culture, the periodicals have come to be seen as a central component of that culture – an 'active and integral part', and they can only be read and understood as part of that culture and society, and in the context of other knowledges about them.[152]

This new perspective frames periodicals as a much more central component of nineteenth century culture, which were active and engaged in forming opinion, not just in reflecting it.

This thesis charts, and assesses, the active roles that military periodicals played in forming opinion, in disseminating information, and in building communities and forging identities. The chapters that follow investigate how military periodicals impacted and influenced a wide range of readers on a variety of themes and subjects.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter has aimed to provide a background to the wide range of publications, subjects and themes that will be explored throughout this thesis. In outlining both the wider subject areas in which this study sits, and my methodological approaches, I have sought to emphasise how central the periodicals themselves are to everything that follows. While previous studies have guided me, I have always returned to the publications, to check that those theories and arguments I have encountered truly reflect what is written on the page. At times military periodicals follow the patterns expected of technical or professional publications, or of the nineteenth-century media more generally; at other times they challenge expectations, dealing with issues, including content, and interacting with publishing networks in

[152] Pykett, 'Reading the Periodical Press', p. 7.

unexpected ways. Either way this illuminates relationships between the military, the media, and civil-society, in ways that neither official documents or histories, nor archival personal letters and diaries are able to do. They act as a middle ground between those more commonly used sources, and this thesis will demonstrate the many ways that they should be understood, can be read and used, and the numerous opportunities for further research that such an approach offers.

Chapter Two: The Emergence of Military Periodicals: Accountability, Advocacy and a Commercial Imperative

Introduction

Before 1790 there were no specialist military periodicals, but by 1900 there were close to eighty separate titles running, with many more that had come and gone in the time in between. A range of different types emerged, including commercial publications, religious titles, and periodicals produced by units and institutions within the British Army. These emerging formats will be explored across the next two chapters which will investigate the motivations of those producing them, the roles which they sought to fulfil, and, where possible, the extent of their accomplishments in terms of longevity, financial success and influence.

This chapter will look at those publications generated by individuals and organisations outside of the military, with a particular focus on those produced as commercial enterprises. As will become clear, despite their 'unofficial' or outsider status, these publications were deeply imbedded in military networks, and at times served the purposes that official periodicals, which appeared later in the century, would take on. They were also part of, not separate from the wider publishing environment, emulating established periodicals in other fields, accessing pre-established literary and publishing networks, and feeling the influence of the same outside factors such as political climate, taxation regimes and legal frameworks.

While the first section, exploring the pre-history of the military periodical, will stress the important role that military news would play in the development of the press more generally, military periodicals in their emerging form were influential beyond the role recognised by historians, and indeed by themselves. A frequent lament that appeared with the launch of each new

military periodical was the lack of such a publication previously[153], and an anxiety about how backwards or behind the military was in terms of communications and professional development. While it must be recognised that these were often marketing ploys, with publishers trying to carve out a gap in the marketplace, it also seems to demonstrate a failure to realize that military periodicals were actually at the forefront of professional and even scholarly periodical publishing. While the *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-) of the Royal Society were long-established by the late eighteenth century, the military periodical began emerging at a similar time to the development of other periodicals produced by learned societies with the Linnaean Society's *Transactions* launching in 1791[154], the Geological Society's *Transactions* in 1811[155], and the *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society* in 1822[156]. In the realms of the 'gentlemanly professions', military periodicals were also nearer the front than the back of the pack in terms of development. Medicine was the first profession to launch a specialist journal, with the *Medical Essays and Observations* appearing in Edinburgh in 1771.[157] This would go on to be the *Edinburgh Medical Journal,* and then the *Scottish Medical Journal,* which still publishes today. A few other medical journals appeared in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, but it was the early nineteenth century which really saw the genre cement and diversify its position in the marketplace[158], with the launching of the *Lancet* (1823-) a particularly significant moment. Professional legal periodicals appeared around the same time as their military counterparts, with a similar early period of experimentation and an identical timeframe for becoming established[159], while the first ecclesiastic professional periodical was not launched until 1848[160]. Therefore, while *Philosophical Transactions* and the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* might have acted as a

[153] See for example: 'Preliminary Observations', *Military Magazine,* vol. I, no. 1*,* November 1846, p. 4.
[154] Rudwick, 'Historical Origins of the Geological Society's *Journal',* p. 4.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Hingley, P. D. 'A Brief History': https://ras.ac.uk/about-the-ras/a-brief-history [accessed 29/07/2019].
[157] Booth, 'Medical Communication', p. 106.
[158] Peterson, 'Medicine', p. 24.
[159] May, *The Bar and the Old Bailey,* p. 135; and Daintree, *The Legal Periodical,* pp. 22-134.
[160] Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain,* p. 131.

template or an inspiration for those founding early military periodicals, the majority of other learned or professional publications developed alongside those aimed at the armed forces, and the military were certainly not behind in this respect.

The Pre-History of Military Periodicals

The first commercial military periodical appeared in 1790. This was over 250 years after the first 'news' publication in English appeared, meaning these news periodicals fitted in an already long-established genre of publishing. While it would be neither useful nor efficient to provide a full history of the early development of the periodical press here, particularly as it has been covered so extensively elsewhere[161], there are some important points about how the pre-history impacted the development of military publications. A key detail is that military conflicts have played a central role in the story of the press from the outset, with the first British 'news' pamphlet produced containing an eye-witness account of the Battle of Flodden (9th September 1513).[162] Press censorship, both directly through legislation and indirectly through taxation, also played a crucial role in the process of evolution for military periodicals, just as it did with all other types of publication. The interaction between a growing public thirst for information, particularly during wartime, and a desire by the authorities to control that flow of information, were central to the development of military periodicals both in this early period, and throughout the long nineteenth century. For example, 'corantos', which are often seen as precursors of newspapers, first appeared in mainland Europe at the end of the sixteenth century[163], but only became popular in Britain during the early seventeenth century when they provided a source of information regarding the Thirty Years War (1618-1648)[164]. Arriving as

[161] See for example Andrews, *The History of British Journalism;* Boyce, Curran and Wingate, *Newspaper History from the 17th century to the Present Day;* Black, *The English Press*; Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street;* Williams, *Read All About It: A History of the British Newspaper;* Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper.*
[162] Lake, *Regimental Journals,* p. 2.
[163] Williams, *Read All About It,* pp. 39-44.
[164] Black, *The English Press,* p. 4.

translations from the continent, and dealing almost exclusively with foreign news, these publications did not cause undue concern to the Stationer's Company, who acted as press regulators during this period. However, enterprising British publishers who began to reprint and recompile the 'corantos' were arrested and prosecuted for sedition, preventing any true development of British-born news publications at the time.[165]

Again an increased number of news pamphlets and 'newsbooks'[166] were produced during the social upheaval of the Civil War (1642-1651), and notably Cromwell's chaplains played the role of modern day war correspondents, writing accounts of the events that they witnessed[167]. But in the aftermath of the war and the Restoration, the government enforced strict press censorship, most notably with the Printing Act of 1662, which required all publications to be registered and made publishers legally and financially liable for any infractions in their publications' content.[168] This effectively destroyed the burgeoning 'newsbook' market.[169]

During this period of intense censorship, the only news publication to flourish was the government's own official newspaper, which began as the *Oxford Gazette* in November 1665 (when the Court was in Oxford to avoid the plague). When the centre of power moved back to London in February 1666 the publication became the *London Gazette,* and it has continued to publish official news under that title ever since. Officers' commissions first appeared in the *Gazette* in January 1767.[170] It was, and still remains an important publication for the military, as it is an official and public record of the commission, promotion and decoration of military personnel. While not exclusively a military periodical, and therefore not a focus of this study, it is important to note the central role that military news played in this formative

[165] Williams, *Read All About It,* pp. 43-44.
[166] Often described as the predecessor of newspapers. See Raymond, *The Invention of the Newspaper,* p. 80.
[167] Lake, *Regimental Journals,* p. 5.
[168] Black, *The English Press,* p. 6.
[169] Williams, *Read All About It,* p. 47.
[170] Lake, *Regimental Journals,* pp. 11-12

publication, and the role that the publication itself played in normalising the publishing of military information.

The Printing Act expired in 1695 and was not renewed.[171] Hannah Barker describes this as 'a watershed in newspaper history.'[172] The removal of such tight restrictions allowed, for the first time, a true development of British newspapers, although prosecution could still take place if publications were deemed to contain blasphemous or seditious content. The first daily newspaper, *The Daily Courant,* appeared in 1702,[173] and in the years that followed, the number of newspapers and journals grew quickly. This rapid expansion of the press concerned the authorities. However, rather than enacting new censorship laws, they turned this time to indirect press control via taxation, introducing the Stamp Act in 1712.[174] These new taxations on printed news, paper and advertisements were raised ostensibly to help fund Britain's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), again linking the news, taxation and military expenditure. But they were also politically motivated, restricting the formation and communication of critical opinion.[175] The rate of taxation varied over time and the Act was enforced with fluctuating degrees of stringency, but what became known as the 'Taxes on Knowledge' remained in place until the mid-nineteenth century and had a huge impact on the development of the press.

While limiting the growth and freedom of the press, this taxation did not stifle it entirely, and by the mid eighteenth century periodical production had become an established and lucrative business in its own right.[176] The number of publications did continue to grow[177], and by the turn of the nineteenth century the press was seen as an established and powerful political force[178], which

[171] Harris, 'The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1620-1780', p. 83.
[172] Barker, *Newspaper, Politics and English Society, 1695-1855,* p. 1.
[173] Williams, *Read All About It,* pp. 48-49.
[174] Harris, 'The Structure, Ownership and Control of the Press, 1620-1780', p. 84.
[175] Law, 'Distribution', p. 43.
[176] Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street,* p. 77.
[177] Black, *The English Press,* p. 73.
[178] Barker, *Newspapers, Politics, and Public Opinion in Late Eighteenth Century England,* pp. 1-8, and Altick, *The English Common Reader,* pp. 4-5.

proliferated in a variety of forms.[179] Jeremy Black stresses that the period from 1750-1833 was one of consolidation, with developments 'essentially within existing forms, rather than transforming in character'.[180] This rings true for the military press, as this early period saw experimentation and incremental impact, but as demonstrated below, the transformational potential of the military periodical was first fully realised in the late 1820s and early 1830s.

Military Reading before the Specialist Press

Even such a brief introduction to the field demonstrates that military periodicals did not appear in a vacuum, and formed part of a wider development of the periodical press. The same is true of a military readership. The readers of military periodicals did not suddenly decide to start reading once such material was presented to them, but emerged out of a body of men who had been reading, writing for, corresponding with, and sharing a wide range of other periodical publications already. At no point in time was there one unified list of reading material that served all military officers or men. Instead each individual chose his publications based on personal preference, influenced by factors such as political affiliation, religion, class, geographic location, background, and personal interest. Some officers had their own private subscription to a newspaper or newspapers, and would amass personal libraries, but many more accessed a wide range of publications via subscription libraries and coffeehouses.[181] Periodical reading itself rarely existed in isolation, and such publications were generally read alongside other formats, including books, pamphlets, essays, regulations and private letters.

J.A. Houlding provides a useful summary of much of the tactical and theoretical writing and reading of the British military during the eighteenth century, indicating that translations of foreign regulations and treaties were

[179] See Black, *The English Press,* p. 74; Altick, *The English Common Reader,* pp. 318.
[180] Black, *The English Press,* p. 72.
[181] Altick, *The English Common Reader,* p. 65 and pp. 322-323.

popular, as were editions of the military classics of antiquity.[182] He also points to the desire of officers in the eighteenth century to share their knowledge, claiming that 'the good of the service was the principal motive behind [military authors'] endeavours'[183], and explaining the important role the Adjutant-General played in encouraging promising writers, and circulating their work among the regiments. Pamphlets and treaties outlining new ideas could be hugely popular, with Houlding providing examples whose subscribers ranged from seven hundred to seven thousand officers, a sizable proportion of the officer corps at the time.[184] Such patterns of reading and motivations for writing set the scene for the emergence of military periodicals, which developed in concert with the new format, adapting to the form and the altered time-frame that came with them.

The creation of an environment in which these specialised military periodicals would flourish was dependent on a number of factors. Firstly, there had to be a large enough number of men who were keen to read such material, who were willing and able to write for such publications, and who were able to afford to purchase the publications produced. This involved the development of professional identity from within the military, creating a body of men who saw themselves as separate, and with enough 'professional' knowledge, information and news to share to sustain a tailored publication.[185] Secondly, there had to be an awareness within the publishing industry that such an audience existed or could be created, and individuals willing and able to take the risk of creating the marketplace for these publications. Finally, there had to be a political environment in which the authorities were comfortable for such information and news to circulate. These three factors needed to coincide, which may explain why there were a number of false starts in military periodical publication, and why it was not until the late 1820s that the genre was fully established.

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[182] Houlding, *Fit for Service,* p. 168.
[183] Ibid, p. 170.
[184] Ibid, pp. 170-171.
[185] King, 'Professions and the Press', pp. 510-511 and Houlding, *Fit for Service,* p. 105.

It is important to remember that even once specialist military periodicals came into existence, this did not mean that military personnel stopped reading other types of publication. The reading habits of military officers and men could be diverse and varied, and it was common for those in the military, particularly officers, to have access to a wide range of reading material, both professional and personal. While Chapter 4 will discuss how military periodicals included non-military material from the outset, it is key to note here that many in the military would read the national daily newspapers, national and local weekly newspapers, journals and magazines, training manuals, non-fiction and fiction books, and pamphlets, alongside military periodicals. One type of reading did not preclude any other.

Early military periodicals (1793-1823)

The first periodical aimed at a specifically military audience, the *Military Magazine,* was launched in 1793. Details regarding the publication are limited, but it appears to have had influential backing, with its unnamed proprietor listing an address in the affluent Sloane Square, and the publishers including Thomas and John Egerton[186] and John Debrett[187]. As a quarterly publication it was an outlier in the marketplace, as the majority of other publications at this time were monthlies[188], although the price of 5 Shillings, or 1 pound per annum, placed it alongside such titles as the *Gentleman's Magazine*[189]*.* The periodical lasted only one issue, perhaps because the early 1790s were an inauspicious time to attempt a new publication, with the revolutionary turmoil in France causing unrest within British society and the press[190] and the outbreak of the Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802) placing the military in a period of upheaval. The quarterly format might also have played a part in the

[186] Responsible for, among other things, publishing Jane Austen's novels.
[187] Best known for publishing *Debrett's Baronetage of England* (1769-).
[188] Quarterly Reviews emerged in the early 19th century, but before that the format was rare. See Shattock, 'Quarterly Reviews', p. 523.
[189] On the price of the *Gentleman's*, see Williamson, *British Masculinity in the Gentleman's Magazine,* p. 90.
[190] Aspinall, *Politics and the Press,* p. 1.

publication's inability to establish itself. As discussed in Chapter One, the quarterly publication schedule for military periodicals did not take off until late in the nineteenth century.

Despite its short life, the *Military Magazine* did in many ways set the scene for the publications that would follow. Its focus on education and 'professional development' is clearly laid out in the 'Preface' to the issue:

> If it be true, that "The military profession requires more genius and capacity than any other active scene of life," as is asserted by a great authority[191], it follows, that he who aspires at military distinction, should make the cultivation of his military talents the constant object of attention.[192]

The editor then went on to recommend his periodical as a focus for that attention, pointing to the fact that no such vehicle for military knowledge had previously existed. The 'Preface' also listed the contents of what was planned to feature in future issues: military history; biography; anecdotes and selections of popular writing; adverts for sales of commissions; promotions and exchanges for the previous three months; decisions of courts martial; anything new in art and science; and any relevant news.[193] The wide range of these subjects is important, as it illustrates both the diversity of topics deemed professionally pertinent to an officer, and also that from the outset publishers realized that they needed to cater to readers whose interests stretched beyond the professional.[194] Also of note in this solitary issue are the articles on 'Experiments Made at Woolwich'[195] and 'Experiments Tried at Chatham'[196], as well as the space devoted to scientific and technical subjects[197], all topics that would struggle to find space in later military periodicals until the launch of the first journal produced by the Royal Engineers in 1837.

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[191] Hume, *History of England*, Vol. III. p. 126 [original footnote].
[192] 'Preface', *Military Magazine,* Vol. 1, 1793, p. 3.
[193] 'Preface' *Military Magazine,* Vol. 1, 1793, pp. 3-5.
[194] Tucker, 'Military', p. 63.
[195] 'Experiments Made at Woolwich', *Military Magazine,* Vol. 1, 1793, pp. 151-152.
[196] 'Experiments Tried at Chatham', *Military Magazine,* Vol. 1, 1793, pp. 153-154.
[197] For example: 'Gunpowder', pp. 139-140; 'The Length and Weight of Brass Cannon', p. 145; and 'Diameter of Cannon Balls', p. 150, *Military Magazine,* Vol. 1, 1793.

After the false start of the *Military Magazine*, it was five years before any further military periodicals were launched. Two, the *Soldiers' Pocket Magazine* and the *British Military Library or Journal* were begun in 1798, although the former lasted only three issues and did not see out the year. A key development was the inclusion of more immediate news, with the *Soldier's Pocket Magazine* covering a revolution in Holland[198] and the Irish Rebellion that took place between May and October that year.[199] These were events that took place within the lifespan of the publication. The *British Military Library or Journal* was slightly more successful, lasting for thirty issues before it came to an end in March 1801, and was the first attempt at a monthly military publication. Again, the timing of the launching of these periodicals was problematic. The unrest in Europe continued at full pace, and Britain was beginning to feel the effects of the Revolutionary Wars both politically and financially. The previous year, 1797, had seen the largest increase in the history of the Stamp Duty from 2d to 3½d[200], and the huge upheaval caused by the conflict also led to increases in the price of paper beyond what was caused by the taxation.[201] While there are no details of how much either publication retailed for, the increased costs of production and taxation must either have been swallowed by publishers, making producing the periodicals a very expensive business, or passed onto the consumer putting the periodicals beyond the reach of all but the most wealthy reader. Such conditions made the marketplace for military periodicals a difficult place to function in, and they might explain both why neither publication was long-running and why there was again a long gap before any further attempts.

After a gap of two years, a new title appeared, *The British Neptune: or Naval, Military, and Commercial Intelligencer* (1803-1823). This was to become the longest-running periodical of this early period, perhaps because it was the first

198 'Revolution in Holland', *Soldier's Pocket Magazine,* No. I, 1798, p. 8.
199 'A Brief, but Interesting Account of Ireland', *Soldier's Pocket Magazine,* No. II, 1798, p. 40.
200 Aspinall, *Politics and the Press,* p. 16.
201 Black, *The English Press, 1621-1861,* p. 156.

to adopt the weekly format and because it was a hybrid between general newspaper and specialist journal, covering news, politics and commercial intelligence, but with a focus on areas that related to the armed forces. *The British Neptune* is a title that has previously been overlooked, perhaps due to the sparse holdings of the publication[202]. Yet despite the lack of surviving copies, this newspaper is important as its twenty-year life span was unique during this early period, and it was the only periodical to cover the entire period of the Napoleonic Wars.

The British Neptune was initially priced at 6d, rising to 7½d. by 1810, and falling to 7d. by 1818, at which price it remained for the rest of its run. This made it significantly cheaper than previous military periodicals, and placed it alongside other publications such as *Baldwin's London Weekly Journal* (1762-1836) and the *Imperial Weekly Gazette* (1808-1823). Crucially it contained timely and up-to-date news, including updates from the *London Gazette* from the evening before, something that was taken up by all military periodicals that followed.

At some point in the gap between the surviving copies of 1810 and 1818 *The British Neptune* became more general, focussing primarily on local British, foreign and economic news, and with less emphasis on naval and military content. It can only be speculated that this shift in coverage may have been linked to the ending of hostilities after the Napoleonic Wars. This may have helped it survive in a period when few other military periodicals were thriving. However, in May 1823 a notice appeared in the paper explaining that the proprietor had disposed of the copyright, and no further issues were produced.[203] The printer and publisher at the time, J. Twigg, was also responsible for another publication, the *British Freeholder* (1820-1823), which ceased publication at the same time, suggesting financial problems were the reason behind the disappearance of the *British Neptune.*

[202] The only copies I have been able to locate are at the British Library which has only six issues covering the period between 1803-1810 and then none until 1818.
[203] 'Notice to Readers', *British Neptune,* vol. XXXIV, no. 3395, 12th May 1823, p. 148.

For seven years after its foundation, the *British Neptune* remained the only military periodical on the market, until two monthlies appeared in quick succession: the *Royal Military Chronicle* (1810-1817), which was launched in November 1810, to be quickly followed in January 1811 by another *Military Magazine* (1811-1812). Unlike previous military periodicals, these two publications were set up in direct competition with each other, the owners already engaged in a dispute over their place in the market at the time of their launch. The publishers of the second *Military Magazine* had issued a prospectus, stating their intention to start publication in January 1811, but according to their own account, without warning the *Royal Military Chronicle* was launched two months earlier. In the 'Address to the Army' in the first issue of the *Military Magazine,* the editor unleashed an angry tirade against the other publication, asking:

> what must have been [the public] indignation and disgust, at discovering, that this "illegitimate embryo," which had been extracted, with no less prematurity than violence, from the bowels of the press, at the most *broken* of all periods, to ensure it the éclat of originality: -- what, it is repeated, must have been their indignation and disgust, at discovering, that it was modelled after the prospectus of "The Military Magazine?"[204]

It went on to describe how the proprietors of the *Royal Military Chronicle* claimed that it would be '*unhandsome…*to attempt a competition' and suggested that they were willing to resort to underhand methods to prevent the *Military Magazine* from flourishing.[205] The *Royal Military Chronicle* was not, in fact, published entirely without warning, as its publishers also issued a prospectus. But as this document is undated, it is impossible to ascertain from this distance in time whether this was done before or after the *Military Magazine* issued theirs.

There may have been a political element to the competitive launch of these two publications. The *Royal Military Chronicle* had links to the Whigs and in particular to the politician William Windham, who had twice served as

[204] 'Address to the Army'. *The Military Magazine,* vol. I, no. I, January 1811, 9.
[205] 'Address to the Army'. *The Military Magazine,* vol. I, no. I, January 1811, p. 11

Secretary for War, but who had died shortly before the paper came into being. He was described in an early issue of the *Royal Military Chronicle* as being 'the parent of the *Military Chronicle,* of its plan, its form, and its design...', in a notice which continued by saying: 'Had his friend been now living, the Editor would have had a fellow-labourer, and the work would have better merited its success.'[206] The *Military Magazine* had a much more traditional and Royalist agenda[207], and, as will be discussed in Chapter Four, paid particular attention to the affect of the Napoleonic Wars on the slave-owning colonists in the Caribbean. While never explicitly party-political, their writing and subject focus aligned them much more with Tory leanings. It was common at this time for rival political factions to launch newspapers and periodicals in opposition to each other[208], and therefore it would be no surprise if this practice was carried through into the specialist military press. That here it was less explicit may have reflected the need not to alienate whole sections of a limited audience by being too partisan, or it may simply have been so implicitly obvious to the readers at the time that it did not need to be spelled out. Such a political reading of the periodicals would also back up Hew Strachan's argument that the military were never as politically neutral as they presented themselves to be.[209]

While following much of the template for format and content laid down by earlier military periodicals, these later examples expanded upon and developed the genre. The *Royal Military Chronicle* was the first to encourage and publish the participation of their readers by including in the first issue a note explaining that

> The Gentlemen of the Army will be perfectly aware, that this Work can never be so complete as they and ourselves must wish, unless they will themselves contribute towards it.[210]

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[206] 'To Correspondents', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. I, no. IV, February 1811, p. [ii].
[207] See for example: 'Nottingham Riots', *Military Magazine,* vol. III, no. II, February 1812, p. 99.
[208] See for example: Jones and Taunton, 'Political Parties and the Press', p. 499.
[209] Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army*, pp. 18-19.
[210] 'To the Gentlemen of the Army', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. I, no. 1, November 1810, p. 64.

The editor later elaborated on this:

> The proper notion of the *Military Chronicle* is, that it is a work, which the Military must render worthy of themselves by their own correspondence. The Editor takes no other merit to himself than that of having produced a vehicle, in form and respectability, not unsuitable for this correspondence and interchange of ideas of military gentlemen.[211]

This is very important, as it was the first time that military periodicals were self-consciously marketed as being forums or 'vehicles' for discussion, a role that was crucial to their success.

Despite their tense beginnings, the two periodicals ran successfully alongside each other for nearly two years, and when the *Military Magazine* ceased publication in October 1812, the *Military Panorama* (1812-1814) was immediately there to replace it. The marketplace seemed able to sustain two military periodicals during this period, even though it remained volatile enough that no single publication lasted more than seven years.

The *Military Panorama* was a particularly important publication for two reasons. The first was that it was edited, and probably owned, by John Philippart (1784?-1874) who played a significant role in the development of the military press. The second was as a result of Philippart's work as a Clerk at the War Office from 1811-1833, which gave him unprecedented access to information. Philippart later indicated that the *Panorama* and his later publications were used as an unofficial channel of communication for the government[212], suggesting that the authorities believed such publications to be a useful means of disseminating information. Philippart's name did not appear anywhere on the publication, something which was normal during a period when anonymous publishing allowed for greater freedom of expression, but it seemed to have been a widely known secret, with the introduction to his next publication, a book entitled the *Royal Military Calendar* (1815) explicitly stating that Philippart had been the *Panorama's* editor.

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[211] 'To Correspondents', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. I, no. IV, February 1811, p. [ii].
[212] Letter, John Philippart to the Duke of Wellington, 29th December 1834, Wellington Papers, 2/23/5.

The *Military Panorama* was the first military periodical to be given Royal endorsement. On becoming the *Royal Military Panorama,* 'by permission' in September 1813, the publication opened with the statement:

> The additional highly-honoured title we have acquired to our work, is highly gratifying to our feelings, and will encourage us to a continuation of our exertions on every point that can promote the benefit of the Officers of the British Army, and the Military Profession at large.[213]

The *Royal Military Panorama* ceased publication after the September 1814 issue due to the bankruptcy of the publisher Patrick Martin. Philippart went on to produce a number of books on military history, including *Memoirs of General Moreau* (1814) and the *East India Military Calendar* (1823), before once again becoming involved in military periodicals from 1827, with the publication of the *Naval and Military Magazine* (1827-1828), which will be discussed later in the chapter.

The final two military periodicals launched during this early period, the *Military Register* (1814-1821) and *London Weekly Gazette* (1822-1823), were both produced by one man, Robert Bissett Scott (1774-1841). Scott came to publishing as a second career, having served in the 1st Royal Regiment of Tower Hamlets Militia. His experiences during this time were largely responsible for his decision to begin publishing a periodical, and they impacted both the tone and focus of what he would produce. In particular his time in the Militia awakened Scott's interest in military jurisprudence, and it was during this period that he published his first work, a book entitled *The Military Law of England.*[214] It was also during his time in the Militia that Scott started to develop a relationship with the periodical press. He began contributing to *The Military Panorama (1812-1814),*[215] and his interactions

[213] 'To Correspondents' *Royal Military Panorama,* September 1813, 492.
[214] Scott, Robert Bisset, *The Military Law of England, (with all the principal authorities,) adapted to the general use of the Army, and the practice of courts martial.* London: printed for T. Goddard, 1810.
[215] An example can be found of a letter written by Scott in December 1812 and published in *The Military Panorama,* February 1813: Scott, 'To the Editor of the Military Panorama', *Military Panorama*, vol. 1, no. 5, February 1813, pp. 467-470.

with the publication would have provided useful experience for his own future periodicals.

The latter part of Scott's time in the Militia was marked by controversy and conflict. He had several long periods signed off from duty due to sickness[216]; then in November 1811 he was arrested and court-martialled for neglect of duty. He was reprimanded, but not dismissed from the service, and remained with the regiment for a further two years. However, his relationship with his superior, Colonel Mark Beaufoy, who was responsible for his Court-Martial, never recovered. Scott believed himself to have been victimised, and this feeling continued to fester. In March 1813, Scott took an extended leave of absence from the Militia, using that time to build a legal case against Beaufoy, and in August of the same year Beaufoy was arrested, and brought to court-martial, with Scott acting as prosecutor. Bringing charges against a superior officer was both a very serious and a very unusual undertaking. However, Scott's leave of absence had been granted by the Commander-in-Chief of the Army[217], which would suggest that he had already gone to the military authorities with some evidence to back up the charges he would go on to make.

The court found Colonel Beaufoy guilty of many of the charges brought against him. However, the judgements came with caveats, and the court found that much of Scott's conduct had been vindictive and itself detrimental to the reputation of the regiment.[218] A decision was therefore made 'to consider Lieutenant Scott an unfit Person to remain in His Majesty's Service, and to command that it be intimated to him, that his further Services will be dispensed with.''[219] This meant that while Scott's prosecution was largely

[216] Scott was signed-off from duty due to illness for almost the entire period between October 1810 and October 1811. *Report of Officers for the 1st Regiment of the Tower Hamlets Militia.* The National Archives (TNA) WO/68/419.
[217] *Report of Officers for the 1st Regiment of the Tower Hamlets Militia.* TNA WO/68/419.
[218] *General Court-Martial 26th of October, 1813.* TNA WO/71/324, p. 9.
[219] *General Court-Martial 26th of October, 1813.* TNA WO/71/324, pp. 9-10.

upheld, and Colonel Beaufoy was removed from service, Scott also lost his position in the Militia.

The Court-Martial caused quite a stir, and was widely reported in the press, including the *Examiner*[220] and the *Times,* which described how no Court-Martial 'that has occurred at any time ever produced a greater sensation in the military public, or even generally.'[221] The whole trial was reported in *The Military Panorama,* to which Scott sent abstracts of evidence,[222] and which printed the proceedings in full, but with very limited commentary. The *Times* explained the importance of the trial by saying:

> 'The charges…comprised breaches of the whole system of military economy, and were particularly interesting, as a trial chiefly founded on the Regulations of the Army, and not the Mutiny Act, or Articles of War; and conducted by an Officer holding at that time only subaltern rank against that of the highest class of field officer.'[223]

It was in the aftermath of the trial, almost immediately after being dismissed from the Militia, that Scott set up his own weekly periodical publication, *The Military Register* (1814-1821), with the first issue appearing on 30th March 1814. Not just proprietor, Scott acted as editor and publisher, and also printed it from his offices. Priced at a shilling, the periodical's intended audience was affluent, placing it alongside other specialist publications, such as the *Commercial Magazine* and the *Zoological Magazine.*[224]

The *Military Register* was the second weekly military periodical to be launched (after the *British Neptune*), and covered a wide range of military and civil subjects, including gazettes, foreign intelligence, reviews of military publications and military art. Scott's particular area of interest can also clearly

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[220] 'Court Martial on Colonel Beaufoy', *The Examiner,* 6th February 1814, p. 11.
[221] 'General Court-Martial on Colonel Beaufoy, 1st Royal Tower Hamlets Militia', *The Times*, 2nd February 1814, p. 4.
[222] *The Military Panorama, '*Supplement to vol. III', March 1814, p. 630; vol. IV, April 1814, p. 30; vol. IV, May 1814, p. 117; vol. IV, June 1814, p. 261; vol. IV, July 1814, p. 362, vol. IV, August 1814, p. 479; and vol. IV, September 1814, p. 543.
[223] 'General Court-Martial on Colonel Beaufoy, 1st Royal Tower Hamlets Militia', *The Times*, 2nd February 1814, p. 4
[224] Altick, *The English Common Reader,* p. 319.

be seen, as the periodical had a distinct focus on military law, devoting a great deal of space to reporting Courts-Martial. Notable examples included his own involvement in the Beaufoy trial[225] (although this account was never completed)[226], the case of General Clay and Captain Pilkington[227], and the historic case of William Cobbett[228]. These were particularly appealing to Scott, as they too involved junior officers taking their superiors to Court-Martial, while Cobbett also went on to found a periodical as a result of his experiences[229].

Scott used the commentary on the featured trials to champion his opinions on military jurisprudence, that while the codes and legislation of military law were well-made and just, they were poorly understood and negligently administered by those in positions of power within the military.[230] Scott's continued focus on military codes and on the proceedings of Courts-Martial was central to the role that he wanted the *Military Register* to play, and the void that he believed it was filling. He saw it as a vehicle for holding the military authorities to account, providing support for junior officers who were unfairly treated by their superiors, and challenging the impunity with which they had previously operated.

Unsurprisingly, Scott's opinions and commentaries were not always well received. In January 1817 Lieutenant-Colonel Lemuel Warren, Commanding officer of the 27th Regiment of Foot, took out a civil case against Scott for libel.[231] He was found guilty, and ordered to pay £500 in damages, and in a further blow to Scott's financial stability, the case also caused *The Observer* (1791-) to cease advertising in the *Military Register.*[232] However, the outcome of the case appeared to have little effect on how Scott published his

[225] *Military Register,* vol. I, no. I, March 30th 1814, p. 13
[226] *Military Register,* vol. I, no. 2, April 6th 1814, p. 50
[227] 'Court Martial', *Military Register,* vol. II, no. 37, 30th November 1814, p. 291.
[228] *The Military Register,* vol. VII, no. 157, Wednesday, 12th February 1817, p. 193
[229] Dyck, 'Cobbett, William'. ODNB Online.
[230] See for example: 'Lego-Military Report. The Tenth Hussars', *Military Register,* pp. 462-465.
[231] See: Warren, *Report of the Proceedings in an Action Against Robert Scott*.
[232] *Military Register,* vol. VII, no. 155, Wednesday, January 29th, 1817, p. 141.

periodical. He never refrained from including the reports of Courts-Martial or his commentary on them, and Warren's case may have hardened Scott's resolve to use his publication to provide a voice for those who he believed had suffered unfairly due to military corruption and as a tool to challenge the misuse of military law.

A lack of surviving subscription or financial records makes it hard to judge the success of the *Military Register*. Scott claimed that the publication

> numbered among its Subscribers and Purchasers more than one Royal Personage, several Heads of Departments, many Officers of the General Staff, Messes of the most distinguished Corps of the Regular Army, and Regiments of Militia of the highest and most efficient character.[233]

This is impossible to verify, but if it were true, it would suggest that, despite having challenged the established military system by the Court-Martial of Colonel Beaufoy and the publication's on-going truculent tone, Scott did not alienate the establishment as a whole. However, he also often expressed anxiety about the financial situation of the periodical, which would suggest, perhaps, that sales figures were low.[234] Warren's libel proceedings and the damages awarded against Scott came as a blow to a venture that was already financially precarious, and was largely responsible for Scott being declared bankrupt in March 1817.[235] He continued to publish *The Military Register,* but indicated in several issues of the publication that times were hard.[236] The last issue of the *Military Register* appeared on 11th April 1821, yet provided no information to suggest that there would be a cessation of publication.

Eleven months later, in March 1822, Scott reappeared phoenix-like with what appeared to be a new title: the *London Weekly Gazette*. It indicated, however,

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[233] Scott, Robert. 'Preface to the first volume', *Military Register,* 1814, p. 1.
[234] See for example: *Military Register,* vol. III, no. 43, 5th January 1815, p. 1 and *Military Register,* vol. III, no. 44, 11th January 1815, p. 1.
[235] Details are listed in the *London Gazette* for 4th March 1817, p. 1019, 26th April 1817, p. 540 and 29th April 1817, p. 1049
[236] Scott, Robert, *Military Register,* vol. VII, no. 163, Wednesday, March 26, 1817.

at the top of the front page of each issue that it was in fact a new series of *The Military Register*: it even included both new and old issues numbers, stressing continuity with Scott's previous publication. Scott opened the new periodical by saying

> In addressing our readers after so long a suspension of intercourse (the cause of which will be fully explained as a morceau of literary history when we have room) while we do not mean to sue for indulgence, it is necessary to mention that the many combinations requisite to establish a new press, create an embarrassment that will be removed as we proceed.[237]

Despite this promise, the cause of the gap was never fully explained, but a 'foolish suspension in Chancery'[238] and an 'exparte injunction before the Chancellor'[239] were alluded to in several statements that appeared in the early issues of the *London Weekly Gazette*, suggesting further financial and legal problems. The *London Weekly Gazette* ran until 2nd July 1823, when Scott's ill health brought the venture to a close.[240]

Scott's publications were ground-breaking in their approach, challenging the military structures of authority, and holding those in command to account. He paid the price for it, both legally and financially, but in doing so he tried and tested what could be done and what could be written in military periodicals. The publications that followed learned from his mistakes, continuing his push for accountability, but in general tempering their tone and refraining from personal attack.

Between 1793-1823 nine periodicals were founded and failed. This was followed by a period of four years where no further publications were produced. A difficult publishing environment caused by the unstable political situation was largely responsible for the lack of success in this first early period of military periodical publishing. Press control as a result of the French

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[237] *London Weekly Gazette,* no. I (no. 379 old series), 13th March 1822, p. 1
[238] *London Weekly Gazette,* no. 5 (no. 381 old series), 27th March 1822, p. 1
[239] *London Weekly Gazette,* no. 6 (no. 382 old series), 3rd April 1822, p. 1
[240] *Military Register,* no. 68 new series, (no. 538 old series), June 25th-July 2nd 1823, p. 472

Revolution played an important role in hindering growth of the genre[241], but the costs imposed by high levels of taxation were also key. Nevertheless, these early publications set the stage for the periodicals that would follow. They also began to establish some of the networks within the military, publishing and politics that would prove vital. What is also clear when looking at these early publications is that there was an interest both from within the publishing industry and from those with links to the military in producing this type of periodical. The best successes were those where these two forces were united behind a publication, a hybridity that would become even more apparent in the decades that followed.

New beginnings and establishing a market 1824-1852:

The period following the end of the Napoleonic Wars has often been characterised by historians as one of stagnation in which the military showed little inclination towards reform or innovation.[242] Hew Strachan challenged this simple conclusion, but suggested that if in any way "the army did rest on its Peninsular laurels, it was [the Duke of] Wellington's fault: he denied the possibility of improving a system tested by service in war."[243] It is certainly true that in the years directly following Napoleon's defeat the army was quickly reduced, and a new 'peace time' army began to emerge.[244]

It was, however, also a period when the military began to really reflect on its role in society both during times of conflict and, perhaps more importantly, during times of peace. Questions regarding professionalism came to the fore: what made a professional soldier? What skills were required? What role did imperial soldiering play? And how was the British army to keep up with the rapid developments of technology and geopolitics, and be prepared for the next great conflict? How the military press interacted with these issues will be

[241] Black, *The English Press,* pp. 157-159.
[242] See Bond, Brian, 'Prelude to the Cardwell Reforms' pp. 229-236; Warner, *The Crimean War*; and Barker, *The Vainglorious War 1854-56.*
[243] Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava*, p. vii.
[244] Turner, *Gallant Gentlemen,* p. 160.

explored in Chapters Four and Five. What I want to demonstrate here is that this period of reflection regarding the role of the military created an environment in which the specialised military press was able to flourish. This coincided with a slow relaxation in state controls of the press, allowing these publications to operate in a more stable marketplace, in which there was growth in periodical publishing across the board.[245]

This meant that there was a period between July 1823 and February 1827, during which no military periodicals were published. In the late 1820s, however, a new wave of publications was produced, and unlike their predecessors, many of these would prove to be commercially successful and long-running. There were several reasons why this period, which remained economically and politically volatile, saw a steady development in the military press, with perhaps the most important being the involvement of a number of key figures from within the publishing industry. These men (and they were all men) were well versed in navigating legal, financial and marketing challenges, and were able to utilise their pre-existing publishing networks to aid in the precarious process of establishing new titles.

That being said, the first new military periodical to appear, the *Naval and Military Magazine* (1827-1828), got off to rather a shaky start. It was a venture spearheaded once again by John Philippart, and recognised that it was filling a void left by the earlier periodicals, placing itself clearly within the longer history of military publications, including Philippart's own previous attempt. It stated in the preface to its first issue that

> The utility of a work that presents a medium for correspondence to Officers on points regarding which they desire to receive and give information, and no such distinct or available channel having existed since the discontinuance of those valuable publications, the *Royal Military Panorama,* the *Naval and Military Chronicles,* and the *Military Register,* render the Editors sanguine of obtaining the patronage and support of the United Services.[246]

[245] Jones, *Powers of the Press,* pp. 19-23.
[246] 'Preface', *Naval and Military Magazine,* I:I, March 1827, p. iii'.

In the twenty-one months of its existence, the journal had three different publishers: T. Clerc Smith between March and June 1827; G. Mills from September to December 1827, after a two month absence of publication; and Sauders and Otley from March to December 1828 after another two month break. The frequent changes of publishers, along with breaks in publication indicate that there were problems establishing the periodical.

At the end of 1828, the publisher Henry Colburn bought the publication. Colburn would prove to be a key figure in the development of military periodicals, and his re-launch of the *Military Magazine* as the *United Service Journal* (1829-1920), and his subsequent involvement with the military press will be discussed shortly. Colburn's publishing career has received a small, but significant amount of scholarly interest, but his military periodicals are always only mentioned as an aside to his wider literary pursuits.[247]

However, while the *Naval and Military Magazine* was still struggling to find its footing, and before Colburn's intervention, another entirely separate branch of military periodical publishing was being founded. January 1828 saw the appearance of the first issue of the *Soldier's Magazine and Military Chronicle* (1828-1832), alongside its sister publication the *Sailor's Magazine and Naval Chronicle* (1828-1832). These publications had a religious focus, and at first glance appear to be a short-lived and unsuccessful aside to the main developments happening in the military press. However, further investigation uncovers a longevity of publication that was hidden by frequent changes of title: under various titles the *Soldier's Magazine* was continuously published between 1828 and 1861. [248]

It was produced by the Reverend George Charles Smith, who was often known as Bo'sun Smith. Smith had served in both the American Merchant Navy and the Royal Navy, but found his calling as a Baptist preacher attending to the spiritual and material needs of sailors and watermen. He was

[247] See for example: Sutherland and Melynk, *Rouge Publisher;* and Sutherland 'Henry Colburn, Publisher'.
[248] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for details.

instrumental in founding the Bethel Flag movement, which brought non-denominational religious services to sailors, and later soldiers, by holding them on boats, on the docks, in warehouses and on the streets. His work became increasingly focussed on the welfare needs of his congregation, particularly the ills and depravations caused by drink, and through his contacts in the US he became interested and involved in the Temperance movement.

Far from the short-lived and peripheral publication that it first appeared, the *Soldiers' Magazine* was the first example of a small but significant sub-genre of military periodicals focussed on ministering to religious soldiers, and to inspiring religious devotion in non-practicing military men. Importantly it was also part of a wider religious movement within British society, which saw a rapid increase in religious organisations and publishing during the early nineteenth century.[249] As will be seen throughout this thesis, military life and military periodicals were tied to the society in which they existed, and were both influenced by and influencers of developments and movements in other areas of civil society.

Since the launch of the *Soldiers' Magazine*, there has always been at least one religious military periodical on the market, right up to the present day. These include the *British Flag* (1856-1950), *On Guard* (1873-1879), *Our Soldiers' Magazine* (1887-1935) and *Sentry* (1893-). The place of religion and religious periodicals within military professional identity will be fully explored in Chapter Five, but it is important to recognise the role that religious military periodicals played in the development of the military press. Their focus on welfare issues, the non-professional aspects of military life, and the interconnectedness of civil and military society would influence the commercial military periodical press, and their campaigns and support for religious soldiers played a role in a wider movement which brought about better conditions and greater religious tolerance in the British military.[250]

[249] Altholz, *The Religious Press in Britain,* pp. 10-11.
[250] Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion,* p. 236.

Henry Colburn's relaunch in January 1829 of *Military Magazine* as the *United Service Journal: and Naval and Military Magazine* (1829-1920)[251] was another significant development. It was not just that it was at that point that the publication began to function as a stable and economically viable periodical: more crucially, Colburn's purchase of the periodical was the first successful attempt to manoeuvre military publishing away from the periphery and towards the commercial mainstream. Colburn was neither an ex-soldier nor a War Office bureaucrat, but a successful publisher with a wide range of other interests including a portfolio of established periodicals such as the *New Monthly Magazine* (1814-1884) and the *Literary Gazette* (1817-1863). He had both an understanding of the marketplace and more stable financial backing.

John Philippart, its previous owner, did not, however, disappear entirely from the proceedings. While initially replaced as editor by Major Thomas Shadwell Clarke (1792-1849), Philippart continued to contribute to the relaunched journal. He was also simultaneously appointed by Colburn as editor of another of his publications, the *Court Journal* (1829-1830), and several years later took on the role of editor of Colburn's second military periodical, the weekly *Naval and Military Gazette* (1833-1886) upon its inception. When Shadwell Clerke retired from the *United Service Journal* in 1842, he was also reinstated as editor of his former title. These numerous interactions point to a greater involvement by Philippart in the running of the *United Service Journal* after Colburn's takeover than might outwardly be apparent, and a level of professional understanding and respect between the two that benefitted the wider military community.

Regardless of the behind-the-scenes influence that Philippart may have continued to exercise, the appointment of Shadwell Clarke as the editor of the *United Service Journal* was significant. He was a well-known and influential figure within the military, with a distinguished service record and a wealth of experience navigating military hierarchies and wider social networks. He had joined the army in 1804 and served in the Peninsular campaigns until an

[251] See Title List for the publication's numerous title changes.

injury in 1811[252] ended his active service. Not only was he instrumental in founding the United Service Institution, he was also a fellow of the Royal Society, the Royal Astronomical Society, the Royal Geological Society and the Geographical Society.[253] Crucially, Shadwell Clerke was personally acquainted with a great number of important military figures, many of who went on to write for the *United Service Gazette.* As Strachan points out "[Shadwell] Clerke's impeccable military credentials gave the magazine a status even in the upper echelons of the army."[254] Placing Shadwell Clarke at the helm of the publication gave it instant respectability, and brought with it a pre-existing network of contributors and readers.

While Shadwell Clerke provided access to important military networks, Colburn was also able to utilise his own literary and publishing connections. The first volume demonstrated the calibre of contributors that Colburn was able to call upon [See Figure 2.1], including extracts from the *Memoirs of General Miller,* who became famous after fighting in the revolutionary wars in Chile and Peru; *A history of the Siege of Vienna*, by Jane Porter, an established literary figure, and poetry by Major General Sir John Malcolm, a well-known soldier, statesman, and historian, and close associate of Wellington.

[252] Chichester and Lunt, 'Clerke, Thomas Henry Shadwell (1792–1849)', *ODNB* Online.
[253] 'Biographical Notice of T.H.S. Clerke', Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical Society, volume 10, no. 4, February 1850, p. 79.
[254] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army, p.* 20.

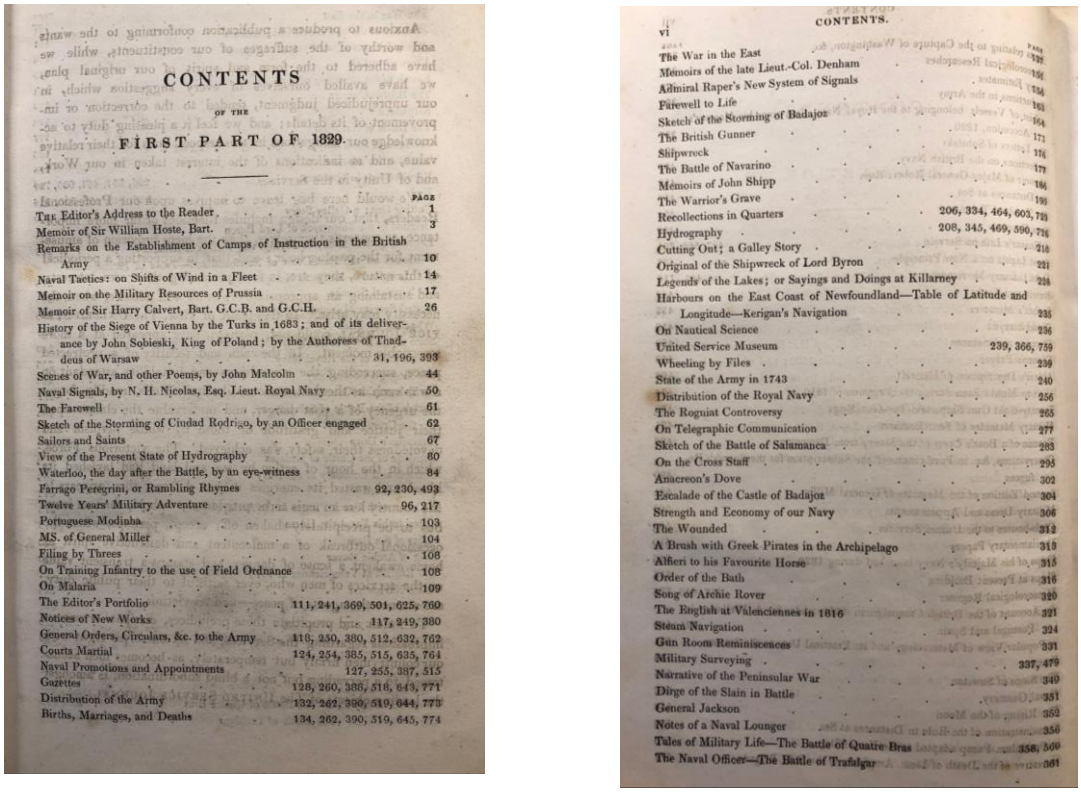

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Figure 2.1: 'Contents', *United Service Journal,* vol. I, no. 1, 1829, pp. v-vi.

Colburn's publishing network, combined with both Shadwell Clerke and Philippart's military connections, proved to be a formidable force and the *United Service Journal* became the first really successful and long-running military periodical. From the beginning, the journal had a clear mission statement, which is laid out in the opening pages of its first issue:

> Within its pages, communications on every branch of knowledge connected with the Naval and Military Services shall, as occasions occur, find *careful and impartial admission,* - they shall serve, as far as our zealous ministry may avail, to chronicle the achievements, record the services, and embody the suggestions of men, whose examples are illustrious, and of those who emulate such models.[255]

Its monthly format lent it a slightly scholarly air, and attracted weighty articles on technical and historic topics, while more general, social and literary content placed it on a middle ground between titles such as Colburn's other

[255] 'Preface' *United Service Journal, January 1829, p. 1.*

publication the *New Monthly Magazine* (1814-1884), and scientific journals such as *Philosophical Transactions* (1665-). Early volumes included articles on the pay of Officers in India and England[256], the early use of telegraphic communication[257], and accounts of Native American warriors fighting in the War of 1812[258]. It quickly became a forum in which officers could share their ideas on subjects such as tactics, weaponry, discipline and recruitment, and contributions were responded to and discussed in the letters section. These correspondences provided an interactive element for such debates, and the discussions included within the journal often led to reconsiderations and amendments of previous work. For example, William Grattan, a regular contributor who anonymously wrote his account of the Peninsular wars between 1832 and 1834, amended sections of his work on account of correspondence published in the journal. In March 1824, Grattan responded to two letters that had appeared several months earlier[259] by saying '[f]or both I feel obliged, and shall always be thankful to any officer who will be so kind as to set me right when he supposes I err.'[260] When Grattan's work was later republished as a book, there were notable alterations that resulted from the correspondence in the journal.[261]

The *United Service Journal* became a stable presence in the military publishing market for nearly a century. Until the launch of the *Journal of the United Service Institution* (1858-) it acted as a semi-official publication serving all of the military, and, as will be discussed in the next section, it never really faced any significant competition. However, neither the military nor the

[256] 'Pay of Officers in India and England', *United Service Journal,* no. 54, May 1833, pp. 215-225.
[257] 'On Telegraphic Communication', *United Service Journal,* no. 3, March 1829, pp. 277-283.
[258] 'Tecumseh the Indian Warrior', *United Service Journal,* no. 125, April 1839, pp. 481-490.
[259] A Soldier of the 3rd Division, 'Sir Thomas Picton', *USJ,* August 1833*,* 544 and Canch, 'Escalade of the Castle of Baldajoz', *USJ, August 1833,* p. 545.
[260] [260] [Grattan], 'The Author of "Reminiscences of a Subaltern," in reply to a Soldier of the 3rd Division', *United Service Journal,* March 1834, p. 391.
[261] [Grattan],'The Siege of Badajoz in 1812', *USJ,* May 1833, 58 and *Adventures with the Connaught Rangers,* p. 200.

publishers were satisfied with merely one periodical and one format, and so began exploring other types of publication.

As a result, February 1833 saw the launch of the first two weekly military periodicals, Colburn's own *Naval and Military Gazette* (1833-1886) and the *United Service Gazette* (1833-1921) owned by Alaric A. Watts, who had previously worked for Colburn as editor of the *New Monthly Magazine.* They aimed to complement the *United Service Journal* by providing timely news and short updates, allowing the journal to continue publishing more in-depth and learned content. The first issue of the *Naval and Military Gazette* explicitly stated that it was not aiming to 'interfere with the superior functions and wider scope of the *United Service Journal*…', but that the publication catered to a different set of needs, and argued that it had 'been felt that a monthly publication cannot, from its nature, embrace all those topics of temporary interest, and all those daily occurring events, which particularly concern the members of the martial professions.'[262] In particular it pointed to the fact that the nature of military occupations and interests 'demands a more quickly circulating medium to occupy the intervening void, and connect the chain of professional information.'[263] Its focus would be news, such as 'Promotions and Appointments, Distributions and Movements of Forces by Sea and Land, General Orders, Court Martial, Shipping Intelligence…'[264] as well as political and foreign news of interest to the military, and short articles on military history and geography. The *United Service Gazette* contained similar content. As will be explored fully in Chapter Four, alongside this specialist material was a wide range of general news, book reviews, poetry, listings of events and snippets on social issues, following the pattern of content in weekly newspapers, that had been established from the mid-seventeenth century onwards.[265] Because of the mixed nature of their content, and because they

[262] *The Naval and Military Gazette, and Weekly Chronicle of the United Services*, February 9, 1833, p. 4.
[263] *The Naval and Military Gazette, and Weekly Chronicle of the United Services*, February 9, 1833, p. 4.
[264] *The Naval and Military Gazette, and Weekly Chronicle of the United Services*, February 9, 1833, p. 4.
[265] Clarke, *From Grub Street to Fleet Street,* pp.78-82.

contained a wide range of news, both newspapers were stamped, challenging the assumption that specialist periodicals were also always 'class' publications, aimed only at a specific audience and containing no general news.[266]

Before the first issue of either publication had gone to print, however, they were already embroiled in a legal dispute. Watts claimed that Colburn had attempted to steal both the idea for the weekly military periodical and its title after seeing the advert for its upcoming publication. Colburn claimed that he had always planned on producing a weekly publication to complement the monthly *United Service Journal,* and that Watts, by choosing a title so similar, was trying to suggest a link between the two publications and trade on the success of the *United Service Journal*.[267] The initial legal wrangling led to a brief embargo on Colburn's publication, quickly lifted after a decision by the courts that the titles of the two publications were different enough to identify them, and that both periodicals could co-exist. This they did for nearly 90 years.

1833 was also an important year, as it saw John Philippart dismissed from his position as a War Office clerk. Despite having worked on military periodicals for many years, his involvement with the *Naval and Military Gazette* provoked a claim that he was leaking military and naval information to the press, and had 'opinions [that] were opposed to the Ministry'[268], although the latter charge was quickly cancelled. Phillipart, in defence, claimed that he had 'written authority from Lord Palmerston, given when Secretary at War, for [his] communications with the press in respect to the Plans of the Government', and that none of the information he passed on was sensitive or unavailable via other sources[269]. He believed that his removal from the position at the War

[266] King, 'Class Publications', p.126.
[267] For first hand accounts of the dispute see *The Naval and Military Gazette, and Weekly Chronicle of the United Services*, Saturday, February 9, 1833, p. 4 and *The United Service Gazette: and Naval and Military Chronicle,* February 9 1833, 4.
[268] Letter, Philippart to the Duke of Wellington, 29th December 1834. Wellington Papers 2/23/5.
[269] Letter, Philippart to the Duke of Wellington, 29th December 1834. Wellington Papers, 2/23/5.

Office was a political move by the Whig government. It did, however, free him up to pursue military journalism full time, although in 1834 he wrote to Wellington asking for help to overturn his case so that he might receive a pension from the Government.[270] Legally and politically, working for a military periodical could still prove problematic.

At first, the two publications placed themselves firmly in opposition to each other, with numerous article and editorials appearing in each newspaper attacking the credibility of the other[271]. There were also several published in Watts' *United Service Gazette* attacking Colburn's other periodical, the *United Service Journal*[272]. However, Watts did not hold ownership of the *United Service Gazette* for very long, losing it due to legal and financial problems. In 1843, it was purchased at auction by Andrew Spottiswoode, and J. H. Stocqueler became its editor in 1846. This proved important for Colburn's publication, because as Albert Tucker suggests, Stocqueler's appointment led to a reduction in competition between the two periodicals, as he and Philippart both argued for military reforms and welcomed correspondence from officers sympathetic with this editorial policy.[273] The two editors built a cordial relationship and Stocqueler praised Philippart for being instrumental in launching the genre of military periodicals in his *Familiar History of the British Army*[274].

Both the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* were initially sold at 7d. an issue, marking them as direct competitors, and also placing them in the marketplace alongside a wide range of other stamped

[270] Letter, Philippart to the Duke of Wellington, 29th December 1834. Wellington Papers, 2/23/5.
[271] See for example: 'Editorial', *United Service Gazette,* no. 4, 2nd March 1833; p. 4; 'Editorial', *United Service Gazette,* no. 15, 18th May 1833, p. 4; 'The United Service Gazette', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 212, 18th February 1837, p. 102; and 'The Sham "United Service Gazette"', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 213, 25th February 1837, p. 117.
[272] See for example: 'The United Service Journal', *United Service Gazette,* no. 9, 6th April 1833, p. 2.
[273] Tucker, 'Military', p. 67.
[274] Stocqueler, *A Familiar History of the British Army*, p. 219.

weekly periodicals. They did not, however, reduce their price in the late 1830s, after the 1836 reduction in the Stamp Tax, and this meant that, charging 1-2 d. more than the majority of other weekly newspapers,[275] they operated as more expensive periodicals alongside such publications as the *Lancet* (1823-)[276], the *Guardian* (1846-1951)[277], the *Mark Lane Express* (1832-1904)[278], and, when it launched, the *British Army Despatch* (1848-1856). They both also rode out the period surrounding the abolition of the Stamp Duty, weathering a change in the climate of periodical production. Interestingly, the *United Service Gazette* appeared for one issue, after the tax was abolished at the end of June 1855, with no price on its front page[279], and then in the following issue the price had dropped to 6d. or 7d. stamped (for transmission by post). The publication was, therefore, quick to react to the abolition. The *Naval and Military Gazette* on the other hand continued to publish at 7d. until the middle of 1862,[280] showing a much slower reaction to the changing publishing environment.

As well as providing timely news and military information, the two newspapers were also key players in army reform during this period. Hew Strachan has argued that these periodicals were two of the 'foremost publications' which influenced reform in the army in the period between Waterloo and the Crimea.[281] He has demonstrated how they were key voices challenging the stagnation of the army under Wellington's leadership[282], pointing out the inadequacies of training[283], and championing the opinions of army reformers.[284] They built on the work started by Robert Bissett Scott, in holding the authorities to account, and they also adopted some of the practices of the religious press, advocating for improved conditions for officers and men.

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[275] See Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory,* 4th edition, 1855, pp. 13-27.
[276] Ibid, p. 20.
[277] Ibid, p. 19.
[278] Ibid, p. 22.
[279] *United Service Gazette,* no. 1173, 30th June 1855, p. 1.
[280] See issues for 19th and 26th July 1862.
[281] Strachan, *From Waterloo to Balaclava,* p. vii.
[282] Strachan, *The Reform of the British Army,* pp. 19-20.
[283] Ibid, p. 26.
[284] Ibid, pp. 29-35.

Again the military authorities were not always happy to be challenged, with Wellington once attempting to ban military clubs in London from subscribing to military periodicals, claiming that it was 'highly improper that they should do so…' given that, so he believed, such publications challenged the authority of Horse Guards and the Queen[285]. However, his intervention was unsuccessful, and such publications continued to flourish, largely unchecked by interference from the authorities.

Colburn and Watts established three of the nineteenth century's most successful military periodicals. The *United Service Journal,* the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* were all financially lucrative and enduring. They were also influential both on readers at the time and on later historians. They navigated within a tricky political, economic and social environment to gain influence and respectability, allowing for the development of official publications, as will be discussed in the next chapter. But first it is important to recognise that the commercial development of the military press did not stop with these three, and a wide range of new publications sprang up, finding new ways to represent the officers and men of the British army.

The Genre Established

The *United Service Journal,* the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* firmly established the place of military periodicals in both the military consciousness and in the publishing marketplace. All three continued well into the twentieth century. A raft of other commercial military periodicals soon joined them, although their successes were not always easily followed, and the majority of attempted publications lasted less than five years.

The first attempt to replicate the success of the *United Service Journal* in the field of scholarly monthly journals came in 1833 with the *East India United Service Journal.* This title is of particular note as it was the first British military

[285] Memorandum from Colonel Gurwood, 3 February 1841,Wellington Papers, 2/74/9.

periodical produced overseas: its attempts to fill the gaps in imperial coverage left by other military periodicals will be discussed in Chapter Five. It lasted four years, and always struggled to maintain itself financially. Several even shorter-lived attempts were launched in the 1840s and 1850s, including the *Naval and Military Sketch Book* (1845), the *Military Magazine* (1846-1847), and two unrelated publications which shared the same title: the *British Soldier* (1851-1852)[286] and the *British Soldier* (1852). The first *British Soldier* was edited by Lieutenant-Colonel Hort; an established voice of reform in the military, who had previously authored a notorious pamphlet, attacking Wellington and his establishment, entitled *The Horse Guards* (1850).[287]

Another short-lived title of note was the *Military Review* (1852-1853), whose editor, Captain N. S. Shrapnel, was alive to what Strachan describes as the 'newly awakened awareness in the British soldier of the science of his profession'[288]. It contained technical articles on military organisation[289], military education[290] and various types of weaponry.[291] It began life as a weekly publication, but struggled to find a readership who could digest such weighty articles at such close intervals, and so reduced its frequency to monthly for its last few issues.

There were surprisingly few other attempts, and the only real competition that the *United Service Journal* ever faced was from institutional publications such as the *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (1837-1951) and the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (1857-) which will be discussed in Chapter Three. The *United Service Journal* should therefore be regarded as the key publication around which ideas of professional identity and knowledge were built. It was the professional journal that would be collected in regimental and institutional libraries, which was

[286] See Title List p. ? for the publication's title change.
[287] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 18.
[288] Ibid*,* p. 25.
[289] 'Our General Staff. – The General Staff in the German and French Armies', *Military Review,* vol. I, no. 3, 24th July 1852, pp. 42-45.
[290] 'The Education Past and Future of the British Officer – The Study of the Military Writers of Antiquity', *Military Review,* vol. I, no. 15, 16th October 1852, pp. 261-268.
[291] 'Rifled Cannon', *Military Review,* vol. I, no. 5, 7th August 1852, pp. 82-87.

read alike by all branches of the military, and which acted as the central forum for many of the important debates within the professional. While other periodicals were widely read, and fulfilled other roles for the profession, the *United Service Journal* maintained its dominant position for nearly a century, until it ceased publication in 1920.

There was one further commercial monthly military periodical that deserves a mention: the *Wellington Gazette* (1857-1880). As the dates suggest, this was one of the few, besides the *United Service Journal,* that lasted for a significant period of time. However, this was not a scholarly journal, but resembled much more those monthly newspapers produced outside London which will be discussed below. It was owned and published by the O'Byrne brothers, and was, at times, edited by one of the brothers, Robert O'Byrne, who was also a barrister-at-law. The O'Byrnes also published *the Naval Chronicle* (1869-1880), and their business interests beyond publishing included acting as overseas agents and bankers.[292] While the publication had a conservative outlook, it was published at a far enough remove from Wellington's death in 1852, to be able to use his name to denote patriotism rather than any particular tie to military thought.

As suggested by the early establishment of two papers, the marketplace for the weekly military newspaper was able to sustain a larger number of publications. Another early attempt at emulation came from India, with the *United Service Gazette and Literary Chronicle,* published in Bombay. It was printed in a mix of English and Hindi, and covered a wide range of subjects including Indian and international news, military news, extracts from both British and Indian journals, book reviews, and shipping news.[293]

In the London market, which catered to both a national and international audience, the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* dominated during the 1830s and most of the 1840s. Outside of London a

[292] 'O'Byrne Brothers', *Wellington Gazette,* no. CCXVIII, 15th January 1875, p. 12[+2].
[293] The British Library's surviving copies cover the period 1841-1842, but the starting and ending dates of the *Chronicle* are unknown.

number of weekly military newspapers appeared based in garrison towns such as Woolwich and Aldershot, and these will be discussed in more depth below. 1848 saw the launch of the *British Army Despatch* (1848-1856)[294] which added a third title to the London marketplace. The title was initially devoted exclusively to the British and the East India Company Armies[295], but during 1853 it began including some naval news. From the 17th February 1854, the periodical merged with the *Nautical Standard* (1846-1854) and thereafter contained more naval information and a higher proportion of advertising, much of which was carried over from the other title. It was much more conservative than its rivals, supporting Wellington's administration and providing a periodical for those who felt that the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* were too radically reformist.[296] A number of titles such as *Holt's Army and Navy Despatch* (1854-1855; 1887) and the *War Investigator and Record of Current Events* (1855-1856)[297] sprang up to cover the Crimean War, but none of them survived much past the ceasing of hostilities. These operated alongside those short-lived titles that used military news to challenge the loopholes of the Stamp Tax, as discussed in Chapter One. It was the 1860s, which saw the introduction of two other titles, the *Army and Navy Gazette* (1860-1921) and the *Broad Arrow* (1868-1917), which would sit alongside the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* as the four dominant metropolitan weekly military newspapers.

The first of the new titles, the *Army and Navy Gazette*, was particularly interesting, as a key figure involved in the publication was William Howard Russell, the war correspondent who had famously covered the Crimean War for the *Times.* He launched the paper in conjunction with Bradbury and Evans the publishers, after it was mooted in a discussion at the Garrick Club. While Russell started out simply as the editor of the paper, in July 1862 he bought a fifty per cent stake in the publication, and became sole proprietor two years later, remaining so until his death in February 1907. He held the position of

[294] See Title List p. ? for the publication's numerous title changes.
[295] See 'Subtitle', *British Army Despatch,* vol. I, no. 1, 14th July 1848, p. 1.
[296] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 24.
[297] See Title List p. ? for the publication's title change.

chief editor until 1874, when he relinquished the role to J. Routledge[298], although he continued to write for and manage the paper until 1901. Despite this he continued to be named as editor on the paper throughout his association with it.

In launching the *Army and Navy Gazette,* Russell Howard was presented with a far different publishing environment from that which had faced Colburn and Watts thirty years earlier. Wellington was eight years dead, and his influence was beginning to wane as the reforms of subsequent forward-thinking figures such as Lord Hardinge, Sir Charles Pasley and Lord Fitzclarence took hold.[299] The Crimean debacle, during which Russell himself had earned fame, had placed military reform at the forefront of political and public opinion, and further to that, his own experience had highlighted just how much impact the press could have on policy.

Interestingly, while the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* slashed their prices from six to three pence in the late 1850s, in the wake of the progressive removal of the Taxes on Knowledge, the *Army and Navy Gazette* entered the market priced at sixpence, a price it would continue to sell for until it was discontinued in 1920. Russell's name and connections allowed him to carve a place for his paper amongst competitors as a high-end weekly.

Like those that came before him, Russell's ability to call upon a formidable network of associates was crucial to the success of the *Army and Navy Gazette.* During his time covering both the Crimea and the 'Indian Mutiny' for the *Times*, Russell had made numerous friends and contacts, and he kept in touch with those he met on his travels, dining regularly at the United Service Club and the Army and Navy Club. While those in command during the Crimean War had been suspicious of him, he had gained a reputation as a man with the soldier's best interests at heart, and those junior officers who

[298] A journalist who had previous worked for the *Friend of India* and the *Times.*
[299] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* pp. 6-49.

knew him and who had read his articles in the *Times,* were the future leaders who would run the country and write for the *Army and Navy Gazette.* Many military men were pleased to hear that Russell would be running such a paper. Sir John Burgoyne (1782-1871), who was at this time Colonel Commandant for the Royal Engineers, wrote to Russell when he heard, saying

> I believe that you are well calculated and well fitted for this task. You have acquired considerable knowledge of military concerns, while exempt from professional prejudices; you will be firm and uncompromising in endeavours to correct what you think requires it, but your matter and even expressions will be deduced from reason, and not from personal *feelings* and impulses. You will be inclined to give credit where credit is due; or where there is ground for censure you will let it fall rather on systems than on persons, so far as may be, with reason. In short, I expect that your journal, without being wanting in vigour, will be… *gentlemanlike,* for I believe the two are quite compatible. I wish it every success, and hope I may be able to promote it.[300]

Russell was also quick to make useful connections with men at the War Office, forming friendships that were mutually beneficial. One of those friendships was with Sir Ben Hawes (1797-1862), the former Secretary of State for War. They would talk about *Army and Navy Gazette* articles and Hawes's work, with Russell, occasionally noting in his diary the revealing insights that Hawes gave him regarding the situation at the War Office.[301] Russell was also on friendly terms with Edward (Teddy) Lugard (1810-1898) whom he had met in India, and who served as Permanent Secretary of State for War between 1861 and 1871. Lugard regularly spoke to Russell regarding articles that appeared in his paper, sometimes with concerns about those that expressed strong opinions. Finally, Russell built a personal friendship with the Duke of Cambridge, who was Commander-in-Chief of the Army. Their relationship was often challenging, and they frequently disagreed about a wide range of subjects, including patronage[302] and the freedom of the

[300] 'Letter, Sir John Burgoyne to William Howard Russell', Quoted in 'Fifty Years Ago', in the *Army and Navy Gazette,* 1st January 1910, p. 5.
[301] For example see, Diary Entry, William Howard Russell, 28 December 1860, William Howard Russell Papers.
[302] 'The Authorities and the Press', *The Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. I, no. I, 7th January 1860, p. 1

press[303]. However, the Duke recognised that Russell was both astute and influential, and was keen to keep his friendship and to gain his approval, at times arranging to speak to him personally to try to sway his opinions. For example, in January 1882, the Duke wrote to Russell that

> I am afraid you have not altogether agreed with me of late in some of the very grave questions I have had to deal with. I greatly regret this, but feel assured that if you heard my views and the difficulties in which I have been placed, you would be disposed to take a similar view to my own. If there is some early day you would call on me I should too gladly see you.[304]

Importantly, as discussed in Chapter One, the Duke not only read the *Army and Navy Gazette* but acknowledged that Russell's words had the ability to influence its readers. While often making good use of his access and connections, Russell was aware that at times it was a double-edged sword. As Atkins, his earliest biographer wrote, 'his work and disposition made him acquainted with so many Army officers in responsible positions that the [*Army and Navy Gazette*] acquired a kind of semi-official reputation'. This could, however, align him more with the military leadership than the men, and, 'the question confronted him whether this increased its authority or lessened it by discounting the value of criticism.'[305]

The risk obviously did not entirely put off readers, and the *Army and Navy Gazette* was generally perceived as a publication that advocated for reform, taking up the causes of both serving men and veterans. It particularly drew Crimean veterans, who would not have been ignorant of Russell's coverage of the conflict. Russell himself was the main draw of the *Army and Navy Gazette,* demonstrated by how many of the letters and articles addressed him and his experiences directly. Veterans raised questions and discussed the issues that they faced, often speaking directly of Russell's time at the front, and seeing him as a sympathetic champion for their cause. Examples include a letter published in 1860 which argued that Crimean veterans had been

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[303] 'Editorial', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXI, No. 1042, 10th January 1880 p. 22
[304] Letter, Duke of Cambridge to William Howard Russell, 18th January 1882, quoted in Atkins, *The Life of Sir William Howard Russell,* vol. 2, pp. 358-359.
[305] Atkins, *The Life of William Howard Russell,* vol. 2, p. 357.

disadvantaged compared to their “Indian brethren” due to lack of press coverage.[306] A later correspondent wrote to argue the unfairness of not recognising the time served by those Crimean recruits who joined before they were eighteen years old.[307]

The final influential weekly to be discussed here, the *Broad Arrow,* appeared in 1868. In price, it resembled the earlier weeklies more than Russell’s offering, retailing at 3d. While sitting alongside the other three publications as a weekly military newspaper, it actually followed quite a different model. It was a hybrid of a monthly journal and a newspaper, appearing weekly, but containing more and longer articles like the monthlies alongside the news and gazettes commonly featured in the weeklies. Longer articles were on subjects including army reform[308], innovations in weaponry[309], and promotion in foreign armies[310]. James Grant, writing his history of the press only four years after the launch of the *Broad Arrow,* claimed that it had an inauspicious start, selling only a dozen copies of its third issue.[311] He went on to suggest that the proprietor must have had great faith in the success of their publication to continue after such poor sales, but concludes that it had been rewarded as the paper by that time was flourishing.

Certainly the *Broad Arrow* weathered the changing publishing environment towards the end of the century much better than some of its older counterparts. In February 1886 the *Naval and Military Gazette* was incorporated into the *Broad Arrow,* and while the merger was presented as a joining[312], and the *Broad Arrow* continued with the additional subtitle of the

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[306] A Lover of Justice, ‘The Victoria Cross’, *Army and Navy Gazette,* 5th May 1860, p. 288.
[307] A Subscriber, ‘A Word for the Crimean Recruits’, *Army and Navy Gazette,* 8th November 1862, p. 720.
[308] ‘Mr Cardwell’s Exposition of Policy, *Broad Arrow,* vol. II, no. 37, 13th March 1869, p. 313.
[309] ‘The Gun of the Future’, *Broad Arrow,* vol. VII, no. 182, 23rd December 1871, p. 802.
[310] ‘Promotion in Foreign Armies’, *Broad Arrow,* vol. XVIII, no. 477, 20th January 1877, p. 65.
[311] Grant, *History of the Newspaper Press,* p. 125.
[312] ‘Special Notice’, *Naval and Military Gazette,* Vol. LXIV, No. 2774, 17th February 1886, p. 157.

Naval and Military Gazette, the older publication was very much subsumed. In the months running up to this incorporation, the *Naval and Military Gazette* had changed its format (1st July 1885) to appear much more like the *Broad Arrow,* including longer articles and less news. It also changed its printer and publisher from the 29th July 1885, suggesting instability or uncertainty behind the scenes. While I have been unable to find documentary evidence, the manner of the incorporation suggests that the proprietors of the *Broad Arrow* bought out the struggling *Naval and Military Gazette* but were keen to inherit both the former's readers and its long established brand and reputation.

The weekly military newspaper, then, proved a slightly easier undertaking than the monthly journal, at least in the commercial arena. While there was a similar number of attempts at each format, there were fewer short-lived and failed weeklies and a larger number of long-running and successful ones. They all provided timely news, and their role as advocates for reform and for the welfare of the men was a crucial influence on the military authorities.

While it falls beyond the chronological remit of this thesis, I was intrigued to notice that the majority of the commercial military periodicals that had survived the nineteenth century so successfully ceased publication in the second decade of the twentieth. The *Broad Arrow* was itself incorporated into the *Army and Navy Gazette* in 1917, in a move that was presented as part of the war effort. The 'Important Notice' on the first page of the last issue of the *Broad Arrow*, describes the merger as a 'patriotic duty', focussing on the need to save paper and also stressing how all of the staff on the amalgamated paper were to be above age or medically exempt from military service.[313] The *United Service Gazette* lasted a little longer, running until December 1921; its last issue gives no indication that it was coming to an end, continuing to provide details about how to subscribe[314], and asking for future contributions[315]. The *United Service Journal* ended publication with its established title and monthly format after the June 1920 volume, while the

[313] 'Important Notice', *Broad Arrow,* Vol. XCVIII, No. 2574, p. 1.
[314] 'To Subscribers', *United Service Gazette,* No. 4595, 29th December 1821, p. 134.
[315] 'To Contributors', *United Service Gazette,* No. 4595, 29th December 1821, p. 139.

publishers talked of an incorporation into their new title, the *Army Quarterly*, which is still published today.[316] They particularly stressed the need to 'prevent the re-establishment of the old barriers between the Army and the civil population'[317] in the wake of the First World War, and this break in publication can been seen as part of that break with the past. While a few commercial military periodicals struggle on for a few years past the end of the First World War, the implications of the conflict, the long lasting effects of conscription, and the changing attitudes towards the military and warfare were all felt deeply by the military publishing world.

Regional Military Periodicals

While the four titles mentioned above dominated the marketplace for metropolitan-based national and international military periodicals, outside of London there was a slightly different story. Regional military periodicals began to appear much more quickly after the 1833 launch of the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* than other London-based titles. The first attempt at publishing a military newspaper outside the metropolis was the *Devonport Standard: and Plymouth United Service Gazette*, which launched in January 1835. Its opening issue stressed that the paper had arrangements with

> the proprietors of the powerful press of the *United Service Gazette,* and *Old England,* the one a well known journal devoted to the Army and Navy, the other a leading metropolitan organ of Conservative principles, its conductors will be enabled to avail themselves of all the sources of information which are peculiar to those papers, in whatever regards either Naval and Military News, or Clerical, Agricultural, and Domestic intelligence of the week.[318]

It is interesting that the *Devonport Standard* felt it important to demonstrate its links to London-based publications and to indicate to its readers that it was receiving up-to-date metropolitan news. However, this initial arrangement

[316] 'Important Notice', *United Service Journal,* No. 1099, June 1920, p. 161.
[317] Ibid, p. 162.
[318] *Devonport Standard and Plymouth United Service Gazette*, No. 1, 8th January 1835, 1.

appears not to have worked, as by the next issue the periodical had changed its name to the *West Devon Standard: and Plymouth United Service Gazette,* and had allied itself with a different conservative paper, the *Metropolis*.[319] The subtitle was dropped by issue three, and the content became much more general, although military and naval news still featured heavily due to the location if for no other reason. This perhaps suggests that the proprietor found the political angle more lucrative or successful than a more specific appeal to a military audience.

Two further provincial military periodicals appeared during the 1840s, the *Army and Navy Register: and Woolwich Gazette* (1840-1855) and *Jones's Woolwich Journal: and Army and Navy Gazette* (1844-1853), which continued as *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette* (1853-1901). Both of these, as their titles suggest, were based in Woolwich, not so far removed from the metropolitan centre. These periodicals were more successful in establishing themselves as chiefly military publications, and due to their location in proximity to the Royal Military Academy, they had a particular focus on the interests and needs of the Engineers and the Artillery.[320] They also provided a wealth of local[321], national[322] and international[323] news, alongside advertisements from local[324] and metropolitan businesses[325].

Both periodicals were monthly, and while the *Army and Navy Register* briefly attempted a weekly edition to run alongside the monthly, this lasted only eight

[319] *West Devon Standard,* No. 2, 14th January 1835, 1.
[320] See for example: 'The Royal Artillery', *Jones's Woolwich Journal,* vol. IX, no. 89, February 1852, p. 23; and 'Royal Engineer's, *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* Vol. XVII, No. 178, August 1859, p. 121.
[321] See for example: 'North Kent Railway', *Army and Navy Register,* no. 143, 1st May 1851, p. 3.
[322] See for example: 'The Armstrong Gun', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* Vol. XVII, No. 178, August 1859, p. 121.
[323] See for example: 'Foreign Intelligence', *Army and Navy Register,* no. 137, 1st February 1851, p. 4.
[324] See for example: 'Joseph Daniels, Military Tailor and Outfitter', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* Vol. X, No. 109, October 1853, p. 152.
[325] See for example: 'Folkard, Army Clothier, and Outfitter', *Jones's Woolwich Journal,* vol. IX, no. 88, January 1852, p. 1.

months, between October 1844 and May 1845. The proprietors of each were local businessmen and publishers, and were fully engaged with and immersed within the local community. John Grant, the proprietor of the *Army and Navy Register,* was also a bookseller, stationer, print-seller and publisher more generally.[326] William Parry Jackson (c.1805-1881), of *Jackson's Woolwich Journal*, also published the *Kentish Independent* (1843-1984).[327] Jackson was very well connected: he was chairman of the Woolwich Steam Packet Company and then deputy chairman of the London Steam Boat Company, member of the Board of Conservancy of the River Thames, chairman of the Woolwich Local Board of Health, member of the Metropolitan Board of Works[328], and acted as the Woolwich agent for the *Times Life Assurance and Guarantee Company*.[329] Jackson was so important in Woolwich that upon his death a number of shops were partially closed and flags in the town were flown at half-mast[330], and his involvement was crucial to the success of the longest running Woolwich military newspaper. He edited the paper from its launch as *Jones's Woolwich Journal* in 1844, and bought the journal in 1851, changing the title to reflect that fact two years later.[331] The periodical was then passed on to his sons Alexander and Joseph, with Joseph running it until July 1901. In August 1901 the paper finally left the family, and was taken over by George Neves, another local printer who took on all of the Jacksons' publishing interests. While Neves continued to publish the *Kentish Independent* for several years, *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* lasted only two further issues, ceasing publication in September 1901.

Interestingly, there were no further attempts to produce military periodicals in Woolwich, except institutional and regimental publications. This might have

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[326] 'John Grant', *Army and Navy Register,* no. 135, January 1851, p. 1.
[327] See 'Kentish Independent Central Printing Office', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* Vol. X, No. 110, November 1853, p. 174.
[328] 'Obituary', *Times,* 15th November 1881, p. 9. *Times Digital Archive,* http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/BN2vEX [accessed 16/07/2019]
[329] See 'Security to Employers', *Jones's Woolwich Journal,* vol. IX, no. 88, January 1852, p. 16.
[330] 'Obituary', *Times,* 15th November 1881, p. 9. *Times Digital Archive,* http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/BN2vEX [accessed 16/07/2019]
[331] 'To Subscribers and Correspondents', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* Vol. X, No.101, February 1853, p. 24.

been due to the fact that the publications produced by the Artillery and the Engineers themselves, alongside *Jackson's Woolwich Gazette,* were enough to saturate the market. But it was these publications that laid the foundations for the military papers based in garrison towns that would emerge later in the century.

After the Crimean War, and in the aftermath of the removal of the Stamp Tax, a significant number of provincial military periodicals appeared in other locations, in particular in Aldershot, an important military centre and the location of the Royal Military College. The first, and arguably the most important of these was *Sheldrake's Aldershot Military Gazette* (1859-1932)[332], owned, printed and published by local stationer, William Henry Sheldrake (1816-1885). As with the Woolwich example, Sheldrake was a well-known figure within the local community, and the newspaper contained a mix of local[333], national[334], international[335], and military news and information.[336] This was followed by several shorter-lived titles in the 1870s and the 1880s, such as the *Aldershot Camp Times, Army Advertiser and Record* (1870), *Aldershot and Farnham Observer and Military Record* (1872-1873), and the *Aldershot Camp Gazette* (1879-1881), which was incorporated with the *Hants and Surrey Times* (1880-1895) in 1881. *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette and Divisional Army List* (1886-1895) was a weekly newspaper that lasted longer than most others, and by 1891 was boasting that it was 'under the patronage of the General commanding the Aldershot Division'[337]. Interestingly, the first number, from July 1886, stated that it was a 'new series', suggesting there had been a previous run of the paper. This may refer to the earlier *Aldershot Camp Gazette* (1879-1881), but I have been unable to definitively prove this.

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[332] See Title List p. ? for the publication's numerous title changes.
[333] 'Local Intelligence', *Sheldrake's Aldershot Military Gazette,* no. 53, 4th August 1860, p. [4].
[334] 'Reduction of Wages in Scotland', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 960, 1st March 1878, p. [3].
[335] 'Foreign Intelligence', *Aldershot Military Gazette,* no. 8, 24th September 1859, p. [2].
[336] 'Arrival of the Scots Greys From Edinburgh', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Gazette,* no. 1352, 10th October 1885, p. [5].
[337] 'Editorial Header', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 238, 7th January 1891, p. 3.

Plymouth and Dover also had a number of military periodicals, including the *Cinque Ports Pilot* (1860-1867), and the *Naval and Military Record, and Royal Dockyards Gazette* (1886-1936). These periodicals contained a higher proportion of naval news, due to their locations, but still contained a great deal aimed at the military. The *Naval and Military Record* was an interesting example, as while based in Plymouth, it marketed itself very much as a national newspaper, aimed at military, naval and royal dockyard workers; it contained less local news and more news from around the country and from abroad than similar examples, including weekly letters from Aldershot[338], and regular correspondence from overseas stations[339].

A small number of publications were launched at other British military stations, such as the *Strensall Camp Gazette* (1888), based in York, and the *Curragh News: a Sporting, Military and General Newspaper* (1891), based at Curragh Camp in Ireland. Again, these provided coverage of local, international and military news, and the *Curragh News* is particularly interesting, as it primarily focused on sport, which, as will be discussed in Chapter Five, was a dominant pastime in Curragh.

Like the earlier Woolwich examples, all of these provincial military periodicals contained a mix of specifically military news, with examples including updates on the rights of soldiers to vote[340], information on new weaponry[341], naval and military news from Parliament[342]. The majority also contained local news,

[338] See for example: 'Our Aldershot Letter', *Naval and Military Record,* Vol. VIII, No. XVII, 15th May 1890, p. 4.
[339] See for example: 'The Cape of Good Hope Station', *Naval and Military Record,* Vol. VIII, No. XVII, 15th May 1890, p. 5.
[340] 'Editorial', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 9 (new series), 1st September 1886, p. 1.
[341] 'The New Magazine Rifle', *The Naval and Military Record,* vol. VII, no. 1, 2nd January 1890, p. 8.
[342] 'Services in Parliament', *The Naval and Military Record,* Vol. XVIII, No. 2, 16th March 1893, p. 10.

such as articles about street obstruction[343], local sports reports[344], and bus and cab timetables[345], as well as local[346] and national advertisements[347]. They perceived their readership as beyond the local, often claiming to have readership nationally or internationally.[348] That is not improbable given that their local military readers might forward on copies and that readers themselves were often on the move. Again, like the earlier examples, many of those involved in producing these local military periodicals were local printers, publishers and businessmen, rather than those with specifically military ties. Sheldrake was a local stationer, while J. May, who produced *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* was a local printer, stationer, and bookseller whose adverts in his own publication stressed that 'orders for army printing and stationery receive prompt attention'.[349] By 1891, May was advertising himself as 'Army Printer and Stationer'[350], suggesting, perhaps, that the popularity of his periodical had landed him a lucrative contract with the military base at Aldershot. The *Naval and Military Record*, meanwhile, was produced by the company behind the *Western Morning News,* a West Counties newspaper that had been produced since 1860, and which only ceased publication in 2014.

[343] 'The Obstruction Question', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 1 (new series), 7th July 1886, p. 3.
[344] 'Football', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 1584, 11th January 1890, p. [8].
[345] 'The Timetable for Bus & Cab Service Between the Camp & York', *Strensall Camp Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 3, 4th July 1888, p. 9.
[346] See for example: 'Sampson's City and County Subscription Library', *Strensall Camp Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 1, 20th June 1888, front page; and 'Theatre Royal and Opera House, Aldershot', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 452 (new series), 20th February 1895, p. [4].
[347] See for example 'Horses', *Sheldrake's Aldershot Military Gazette,* no. 97, 8th June 1867, p. [1].
[348] See for example: 'Editorial Header', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 238, 7th January 1891, p. 3.
[349] 'Christmas Cards and Christmas Presents…', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 24 (new series), 15th December 1886, p. 12.
[350] See for example: 'James May', *May's Aldershot Camp Gazette,* no. 248, 18th March 1891, p. 11.

These provincial military periodicals certainly did not see themselves as lesser or beneath the metropolitan-based titles[351], and at times saw them as direct competition. In September 1842, John Grant, the editor of the *Army and Navy Register* accused the editor of the *United Service Gazette* of frequently copying their content without acknowledgement, of dubious attribution and of a lack of knowledge of military matters.[352] Like the metropolitan military periodicals, it is clear that the commercial imperative was strong.[353] However, locale, family, and close links to civil and military society also played an important part in their success. These titles clearly demonstrate that the ties between military and civilian life were close and strong, and that in garrison towns soldiers were seen as an important part of the community.

Conclusion

In brief, when they first appeared in the 1790s, military periodicals were a risky and peripheral undertaking, often ignored by the military hierarchy and yet to prove themselves financially viable. By 1914 they had become a medium integral to the military, through which army personnel communicated with each other, and expressed and negotiated their professional identities, something that will be explored fully in chapter 5. They were read by both military and civilian audiences, in London, in garrison towns across the country, and around the world. A popular and profitable marketplace had been established for these periodicals, sustaining a wide variety of formats and frequencies, and providing a lucrative investment for publishers. By utilising their pre-existing networks many of the publishers and proprietors mentioned above played an important role in opening up and expanding this marketplace, creating relationships and connections that breached the previous barriers between military, media and civilian population.

[351] Andrew Hobbs argues convincingly on this point. See Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town,* p. 21.
[352] John Grant, 'Editorial', *Army and Navy Register,* Vol. II, No. 27, September 1842, p. 136.
[353] Matthews, *The Provincial Press in England,* pp. 69-74.

While being a vital part of military life, these periodicals also challenged the existing power structures of the military, shifting influence away from established hierarchical patronage relationships and towards the emerging networks of the mass media. They provided a space for officers to discuss new ideas and innovations, while weakening some of the obstacles of rank, geography and circumstance. These networks became so stable and so established that they were self-sustaining, continuing for many of the publications long after their founders or any of their associates had ceased to be involved. It eventually became apparent that such publications were of service to the military, and not a dangerous force working against it. This set the scene for those publications that will be discussed in the next chapter, institutional publications, produced by official military organisations and regiments.

Chapter Three: The Official Recognition of Military Periodicals: Institutional and Regimental Journals

Introduction

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, military periodicals emerged in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century for a number of reasons. A key feature of those early publications was that they were produced by individuals and organisations outside of the military; semi-official and official periodicals produced by military institutions and regiments were much slower to appear. The first, the *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* was launched in 1837, but this was an outlier, and the majority of other publications of this type did not appear until the late 1850s.

The first section of this chapter will look at those institutional publications produced by the Royal Engineers, the Artillery Institution and the Royal United Service Institution. The publications were primarily concerned with the dissemination of educational materials and professional information, and did not contain the variety of content that was featured within the pages of those publications covered in Chapter Two. They were filled with technical treaties, historical essays, and the transcripts of papers on professional subjects that had been read at the meetings of the military institutions. The section will discuss the importance of these periodicals for debate about, and the delivery of, military education and professional development.

The second, slightly longer, section of the chapter will explore the regimental journals that sprang up from the mid-nineteenth century, and which became the dominant form of military periodical from the 1880s onwards. Such journals were as varied as the regiments they represented. Some were annual documents of record for the regiment; others were quarterly regimental updates; some were monthly magazines full of regimental news and entertaining information; while many were irregular publications charting the travels of a regiment across the British empire. Key to these publications was

their role in creating regimental identity and mythology, and in promoting esprit-de-corps.

These publications had much more overt ties to the military than those previously discussed. They were produced by those in the military for those in the military, and were often officially sanctioned by commanding officers and the military establishment. This meant that they were, in general, less critical of the hierarchy or of military systems, and were even less likely to touch on anything explicitly political. They served pre-existing communities, and had a pre-established readership, though they often still had to work hard to reach their intended audience or to find a way to serve their needs. They operated in a subtly different marketplace to commercial and special interest military periodicals previously discussed, and were run along a different financial model. This meant that they were rarely competitors and often shared staff, contributors, and readers with other publications. Because these publications have received little attention previously, this chapter will provide a broad overview, rather than an in-depth analysis of a few titles or themes. This groundwork is important, and will provide a solid base upon which a wide range of future scholarship can build.

Institutional Journals: the Drive for Professional Education

There is a large body of research into military education and training in the long nineteenth century, and very little of it presents a positive narrative. Brian Bond has suggested that the British army was reluctant to adopt professional standards and therefore remained amateur until the end of the nineteenth century[354]; E. S. Turner has described how military officers who sought a higher level of education were perceived to be 'workshy, disloyal, eccentric, exhibitionist, or worse'[355]; Correlli Barnett has suggested that the military elite fought a rearguard action against educational advances[356] and even those looking at the Edwardian Army, such as Timothy Bowman and Mark Connelly,

[354] Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College,* p. 24.
[355] Turner, *Gallant Gentlemen,* p. 203.
[356] Barnett, 'The Education of Military Elites', p. 16.

maintained that 'opportunities for post-commissioning professional development were very limited.'[357]

Officers at the time also expressed their concerns about the state of army education, with Lieutenant-Colonel A Cunningham Robertson sharing his concern during a lecture at The Royal United Service Institution in 1861, saying that

> talent was not rewarded; zeal was not encouraged; precise systematic uniformity was reckoned the one essential object; implicit obedience the one essential condition of successful training.[358]

Frederick Barton Maurice's biography of his father devoted a large section to Sir John Frederick Maurice's experiences and views of education both inside and outside of the military. He quoted his father as having said:

> [t]he inducements to professional study were so limited as to be almost non-existent. The majority of the seniors not only did not insist on it – they positively discouraged it.[359]

This is not, however, the whole story. While the military authorities were slow to implement systematic reform, and the training and education of the British army remained a battleground for the entirety of the nineteenth century, there were plenty of individuals within the army that advocated professional education as early as the eighteenth century[360], and there were a number of institutions and resources set up to support their efforts. The Royal Military College and the Royal Military Academy provided a basic level of education, even if what was taught and how well were continually a subject of debate and complaint.[361] The Staff College, founded in 1858, provided a higher level of professional training, and indicated an acceptance from the military

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[357] Bowman and Connelly, *The Edwardian Army*, p. 8.
[358] Robertson, Alexander Cunningham "Military training: considered principally with reference to the measures adapted for the development of individual excellence" in *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* vol. V, 1861, p. 94.
[359] Maurice, *Sir Frederick Maurice*, p.11.
[360] See Houlding, *Fit for Service* for numerous examples; and Hartwell, 'A Repository of Virtue?', p. 79.
[361] See for example: 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette*, no. 715, 19th September 1846, p. 600; and 'Sandhurst College', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 891, 18th November 1876, p. 8.

hierarchy that this was necessary. It took time to establish its role, particularly as momentum to reform ebbed with distance from the Crimean War[362], but it ultimately became a key vehicle for professional reform within the military.[363]

The nineteenth century also saw the founding of three institutions, the Royal United Service Institution (1831), the Royal Artillery Institution (1838), and the Royal Engineers Institution (1875), which were launched by officers from within the British army, and aimed to provide centres for education, professional development, and the sharing of ideas and innovations.

While this section is intended to challenge the idea that there was no move towards professionalism during the long nineteenth century, it does not aim to suggest that such developments were straight-forward, complete, or without problems. Brian Bond made an important point in saying that

> [t]here was…great uncertainty about the nature of military expertise and how it was best acquired: in the other emergent professions the body of expert knowledge to be mastered was more easily identified.[364]

This was one of the biggest issues faced by those promoting reform, and was something that the military authorities, strategic thinkers, and military periodicals grappled with throughout the century.

Military periodicals can be seen as one of the key resources that developed to support and encourage education and professional development. They provided forums to discuss ideas, to disseminate professional information, and to create networks of like-minded individuals. Many of the publications discussed in Chapter Two placed education at the forefront of their mission, with the *Military Register* (1814-1821) campaigning for military libraries[365], the *Wellington Gazette* (1857-1880) advocating technical training and employability[366], and the *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine* (1884-1890)

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[362] Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College,* pp. 82-83.
[363] Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College*.
[364] Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College*, p. 14.
[365] 'Editorial', *The Military Register,* vol. VII, No. 152, 8th January 1817, p. 34.
[366] 'Again!', *Wellington Gazette and Military Chronicle,* 15th March 1870, p. 25.

lamenting the lack of funding for specialised military education[367]. Educational material made up a huge proportion of the content of many military periodicals across the spectrum, from scholarly journals such as the *United Service Journal* (1829-1920), to entertaining military magazines such as the *Army and Navy Magazine* (1880-1888), and even some of the regimental journals, which will be discussed below. Strachan has stressed that these periodicals did, at times, have a direct impact on military educational policy, showing how they were not just passive but active tools for change.[368] This section, however, will focus on a small group of military periodicals for which education and training were the dominant themes, and which were often closely linked to those military institutions mentioned above. They were few in number, but have been, and often continue to be, important and influential publications.

It is important to note that apart from one significant example, the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* (1858-)[369], all of the periodicals featured in this section were produced by the two 'scientific arms' of the British army, the Royal Engineers and the Royal Artillery. This had much to do with the different structures of recruitment, education and technical training that were faced by those in the two technical branches, and the resulting difference in attitudes to professional development.[370] The subjects of professional interest were also a little better defined for these two more specialised branches of the army, with their journals focussing more on technical subjects, scientific experiments, and those aspects of engineering and firepower that were pertinent to the work they carried out.

The Royal Engineers

The Royal Engineers produced three institutional periodicals during the nineteenth century: the *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the*

[367] Major E. T. H Hutton, 'Mounted Infantry', *The Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine,* Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1884, p. 11.
[368] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 123.
[369] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for change of title.
[370] Strachan, 'The Early Victorian Army and the Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government', p. 788.

Corps of Royal Engineers (1837-1951), the *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects* (1848-1850), and the *Royal Engineers Journal* (1870-). The first two were produced in association with the Royal Engineer Establishment at Chatham, a specialist educational establishment that was founded in 1812. The last publication, the *Royal Engineer(s)* was associated with the Royal Engineer Institution. All three publications focussed on technical and scientific subjects, and clearly marketed themselves as educational tools.

The first, the *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers* (hereafter referred to as *Papers*), was launched in 1837, significantly earlier than any of the other publications discussed in this section. It appeared during a period when military periodicals as a whole were first successfully establishing themselves, and at a time when the number of publications available was limited.

The preface to the first issue contained such a clear summing up of the problems faced by military officers, both engineers and beyond, that it seems useful to quote from it at length:

> The duties, both military and civil, which are imposed upon Officers of Engineers, are so various in their character, and require so extensive an acquaintance with both practice and theory, that any individual officer can hardly be expected, during the course of his service, to make himself completely master of all the details of the subjects which may be brought under his notice. He must of necessity refer to the experience of others; and it is one of the advantages of the Corps of Royal Engineers, and of other bodies similarly circumstanced, that no jarring interests, or professional jealousies, can interfere to prevent one officer giving to another, when required, every advice and assistance in his power.[371]

This recognition of the scale of professional knowledge and the importance of sharing experience was important to both the professional development of the Corps, and the foundation of their periodical publications. Beyond that, the preface suggested that a periodical publication was a means of uniting a

[371] 'Preface'. *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* London: Corps of Royal Engineers, 1837, p. iii.

dispersed community, drawing in the expertise that was built by the service around the globe. It explained that the journal would serve

> in some measure, to remedy the inconveniences which arise from the mode in which [Royal Engineers] are scattered over the world, and which puts a stop to that freedom of intercourse, and interchange of information, which would otherwise take place amongst them. At the same time, however, that this effect is produced, some advantage is gained by the difference in character and amount of the practical information found in different parts of the world, and which advantage will appear in a more prominent point of view, should means be taken to make the information generally known.[372]

The introduction, written by the editor, Lieutenant William Denison (1804-1871), also pointed to the journal as a means of counteracting the defective scientific education provided by the British military academies, suggesting that for Royal Engineers 'labour and study will be requisite to enable them to perform satisfactorily their ordinary duties'[373] The preface and introduction, taken together, provide one of the most wide-reaching and detailed justifications for a military periodical produced during the period.

The journal was produced annually between 1870-1905, and then irregularly until it ceased publication in 1951. It focussed entirely on technical and scientific subjects, and included papers on topics such as the building of barracks[374], Prussian techniques for bending timber[375], and dam construction[376]. Not all contributions in *Papers* came from within the military, with notable civilian contributions including a paper on meteorology by the

[372] 'Preface'. *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* London: Corps of Royal Engineers, 1837, pp. iii-iv.
[373] Denison, William. 'Introduction'. *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* p. 3-4.
[374] Smyth, Captain. 'On the construction of Barracks for Tropical Climates', of *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. II, 1838, pp. 233-238.
[375] Nelson, Lieutenant R. J. 'On the mode of bending timber adopted in Prussia', *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. III, 1839, pp. 139-143.
[376] Bolton, Major. 'Account of the dam constructed across the Waste Channel at Long Island, on the Rideau Canal, 1836', *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. IV, 1840, pp. 131-135.

astronomer Sir John F. Herschel[377] and an article written by an engineer working for the Butterley Iron Company about their wharf crane[378]. These indicate that the journal was read beyond the Royal Engineers, and was perceived by both the scientific community and by industry as an important publication, and also that the editors of the periodical were open to including any material that might be of us.

The use of illustrative plates was frequent within the *Papers,* with images including maps, diagrams, plans and sketches [See Figure 3.1]. It was the most illustrated military periodical produced in the first half of the nineteenth century, with the nature of the subject making such illustrations a vital part of the publication. From the third volume, published in 1839, the *Papers* moved to a new publisher, John Weale, and thereafter the plates were produced using copper rather than stone.[379]

Interestingly, despite the high number of illustrations, which were produced using an expensive method, the journal itself was relatively cheap, at 10 shillings per annum. This low price would have been possible because the journal was not a commercial enterprise and was not seeking to make profit, because it was produced for a small circulation, and because the costs of production were more than covered by the subscription income.[380]

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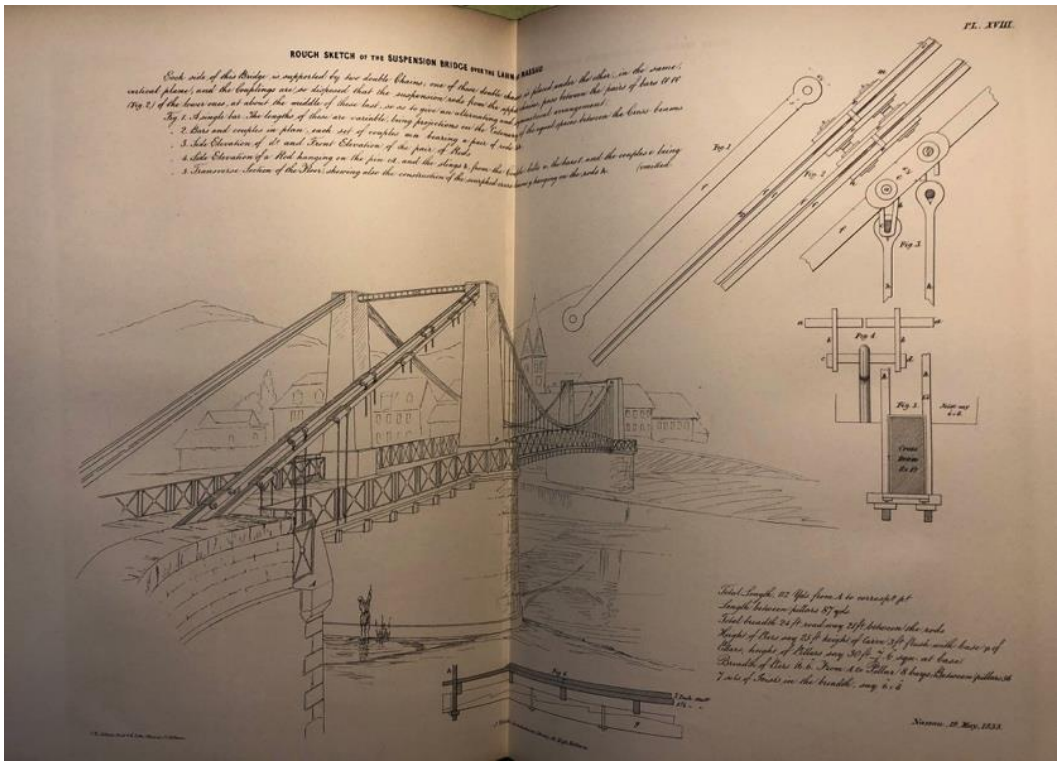
[377] Herschel, Sir John F. 'Instructions for Making and Registering Meteorological Observations at various Stations in Southern Africa, and other Countries in the South Seas, as also at Sea', *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. II, 1838, pp. 214-232.
[378] Glynn, Joseph. 'Description of Wharf Cranes, made by the Butterley Company', *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. IV, 1840, pp. 221-222.
[379] 'Introduction', *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. III, 1839, p. vii.
[380] Introduction', *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. II, 1838, p. xi. While covering the previous year, this demonstrates the large surplus income, which was used to cover higher illustration costs.



A second publication, the *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects* (hereafter referred to as *Corps Papers*), was launched in 1849 as a companion journal to the *Papers*, and aimed to deal more with military subjects than the *Papers,* which, it claimed, focussed on the 'civil element' of engineering.[381] The preface to the first volume again stressed the importance of such a journal for professional education, expressing the hope that

> the Corps Papers will prove a powerful engine in promoting a habit of study amongst the younger members of their profession, by supplying them with so ready a mode of placing the results of their observations and labours before their brother Officers…[382]

Figure 3:1 'Rough sketch of the Suspension Bridge over the Lahn at Nassau', by Lieutenant R. J. Nelson, *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. III, 1839, plate between pages 132 and 133.

[381] 'Preface to the First Volume of Corps Papers', *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects,* vol. 1, no. 3, January 1850, p. iii.
[382] Preface to the First Volume of Corps Papers', *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects,* vol. 1, no. 3, January 1850, p. iv.

It contained papers on historic battles[383], accounts of surveys[384], and an essay on drawbridges[385]. Like the *Papers,* the *Corps Papers* appeared annually, and the style, purpose and intended audience were similar. The journal, however, lasted only two years, suggesting that the differentiation between the *Papers* and the *Corps Papers* was not distinct enough.

The final 'institutional' publication produced by the Royal Engineers, the *Royal Engineers Journal* was launched in 1870, and for many years served as a monthly journal 'for private circulation only'. It was initially run by its own committee, and produced at Chatham, the headquarters of the Royal Engineers, but it became part of the organisation of the Royal Engineers Institution after it was founded in 1875[386], at which point it was voted by the Committee to make the journal a semi-official organ of the Royal Engineers.[387] It was intended to complement the *Papers,* in providing a vehicle for lighter and more domestic matters[388], although it took several years to clearly establish the role that each publication was to play for the Corps.[389]

Despite its aim to be 'lighter', a high proportion of content within the pages of the *Royal Engineers Journal* still had an educational or technical focus, with

[383] 'A Short Account of the Expedition Against Quebec, Commanded by Major-General Wolfe, in the Year 1759. By an Engineer Upon That Expedition (Major Moncrief). Communicated by Col. G. G. Lwwis, C.B, R.E.', *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1849, pp. 2-20.
[384] Robinson, Major. 'Narrative of the Survey, by the British Commission, of the Boundary between the British Possessions in North America and the United States of America, under the Treaty of Washington of the 9th August, 1842' *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects,* vol. 1, no. 2, 1849, pp. 107-169.
[385] Colonel, G. G. Lewis. 'Drawbridges', *Corps of Papers, and Memoirs on Military Subjects,* vol. 1, no. 3, January 1850, pp. 369-397.
[386] 'The Management of the R. E. Journal', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. V, no. LVIII, October 1875, p. 83.
[387] 'Abstract of Proceedings at the Annual General Meeting of the Corps of Royal Engineers, Held on the 22nd May, 1875, *Royal Engineers Journal,* no. LIV, June 1875, p. 48.
[388] 'Editorial', *Royal Engineers Journal,* no. LXI, January 1876, p. 1.
[389] Ibid.

articles appearing on tunnelling[390], telegraphy[391] and the growing military threat of Japan[392]. Alongside that there was more content dealing with happenings within the Corps[393], with the work of the Institution[394], and with the lives of men of the Royal Engineers[395].

In 1905 the journal was relaunched as an official journal of the Institute, available to be purchased by the public.[396] From that point on it tried to widen its coverage to articles that would be of more general interest to the military at large, although its focus still remained largely educational and technical. Articles in the first volume of the new series covered subjects such as languages in India[397], the study of military history[398], and the Anglo-French Boundary Commission in Northern Nigeria[399], alongside more engineering focussed articles such as those looking at engineering work in China[400] and chimney design[401].

That the Royal Engineers were the instigators of official or semi-official military scholarly publishing is no surprise. The Corps' championing of scientific learning, professional development, innovation and scholarly

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[390] Collins, Major. 'Proposed Tunnel, Rio De Janeiro', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. VI, no. LXI, January 1876, p. 3-5.
[391] Mackworth, Major A. W. 'The Field Telegraph Corps in Egypt', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. 12, 1882, pp. 267-272.
[392] Mair, Captain R. J. B. 'The Growing Strength of Japan', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. 29, March 1899, pp. 55-56.
[393] See for example: 'Annual Corps Meeting', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. V, no. LIII, May 1875, pp. 39-40.
[394] 'Editorial', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. VI, no. LXII, February 1876, p. 9.
[395] 'Births, Marriages and Deaths', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. VI, no. LXIV, May 1876, p. 40.
[396] 'Royal Engineers', *Army and Navy Gazette, vol. XLVI, no. 2349,* 28th January 1905, p. 81.
[397] 'Broadbent, Colonel J. E.. Languages in India', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. 1, no. 2, February 1905, pp. 72-79.
[398] Maude, Lieutenant-Colonel F. N. 'The Scientific Study of Military History', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. 1, no. 4, April 1905, pp. 153-169.
[399] Elliot, Leiutenant-Colonel G. S. McD. 'The Anglo-French Boundary Commission in Northern Nigeria, 1902-1904', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. I, no. 6, June 1905, pp. 314-325.
[400] Scott-Moncrieff, Brevet Colonel G. K. 'Notes on Engineering Work in Northern China', *Royal Engineers Journal,* Vol. I, no. 1, January 1905, pp. 20-30.
[401] Ainslie, Major A. 'The Design of Tall Chimneys', *Royal Engineers Journal,* vol. I, no. 6, pp. 326-329.

endeavour are well documented[402]. This ethos of learning was instrumental to the founding of their periodicals, and those periodicals were a key resource to encourage the production and dissemination of professional knowledge. The Engineers' publications would serve as a model for the other institutional military periodicals that would follow, and they continue to serve as tools for professional development, right up to the present day.

The Royal United Services Institution

The United Service Museum, which would later become the Royal United Service Institution (RUSI) was founded in 1831, by the Duke of Wellington, and received its royal charter in 1860. It was initially founded as a museum of military and natural science[403], but was also intended as a resource for professional development for all of the branches of the armed services, with a library and a lecture theatre, which hosted around sixteen talks a year on a variety of subjects relevant to the services.[404] By 1840 it had around 4000 members, but these were largely concentrated in London, within easy reach of the Institute's premises.[405]

The Institution owed its existence in large part to the *United Service Journal*, which was used as a platform for first suggesting the idea of the Institution[406], and then for campaigning to raise awareness, funds and support for it[407]. The journal's editor, Thomas Shadwell-Clerk, was one of the key figures involved in establishing the Institute, personally contacting Wellington to persuade him to support the venture[408], before serving as Chairman and Vice-President for

[402] See for example: Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 132.
[403] Hartwell, 'A repository of virtue?', pp. 80-82.
[404] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 131.
[405] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* pp. 131-132.
[406] 'To the Editor of the United Service Journal', *United Service Journal*, no. 2, February 1829, p.239. On the *United Service Journal*, see above, Chapter Two.
[407] See for example: 'The United Service Museum', *United Service Journal,* no. 8, August 1829, pp. 129-143.
[408] Letter from Thomas Shadwell Clerke – a copy of which was forwarded by Sir Howard Douglas to the Duke of Wellington. The letter was originally written on 29th August 1829. [[Wellington Papers 1/1094/26 3-4]

a number of years[409]. From its very outset, then, RUSI was closely linked to professional military periodicals and to scholarly publishing. It was, however, over twenty years before it produced a publication of its own.

The *Journal of the Royal United Service Institute* was established in 1857, and for the majority of its existence it was published quarterly, something of an anomalous frequency for military periodicals, as we saw in Chapter One. In an Address, which was printed in the first volume, the Chairman of the Institute, Colonel The Hon. James Lindsay, consciously placed the journal alongside the publications of other learned and scientific societies, as well as linking it to the professional *Papers* of the Royal Engineers.[410] He also highlighted the interactive relationship between the Institute, its members, and the journal, in saying that

> we hope, by giving officers a *quid pro quo,* by making the Institution practically useful, by promoting and encouraging information which must be beneficial, to obtain the hearty concurrence of the officers of the several services – a course which, we trust, will not only raise the character of the Institution, but the character of those who compose it.[411]

The journal was an immensely useful tool for the Institute, allowing its reach to extend beyond London, serving as a means of disseminating information to a dispersed audience, and acting as a central point for the building of networks and professional communities. The Chairman's Address, which featured in the journal two years after its launch, was explicitly clear about the positive role the journal was playing for the Institute, saying

> The principal cause of the last year being so successful as regards the increase of members, is the publication of the Journal; and I am happy to say that the more the Journal has become known, the more highly has it become appreciated, more particularly by those serving in Her Majesty's ships and regiments in foreign parts. We have repeatedly received letters from officers serving abroad expressing their high

[409] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 20 and p. 131.
[410] 'Address delivered on Monday, 18th May, 1857, by Colonel The Hon. James Lindsay, *Chairman*.' *The Journal of the United Services Institution*, vol. I, no. I, 1857. pp. 4-5.
[411] Ibid, p. 5.

> appreciation of the Journal, and their anxiety to become members of the Institution.[412]

The journal was made up of transcripts of the lectures and talks given at RUSI, as well as the discussions that followed each paper, allowing those that could not attend in person to access the information provided. The subjects of the talks were diverse, and included 'The Financial and Executive Administration of the British Indian Empire'[413], the 'The Defence of London'[414], and 'On the Forts of To-day'[415]. Again, the wide range of subjects serves to illustrate the huge range of information deemed professionally useful to soldiers, and therefore the problems of ring-fencing professional military knowledge. Volume V of the journal, which covered the year 1861-1862, included articles on the military uses of photography[416], a history of the Fortress at Malta[417], advice on military training[418], articles on new technology[419], accounts of scientific experiments[420], descriptions of the French system of military gymnastics[421], explanations of military drawing[422],

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[412] 'Chairman's Address', *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, vol. III, no. IX, 1859, p. 89.
[413] Kennedy, Lieutenant-Colonel J. P. 'The Financial and Executive Administration of the British Indian Empire'[413], *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. III, no. IX, 1859, pp. 50-86.
[414] Adair, Colonel Shafto. The Defence of London'[414], *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. IV, no. XIV, 1860, pp. 291-310.
[415] Lloyd, Major E. M. (R.E.). 'On the Forts of To-day'[415], *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. XXVI, no. CXIV, 1882, pp. 164-179.
[416] Donnelly, Captain. 'Photography, and its Application to Military Purposes', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XVI, 1861, pp. 1-18.
[417] Porter, Major. 'The History of the Fortress of Malta'. *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XVI, 1861, pp. 19-30.
[418] Robertson, Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. 'Military Training, Considered Principally with Reference to the Measures Adopted for the Development of Individual Excellence', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XVI, 1861, pp. 87-109.
[419] Becker, Mr C. 'Description of an Electro-Chronoscope invented by Major-Gen. Anstruther', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XVIII, 1861, pp. 322-324.
[420] Frankland, Dr. E. 'On the Influence of Atmospheric Pressure upon the Burning of Time-Fuses', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XVIII, 1861, pp. 349-353.
[421] Steinmetz, Lieutenant A. 'Military Gymnastics of the French', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XVIII, 1861, pp. 370-396.
[422] Garnet Man, Lieutenant-Colonel H. 'Military Drawing', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XIX, 1861, pp. 397-404.

and a discussion of the development of telegraphy[423]. This demonstrates the impossibility of any one officer absorbing all of the useful subjects of his profession, and also highlights the importance of such a journal as a source of recording, storing, and circulating knowledge.

It is useful to note how many engineers and artillery officers were writing in the *Journal of the United Service Institution,* despite having their own publications. This shows a desire to share knowledge between branches, as well as recognition that a wide range of knowledge and experience could be useful to officers across the services. However, this could also sometimes be a point of contention, as a correspondent to the *Broad Arrow* in January 1893 demonstrated when complaining that the 'Journal committee contains two Gunners, an Engineer, and two Navy men. So that in this important direction the scientific corps alone represent the Army.'[424] This dominance of military publishing by the scientific branches can be linked to the effects of the different educational practices adopted. It might also be explained by the earlier embracing of meritocratic systems by the Engineers and Artillery, who had a higher proportion of middle-class officers, and where there was, perhaps, less tension between the gentlemanly ideal and ideas of professionalism. This will be discussed further in Chapter Five.

The Royal Artillery Institution

The Royal Artillery Institution was founded in 1840, with the Royal Engineer Establishment as its inspiration. The proposal for the Institution, written in 1838, stressed how

> This establishment may also be made to fulfil another object whose want has long be felt. It may be made to serve as a depository for such professional notes, memoranda, tables, drawings, &c., &c., as may be procured. Young Officers will then know where to seek information on

[423] Rhodes, Major G. 'Submarine Telegraphy within the limits of the North Atlantic and Arctic Regions', *Journal of the United Service Institution,* vol. V, no. XX, 1862, pp. 582-611.
[424] 'Letters to the Editor: The Royal United Service Institution', *The Broad Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 1280, 7th January 1893, p. 12.

> practical points as they may want it, instead of being, as they now are, at a loss where to look for it.[425]

However, due to the poor funding it received from within the military, it initially struggled to establish itself as a useful resource for the professional development of Artillery officers.[426] It was 15 years later, with increased funding and a new building, that the Institution really began to fulfil its role, and an article in *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* celebrated its relaunch, by saying

> The 2nd March will be memorable in the annals of the Artillery, as on that day its officers assembled together to express their adhesion to a great principle, namely, that science is a necessary element of the character of an artillery officer…As a body, too, it has now awakened to the consciousness that an artillery officer must be something more than an ordinary soldier; and, as a first step in a new career of mental triumph, on this day was opened an Institution which is intended to afford its officers the means of perfecting their instruction in all those branches of study which are recognized to have a valuable professional application.[427]

A key development was that from January 1856, towards the end of the Crimean War, the Secretary at War gave the Royal Artillery Institution an allowance to pay for a printer, and to cover wear and tear on their printing press. While the press was mostly used for printing memoranda and notices for circulation to the members of the Royal Artillery Institution, it meant that a means for producing a journal was already available once it was decided to launch one.

The journal of the Institution had come about slowly, with a run of the *Proceedings of the Minutes of the Royal Artillery Institution* appearing from 1845, but this early incarnation was made up almost exclusively of minutes from the meetings of the Institution and was produced for private circulation only. The minutes themselves show that the Committee of the Institute was

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[425] 'Copy of Original Proposal [for Regimental Institution for the Royal Artillery], Woolwich, February 1st, 1838', Included in the 'Preface', *Minutes of Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution*, vol. 1, 1858 p. i.
[426] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 133.
[427] 'Thoughts on the Artillery Institution', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. XI, no. 114, April 1854, p. 58.

very keen to launch an official publication, but the plans for the journal were constantly delayed[428], with a distinct break in the activities of the Institute during the Crimean War[429]. Following the end of the war, the officially published *Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution* (*Minutes and Proceedings* hereafter) finally launched in 1858, and alongside the minutes from the meetings, it contained articles and transcripts of the papers that had been read at the Institution. The first volume contained papers dated between 1848 and 1857, illustrating the decade's battle to achieve the desired publication, although once launched it quickly flourished, and continues to this day.

Despite the problems of launching their first publication, the Institute quickly followed it with a second, the *Occasional Papers of the Royal Artillery Institution* which was launched in 1860. It was designed to allow the *Minutes and Proceedings* to become more like the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institute* in focusing on the transcripts of the papers given at the Institute, and contained minutes from the meetings of the Institution, notes and small news items, and synopses or notices about papers that were printed in full in the *Minutes and Proceedings.*

The role that it would play was clearly outlined in the annual report that was reproduced in the first volume of the *Occasional Papers.* Like with the previous examples, it stressed the importance of disseminating professional knowledge, and pointed to the fact that with a dispersed audience, this was only possible via a periodical publication saying

> One of the chief objects of the Institution, as laid down in the preamble to the general rules, is to inform Officers on all subjects of professional and scientific interest, especially where science may be applied to professional subjects.
> This information can to the majority of the regiment be only given by publication, and it is to meet this want that the "Occasional Papers"

[428] See: Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution, vol. I, 1845; and Report of the Committee of the Royal Artillery Institution for the year ending 30th April 1846.
[429] See 'Preface', *Minutes of Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution*, vol. 1, 1858, p. i.

> have been commenced. It must be remembered that this publication is yet in its infancy, but the Committee trust to render it both useful and interesting to their brother officers.[430]

This was another example of a second publication produced by an institution that did not clearly differentiate itself from the first, and it lasted for only one year. The *Minutes and Proceedings* of the Institute was able to include all of the information pertinent to the Regiment of Artillery, alongside the papers on professional subjects, and serves as the Artillery's Institutional publication right up to the present day.

Both the founding of the Royal Artillery Institution and the launching of the *Minutes and Proceedings* can be seen as acts of specialisation from within the ranks of the British military. Until that point, the Artillery had relied heavily on the resources and the publications of the Royal Engineers, but there came a growing recognition that this was inadequate for their specialised needs. While Artillerymen would continue to contribute to the *Papers* of the Royal Engineers, and to the newly launched *Journal of the Royal United Service Institute,* having their own publication not only allowed for circulation of news and knowledge amongst the Regiment, but also help establish and ring-fence a distinct identity and knowledge base for the Artillery.

Institutional military periodicals were few in number, and only became a fully-established sub-genre from the middle of the nineteenth century. However, these publications have proved to be some of the most enduring, with the majority continuing well into the twentieth century. Of the six publications discussed above, three are still running today.

These were publications that were clearly designed as tools for education and for professional development, and their establishment, influence, and continued utility challenges any argument that there was little or no interest in professionalization within the nineteenth-century military. While the number of

[430] 'Annual Report and abstract of the Proceedings of a General Meeting of the Royal Artillery Institution, held on Thursday, May 12, 1859', *Occasional Papers of the Royal Artillery Institution*, vol. I, 1860, pp. 288-289.

subscribers to each publication was limited, and it is impossible to know how widely they were read in reading rooms and regimental libraries, it has been acknowledged that key military issues were discussed in their pages, and that such discussions could have real influence on strategy and policy.[431]

Esprit de Corps: The Regimental Journal as messenger, memorial and myth-maker

Regimental[432] Journals were a very different type of periodical than either the commercial or the institutional publications of the period. They were aimed at a much smaller audience, made almost entirely of those in or associated with a specific regiment, and were generally not run for profit, with the costs being covered by subscription and production often subsidised by the regiment. The content, like the readership, was mostly limited to that which would be of interest to the regiment, and they were particularly focussed on events in which the regiment had been active, including campaigns, overseas visits, sport, and leisure activities. The role that the journals played varied from regiment to regiment, with some focussing more on technical and educational subjects, while others limited their content to purely social material. They did, however, all act as unifying forces for each regiment, and played a crucial role in the forging and maintaining of collective identities and social networks that revolved around the unit of the regiment.

A key theme that will be explored in this section is that of 'esprit de corps'. *The Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'esprit de corps' in a very broad sense, as 'the regard entertained by the members of a body for the honour and

[431] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 25.
[432] The term 'regiment' itself is fraught with problems and instability. See French, *Military Identities*, pp. 7-9, for an explanation of the different units of the British Army and the inconsistent naming practices. For clarity's sake here, 'regimental journal' is used to cover all journals produced by and aimed at a particular unit of the army, beyond those covered in the previous section.

interests of the body as a whole, and for each other as belonging to it.'[433], but the term is mostly used when speaking about the military, and the British Army in particular had a very specific notion of the idea that tied it closely to the regiment. Helpfully, one of the nineteenth century military periodicals, the *St. George's Gazette* (1883-)[434] gave its own definition, saying

> "Esprit de corps" is the name given to the feeling that exists among soldiers, which knits them together and makes them take a pride and pleasure in the regiment to which they belong, and which, if properly acted upon, will always tend to raise a regiment to a high standard of excellence... [It moves] men to act from more unselfish motives than the desire of personal gain, makes them pull together for one common cause, and makes the body to which they belong strong, for "Union is Strength![435]

The concept was important for a soldier's sense of belonging, and for a regiment's idea about its identity and history. The term frequently featured in military periodicals, and was often one of the justifications for the founding of a regimental journal. Esprit de corps, was not however, something that simply arose spontaneously. As David French suggests, 'it had to be manufactured, and then transmitted from generation to generation.'[436] Military periodicals generally, and regimental journals in particular, were one key tool used in creating, fostering and transmitting the idea.

Why were regimental journals founded?

While a large number of commercial and institutional journals were well established by the late 1850s, the first regimental journal, the *North Lincoln Sphinx* (1860-1866) was not produced until 1860. The journal was printed for private circulation, and its founding had more to do with the individual situation of the regiment, and their imminent departure to a posting in the Empire, than any outside market forces. This will be explored further below. However, other titles soon followed, and the slow but steady expansion of the format from the

[433] 'esprit, n.'. *OED Online.* June 2018. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6440. [accessed 25th August 2018].
[434] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for change of title.
[435] 'Esprit de Corps', *St. George's Gazette, No. 6, 30th June 1883,* p. 1.
[436] French, *Military Identities,* p. 6.

early 1860s onwards followed a more general trend in printing brought about by the abolishment of the final 'Tax on Knowledge', the paper tax, in 1861.[437] It may also be linked to the expansion of the British Empire in the latter half of the nineteenth century, and particularly in the aftermath of the 1857 'Indian Uprising'.[438] By 1869, nine titles were established; the 1870s saw a further eleven; the 1880s nine more, and the 1890s saw a burst of activity with thirty new journals. This late nineteenth-century explosion of regimental journals is more difficult to explain, but it may have simply been a tipping point, when enough journals were already established for other regiments to follow suit, and this idea will be explored more fully below. It may also have been the result of the turbulent economic times, which saw a more general upsurge in the periodical publishing environment: every social group was coming to want to broadcast its identity.[439] By the beginning of the twentieth century almost every regiment had its own journal: a periodical had become a necessary and accepted part of regimental identity.

Many regimental journals were founded both as a means of recording a regiment's experiences of serving abroad and also as a means of communication with those back home. A high proportion were launched either shortly before a regiment travelled, or while they were serving overseas, with a concentration of titles originating in India, such as the *Borderers' Chronicle,* which was launched in Bareilly (which is now in the northern Indian state of Uttar Pradesh) in 1871, the *Twenty First Hussars Regimental Gazetteer,* founded in Lucknow in 1872 and the *Oakleaf,*[440] which was founded in Madras in 1895. Ireland was also a popular place of origin for many regimental journals, such as *XII East Suffolk Gazette,* launched in Dublin in 1863 and the *St George's Gazette*, founded in Mullingar (in County Westmeath) in 1883.

[437] Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain,* p. 98.
[438] See for example: Bender, *The 1857 Indian Uprising and the British Empire,* pp. 176-181; and Streets, *Martial Races,* pp. 34-35.
[439] King, 'The Trade and Professional Press', pp. 558-585.
[440] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for details of the numerous changes of title.

The *North Lincoln Sphinx* was a prime example of the establishment of a regimental journal overseas. It was the journal of the 2nd Battalion of the 10th Regiment (North Lincolnshire Regiment of Foot), and charted their time in South Africa. The preface of the journal was written in Curragh Camp in Ireland, twenty months after the founding of the Battalion when its men were just about to 'spread our first colours to the breezes of a distant land…' [441] The opening pages explained that 'we are young, and we are leaving, for the first time as a regiment, Home and all that makes Home dear to us, the friends of our childhood and our youth…' and their hopes that when 'we reach the glowing land of sunny skies, and lovely flowers, which is our destination [the Cape of Good Hope], a wider field will be opened to our contributors, and, perchance from the journal…scenes and adventures may be gleaned which will lighten up the columns of our paper, and win at least the attention, of our indulgent readers.'

The journal provided an important conduit for communication between the regiment and home, and this template was used by many other regimental journals that would follow. While records indicate that the *North Lincoln Sphinx* was published until 1866, the surviving copies take us only up to 1862 and the end of the regiment's time in South Africa, and there is no evidence to illustrate the journal's fate in their next posting in India or beyond. However, many later regimental journals travelled across the world with their units, and the separation from home often sustained publications long after their initial founding.

Other journals were founded to act as a document of official record for the regiment, to be collected by those serving to mark their time, and also to be deposited in the regimental library and saved for posterity. Such journals aimed to record the day-to-day activities of their regiment, which might include time serving abroad or active service in battle, but they were more likely to cover balls, dinners, sporting events and theatricals. The opening Editorial of

[441] 'Ourselves', *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1st January 1860, pp. 1-2. The following quotations also come from this source.

the *Thin Red Line* (1894-) stressed the likelihood that the journal would contain mostly peacetime reporting, but also hoped for future active postings or war, saying

> It may be that we shall only have to record bloodless victories in the Maidan at manoeuvres or in football, polo, or other games. More fortunately we may be engaged on the frontier of this great country where there is always some expedition or other marching against the refractory tribes on our border. The time may come when we may again meet the vast armies of that Empire against whom we fought just forty years ago and with that object in view we should remember the name we bear and endeavour to worthily represent "The Thin Red Line."[442]

In their opening, the *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette* (1891-1899) seemed much more content with recording their peacetime exploits:

> In the first place then we are anxious to provide a concise record of the social life and doings of the Regiment and the station where it may be quartered, which can be readily transmitted to our many friends in England, and to enable them to learn how we spend our days and of what our Work and Recreation consists.[443]

They also listed an additional aim, 'to afford amusement and instruction to our readers'[444], which while likely the intention of the majority of regimental journals, is rarely stated so explicitly.

Many of the later regimental journals were founded simply because members of the regiment suggested that such a publication was desired, after seeing the success of other regimental journals. For example, the Royal Engineers, while already having their long established technical journal, discussed above, launched their own regimental journal in August 1895, and opened it by declaring:

> With this issue, *"The Sapper"* makes its first bow to the Corps of Royal Engineers as a Regimental paper. Many have expressed a wish for such a means of uniting the widely scattered elements of the Corps by letting each know what the others are doing, and, further, it is hoped that "*The Sapper"* will also form a bond of fraternal union between

[442] 'Editorial', *The Thin Red Line,* vol. 1, no. 1, 31st January 1894, p. 1.
[443] 'Editorial', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 1, May 1891, 1.
[444] Ibid.

> those who are now serving in the Corps and our old Comrades who have served in it, and who still take a keen interest in its doings.[445]

The *St. George's Gazette* likewise opened by saying the journal had been started due to requests made by members of the regiment, and suggested that its members felt left behind by not having such a publication when so many other regiments did[446].

The founding *of* the *43rd & 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle*[447] in 1892 was even more clearly motivated by the success of another regiment's journal:

> Last year the officers of the Rifle Brigade published their first Chronicle, and, though imitation is said to be the sincerest form of flattery, perhaps a more definite acknowledgement is due to them for having given their old Light Division friends the lead.[448]

Though rarely so openly acknowledged, by the 1890s the majority of journals launched were copying the style, form or format of the publications of their fellow regiments. The model had proved itself, a number of journals had already run for several decades, and while generally not financially lucrative, regimental journals tended to be self-sustaining.

It is telling how many regimental journals introduced themselves by stating that one of their primary aims was to instil esprit de corps in their regiment. An editorial in the *Borderers Chronicle* stated that

> The great advantage of a regimental paper is, that it is a connecting link between the different units of a regiment, a medium for circulating interesting information regarding it, and a pleasant method of fostering that "esprit de corps," which has always existed so strong in the regiment.[449]

While *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette* (1893-)[450] opened by explaining

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[445] 'To our readers', *The Sapper,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1st August 1895, p. 1.
[446] 'Editorial', *St. George's Gazette,* no. 1, 31st January 1883, p. 1.
[447] See entry for *Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle* on the Tile List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[448] Preface by the Committee', *The 43rd & 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle, 1892,* p. ix.
[449] Editorial' *Borderers Chronicle,* New Series, No. 1, 1st July 1893, 1.
[450] See entry for *Green Howards' Gazette* on the Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.

> The Introduction to our readers of a Regimental Magazine necessitates the admission that if, in this venture of "Ours," we were actuated by no other motive than a desire to provide for the literary appetites of our comrades, we should be compelled to preface our first number with an apology for imposing our wares upon an already well-stocked market.
>
> We have, however, another and a higher motive – old-fashioned and out-of-date it may appear to some; an unmeaning, empty phrase to many; to other a sentiment to be ignored, stifled, organized out of existence; to us a active, living reality – and we call it "Esprit de Corps." To foster and promote this feeling in our Regiment is the chief aim of this Magazine.[451]

The apologetic tone used in this second introduction was a frequent feature of regimental journals. Unlike their commercial counterparts that had to establish themselves as professionally-run, popular and commercially viable from the outset, regimental journals often saw themselves as a bit of an indulgence. They were generally run by amateurs, most often serving or retired officers of the regiment, who had to fit the work in around their other commitments. As a later issue of the *St George's Gazette* explained, 'Our Gazette is written *by* soldiers *for* soldiers, and does not aspire to exalted literary eminence.'[452] And "*Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* used a great military analogy, concluding their preface by reminding their critics that 'we are but untrained recruits in the Army of Literature; who hope that Time, the stern old Drill-Sergeant, may soon fit us to fill our place in the ranks marching up the hill to Success.'[453]

Format and Frequency

The majority of regimental journals were monthly, though a significant number, such as the *Journal of the Household Brigade* (1862-1880)[454] and the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle* (1890-)[455] were annuals, and a smaller number

[451] Editorial', *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. 1, no.1, April, 1893, p. 1.
[452] 'I hope I don't intrude', *St. George's Gazette,* no. 3, 31st March 1883, p. 1.
[453] 'Editorial', *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. 1, no.1, April, 1893, p. 2.
[454] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[455] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.

appeared quarterly, such as the *79th News* (1891-1960)[456], although this format became more popular from the beginning of the twentieth century. Price varied by format, with annuals being the most expensive, and monthlies the cheapest.

Price could vary over time, as journals changed their format, grew in size or frequency, or adopted new technologies. For example, The *Rifle Brigade Chronicle* for the years 1890-1892 only had two plates per volume, 1893 had nine per volume, and 1894 had seventeen per volume. Notably the price jumped from 5 shillings 1890-1893 to 10 shillings in 1894, and the Editor justified this increase by explaining that 'In 1890-93, the cost of the illustrations had been defrayed by individuals, or by Battalions making donations to the Chronicle Fund...' but for the 1894 volume the increased subscription costs allowed for more images paid for directly out of the Chronicle's funds.[457]

As discussed in Chapter One, the majority of military periodicals were aimed at the officer classes, with fewer attempts to engage the rank and file of the British army. However, regimental journals were (in theory) aimed at all the men of a regiment, and included accounts of activities and content produced by privates and NCOs, as well as their officers, (although it appears that getting news from the lower ranks was not always that easy.)[458] Many regimental journals were set up so that the subscriptions paid by officers and by those outside of the regiment subsidised the cost for those of lower ranks, making the publications affordable for all. For example the price of the *Tiger and the Rose,* the journal of the York and Lancaster Regiment, in 1898 was 4 annas in India or 4d in Britain, but was reduced to 3 annas or 3d for N.C.O.s and men of the regiment, past or present.[459] Similarly, a note in the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle* explained that

[456] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[457] 'Editorial', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle for 1894,* pp. 274-275.
[458] See for example Editorial' *Borderers Chronicle,* New Series, No. 2, August 1893, 1.
[459] 'Editor's Notes', *Tiger and the Rose,* vol. xii, no. 1, January 1898, p. 12.

> Every subscriber who pays 10s. not only receives a copy of the Chronicle for himself, but thereby enables three copies to be issued at 2s. 6d. to the N.C.O.'s and Private Riflemen.[460]

This policy, which allowed for a wider readership, was possible as the regimental journals were not commercial undertakings, and were able rely on the goodwill of many of their subscribers. But it also points to a more diverse readership than was achieved (or than can be proved) by many other forms of military periodical. Specific circulation figures for regimental journals can be even harder to come by than for their commercial counterparts, as there are often no records of sale, and many copies were presented to individuals or purchased for reading rooms and common rooms. However, there are a number of clues which appeared in their own pages.

Firstly, some regimental journals included circulation lists at the front of their volumes. For instance, there is a list of 116 subscribers in the front of the *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle* for the year 1893, and the *Green Howards' Gazette* for April 1897 had a list of subscribers from the 1st and 2nd Battalions of the regiment, who numbered 60, and included those ranking from Lieutenant-General down to Captain. The editor also noted that 'In addition to the above we have 168 subscribers, exclusive of the 1st and 2nd Battalions and Depot'.[461]

Rather than listing all of the subscribers, the *Thin Red Line* simply listed the new ones towards the back of each issue. For the issue of 28th February 1894, it had 6 new subscribers, who included one civilian in Canada, one in Edinburgh and one in the US, two men of the regiment, and one clergyman based in Mian Mir in modern day Pakistan (where the regiment was at that time stationed).[462] These figures tell us the number of men who paid for a copy of these journals, but, as always, they tell us nothing of how many people read each copy that was produced.

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[460] 'Editorial', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle for 1894,* p. 275.
[461]'Roll of Officers who have formerly served in, or been attached to, the 1st and 2nd Battalions, and who subscribe to "The Green Howards' Gazette"*', The Green Howards' Gazette* vol. 5, no. 47, April 1897, p.7.
[462] *The Thin Red Line,* vol. 1, no. 2, 28th February 1894, p. 31

Some publications included limited information about their print runs, which provides an interesting insight into the circulation models of many regimental journals. For instance, in the Preface by the Committee at the start of the 1893 volume of the *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle* we are told that:

> The Chronicle for 1892 is now out of print, the whole of the two hundred and fifty copies having been disposed of by sale and presentation. H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught was graciously pleased to accept a copy, and further presentations of the volume were made to the Chestnut Troop, R. H. A., the Rifle Brigade, and the Royal Fusiliers.[463]

We had already been told that there were 116 subscribers for 1893, and it was indicated that several of the listed subscribers were new that year. This would suggest that around 150 of the 1892 volume were disposed of via a range of means other than subscription.

Presentations to important persons were popular, as illustrated by the above quotation. In another example, both the Queen and the Prince of Wales were sent copies of the first annual issues of the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle,* which covered the year 1890. They each sent a letter of thanks, via their secretaries, both of which were included in the following year's volume.[464]

Exchanges with other regiments were also a means of circulation for some journals, particularly later in the century. Two notices which appeared in issues of the *Borderers Chronicle* in 1893 and 1894 provide some information on the prevalence of this practice. A short note which appeared in the September 1893 issue, simply said 'Received with thanks *Sprig of Shillelagh* for Sept.'[465], with the *Sprig of Shillelagh* (1890-1968)[466] being the title of the regimental journal for the 27th Inniskillings. The later note, which appeared in the July 1894 issue, suggests that by the following year there was a larger array of exchange agreements in place, with the editor being 'pleased to

[463] '*Preface by the Committee', The 43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle, 1893*, p. ix.
[464] 'Letters to the Editor', *Rifles Brigade Chronicle for the year 1891,* p. 100.
[465] 'Editorial' *Borderers Chronicle,* New Series, No. 3, September 1893, p. 9.
[466] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.

acknowledge that he has received the following papers in June:- "The 2nd Suffolk Gazette[467]," "Thin Red Line," "Highland Light Infantry Chronicle," (71st), and "The Nines[468]."'[469]

Some journals also attempted to drum up more interest and new subscribers by sending out copies and information, but as this excerpt from the *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette* suggests, this could have mixed results:

> Over fifty copies of the *Gazette* have been posted to some old members of the regiment, and about seventy-five leaflets to others giving a full explanation of where and on what terms the paper can be obtained. The result so far has been the receipt of seven subscriptions and one abusive letter, post mark "Derby".[470]

While providing no concrete numbers of readers for these regimental journals, all of these examples do give us a great deal of information about the make-up of the readership. The vast majority were soldiers in the regiment, including men of all ranks, but there were also former soldiers and men from other regiments. Persons of distinction who had links to the regiment also subscribed, or were presented with copies, with members of the royal family receiving a number of different publications. Finally, friends, family, and interested members of the public also read these regimental journals, and often these people were dispersed across the globe, sometimes far removed from the points of production of these periodicals. These 'special interest' publications had a surprisingly diverse readership.

Content

The regimental journal was typically filled with news, stories, poems and sporting and theatrical accounts. The majority of publications deliberately steered clear of more serious and technical subjects. This was true from the

[467] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[468] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[469] 'Notice' *Borderers' Chronicle,* New Series, No. 12, July 1894, p. 3
[470] 'Gossip', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 8, February 1892, 6.

outset, with the editor of the *North Lincoln Sphinx* stating, in a note to correspondents that:

> We have been obliged of late, to decline several papers, possessing considerable merit, in consequence of their having entered upon what in the army, is called “shop” we would beg our correspondents to avoid such topics of the future.[471]

There were exceptions to this, which will be touched on later, but in general regimental journals concentrated on the experience and social life of the regiment, avoiding anything that could be contentious. The content then tended to fall into three distinct types: straightforward reportage, nostalgic reminiscence, or whimsical, sometimes comic escapism.

The *North Lincoln Sphinx* contained a lot of the latter, much of which seemed to be formed of regimental in-jokes, particularly focussing on the travels and adventures of Lieutenants S. E. Orr and Martin who, we are told in issue three, had departed on

> an exploring expedition round the east coast: they are said to be efficiently equipped with scientific instruments, and all the necessary apparatus for astronomical observations, and we have little doubt but that discoveries of “no ordinary dimensions” will be made before the return of the expedition.[472]

The next issue contained an account of how they:

> had good sport amongst the wild animals, and together with other strange creatures, they killed some dozen or two of unicorns. Mr. Martin discovered a large *Sphinx* somewhere near the Amatola mountains, and tried to stalk it, but even his highland training failed him with the wary bird and it flew away.’[473]

Such comic accounts featured heavily throughout the journal and seem to have been a means for the battalion to bond. Other journals followed in the same vein, with the *St. George’s Gazette* featuring amusing fake adverts[474]

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[471] *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* vol. 1, no. 3, 1st November 1960, p. 34.
[472] *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* vol. 1, no. 3, 1st November 1860, p. 33.
[473] *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* vol. 1, no. 4, Christmas 1860, p. 46.
[474] *St. George’s Gazette,* no. 1, 31st January 1883, p. 4.

and the *Dragon: East Kent Chronicle* (1874-)[475]*,* announcing its relaunch in November 1886 with a fantastical account of the appearance of a dragon who gave 'a roar heard above the thunder, and from his mighty throat went forth the word 'Resurgam"!'[476]

Fiction of a more straightforward variety was also a surprisingly regular feature within regimental periodicals, and was often produced by the men themselves. The *Borderers Chronicle,* contained a serialised story 'The Barrack Square Clock' written by Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Haggard, and published from July 1893. Haggard, brother of the novelist Rider Haggard, and a soldier of a decidedly literary bent in his own right, also produced a number of reference works and novels[477]*.* "*Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* also contained a serialised story entitled 'Saved from the Guillotine: A Romance', by Lance Corporal J. J. Sheppard.[478]

Literary allusion was also a regular feature of a number of publications. While the editors of the *North Lincoln Sphinx* self-deprecatingly claimed that 'Our hands, taught to wield the sword, are awkward in the use of the pen'[479], the journal was written with a poetic turn of phrase, and was packed full of nods to high literary culture. Byron was frequently quoted throughout the journal, without reference, suggesting that the editors expected their readers to recognise his poetry.[480]

While many regimental journals featured a surprisingly high percentage of literary or whimsical content, straightforward reporting was the most

[475] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[476] 'To Our Readers', *The Dragon: East Kent Chronicle,* New Series, No. 1, November 1886, p. 1.
[477] For example: *Ada Triscott* (1899); *Tempest-Torn* (1894); and *Under Crescent and Star* (1895).
[478] Sheppard, Lance Corporal J. J. 'Saved from the Guillotine: A Romance', *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. 2, No. 14, May 1894, pp. 27-28, is the beginning of the story.
[479] See for example *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* vol. 1 no. 2, 15th September 1860, p. 9.
[480] See for instance *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* vol. 1 no. 2, 15th September 1860, p. 6 and *The North Lincoln Sphinx.* Vol. 1 no. 14, 10th December 1862, p. 247.

commonly adopted style, particularly in the annual journals. They focussed on the important events and happenings of the regiment, which meant, for many regiments not engaged in active service, in depth coverage of every day occurrences. Quite typical of this is the *St. George's Gazette* for 1883, which covered a period when the regiment was stationed in Ireland. The only fighting referred to in the journal was historic, and the rest of the journal was taken up with news, sports, balls and dinners, historic accounts and anecdotes.

Even journals produced by regiments while they were serving overseas, generally contained similar content, with a focus on events and the social life of the regiment, which reflected the reality of life for most soldiers most of the time, as will be discussed further in Chapter Four. A regular section in the *Thin Red Line,* entitled 'Skirls'[481], provided small articles summarising the occurrences of the regiment for the previous month. The January 1894 issue, which covered a period while the regiment was stationed in Northern India, contained twenty-four items altogether, including six items on sport, six on troop movements and manoeuvres, six on personnel issues such as promotions, retirements and deaths, three on entertainment, and three on general news.[482]

Sport was particularly important, and its central role in regimental life, and therefore in regimental periodicals, has been explained by Eliza Riedi and Tony Mason in their book on sport in the military, where they suggested that '[sport] was one of the ways in which regimental identities were created and reinforced in the late nineteenth-century British army.'[483] The sheer volume of sports coverage in regimental journals goes far to back up this view: for example, the *Journal of the Household Brigade: for the year 1870* is 320 pages long, of which nearly a third are devoted to regimental sporting activities. One of the 'Letters to the Editor' included in the 1892 volume of the *43rd & 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle,* which gave an account of the doings of

[481] Skirls means shrill noise – like that of bagpipes.
[482] 'Skirls', *The Thin Red Line,* vol. 1, no. 1, 31st January 1894, pp. 1-3.
[483] Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military,* p. 257.

the 52nd Light infantry in Toungoo in India, covered only sport, including horse racing, football, cricket, shooting, polo, assault at arms and athletics.[484]

Finally, history played a large part in the content of regimental journals. As will be covered fully in the 'Myth-making' section below, much space in these publications was devoted to covering the history of a regiment. This was another area where sport featured frequently, but the majority of content focussed on the combat experiences and, of course, the heroic exploits of the regiment. For example, the *St George's Gazette* regularly devoted 2 of its 8 pages to regimental history.[485]

As the above demonstrates, for the vast majority of regimental journals, the focus was on the life of the regiment and their day-to-day activities, as well as entertainment and memory sharing. However, a few publications aimed to fulfil a higher purpose, and included more educational material or articles on the condition of the British Army. These often shared more in common with the institutional publications discussed above. An example of this type of Regimental Journal was the *Twenty First Hussars: Regimental Gazetteer,* which was published between 1872 and 1873. As an editorial in the paper explained:

> The *Gazetteer* was originally started as a medium for the ventilation of the ideas of those amongst whom its circulation is principally diffused; also to serve as a means of improvement of the Soldier's condition, so far as such an end could be achieved by exposing hardships, and suggesting suitable remedies; and it was also hoped that it might serve to interest its readers somewhere during a leisure moment by procuring for them subjects that might lead to mental exercise and self-examination. [486]

[484] Fanshawe, R. 'Letters to the Editor', *43rd & 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle, 1892,* pp. 131-133.
[485] See for example: 'Extracts from the historical records of the Fifth Regiment of Foot or Northumberland Fusiliers'; and 'Record of the Service of the 5th Fusiliers in Afghanistan', *St. George's Gazette,* no. 2, 28th February 1883, pp. 2-3.
[486] *Twenty First Hussars: Regimental Gazetteer,* May 1873, p. 1

The editorial went on to suggest that the journal aspired to higher aims that simply supplying details of Regimental gossip, and called upon its readers to provide 'some intellectual food suitable to the character of our paper.'[487]

Most regimental journals contained occasional educational pieces or articles related to professional development, but such a focus on learning and improvement were the exception and not the norm. This is perhaps because such educational publications were already well established, and already available to men at their regimental libraries and reading rooms. Regimental journals, in general, aimed to fulfil a much more personal and community based agenda than many of their institutional and commercial counterparts.

Runs and stability

Having established why and when regimental journals were produced, and considered what made up their content, it is also important to examine how stable and successful these publications were. Regimental journals were established on a very different model than any of the publications previously discussed. They were not commercial undertakings, contingent on financial success, but instead the history of each regimental journal was impacted by and closely followed that of the regiment itself. This meant that a journal's stability was tied to a number of factors, outside of the more general publishing environment. The first of these factors was linked to the organization of the British Army. Due to the very nature of military organisation, units were founded, they merged and they were disbanded, and to follow the history of a regimental journal, it is necessary to trace the evolution of army structures. For example, the *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle,* begun in 1892, was renamed the *Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle* in 1909, and the *Chronicle of the 1st Green Jackets* in 1958. It was renamed again in 1965 as the *Royal Green Jackets Chronicle,* a title it still holds today.[488]

[487] Ibid.
[488] Gaskell, 'Bibliographic issues: Titles, numbers, frequencies', p. 53.

Such changes of title are illustrative of the instability of the regimental system in the British Army, but this can mask the extent of continuity of publication for regimental journals. The effect of these reorganisations on esprit de corps, and the regimental journal's role in overcoming that, will be explored later in the chapter. Taking into account the unstable communities around which they were formed, regimental journals were a surprisingly stable form of publication. Once founded, the majority of publications survived in some iteration, well into the twentieth century. In fact, of the forty-five military periodicals still being published as of September 2019, forty are regimental journals, and of those the majority can trace some sort of history back to the nineteenth, or at least the very early twentieth century.

The second factor that impacted on the stability of any regimental journal was regiments postings. As previously mentioned, many journals were founded when regiments were posted overseas, but the conditions of travel or of imperial stations, and the frequent movements involved in imperial postings, did not always lend themselves to a regular publishing schedule. The beginnings of the *North Lincoln Sphinx* are a good illustration of this. The first issue did not reach the printing press before the Battalion departed and was therefore made up of two parts, the first produced in Ireland on 1st January 1860, and the second, which gave an account of the regiment's voyage and arrival at the Cape, in Grahamstown, South Africa on 4th August 1860.

For those regiments with more established journals, a move could result in delayed publication, as for the *Borderers' Chronicle,* which included a note in January 1894 informing contributors and readers that:

> On the Regiment's removal to York early next month, the February Number of the "Borderers' Chronicle, will not be published until about the 20th of the month. The Printing Office will be closed on the 25th instant. No Printing will be done after that date, until arrival at York.[489]

[489] 'Press Notice' *Borderers Chronicle,* New Series, No. 7, January 1894, p. 2.

Delays could also result in missed issues or irregular publishing patterns, and both editors and subscribers often had to be adaptable to changing situations, as demonstrated by the *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* which included a note in November 1891 stating that:

> During November, December, January and February we shall be on the march and in camp; our Printing Office will be closed and our attention turned to leading troops instead of leading articles. We shall therefore be unable to produce the monthly numbers of the *Gazette* whilst away, but in order to deal fairly with our subscribers – of whom may the number increase – we propose to either send them numbers of next year until the total twelve are complete or else print a pamphlet of our doing on the road and in camp, which ought to be very interesting to our friend at home, providing we have time to collect sufficient material to bring it out properly.'[490]

The next issue appeared in February 1892, and did contain detailed accounts of the regiment's movements and experiences in the interim. Again, it can be surprising just how capable regiments were of continuing production of their regimental journals even while on the move, with the place of publication listed on the title page often changing issue by issue as a regiment travelled. For example, over two years from April 1897 to March 1899, *The Green Howards' Gazette* followed the regiment from Curragh Camp in Ireland (where they were in April 1897), to Dublin (where they moved in August 1897), and then to Gibraltar (in January 1898) and the journal ended when they returned to England (and to Yorkshire) in March 1899. An article published in the *Navy and Army Illustrated* and showing the printing press of the 1st Royal Irish Rifles (Figure 3.2 below) illustrates both how portable and how valued the materials for production of such journals were.

[490] 'Editorial', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 7, November 1891, 1.

Figure 3.2 ‘The Printing Press of the 1st Royal Irish Rifles’, *The Navy and Army Illustrated,* vol. III, no. 31, February 19th 1897, p.127.

A third factor that affected the stability of a regimental publication was perhaps the most profound but the least outwardly obvious from the journal itself. That was the outbreak of war. While ‘small wars’ in Empire had similar effects to an overseas posting, the impact of mass mobilisation for wars such as the Second Boer War (1899-1902) was much more far reaching. The outbreak of war could have a huge impact on the team behind a regimental journal, taking away printers, contributors and editors, and leaving a regiment scrambling to fill the gaps. A telling example of this was how the Boer War

affected the editorship of the *Brigade of Guards Magazine*[491]*.* The longstanding editor of the magazine, Major Eyre Crabbe, was sent out to serve in South Africa in October 1899, and between then and December 1900 the magazine had six different editors or acting-editors, as each officer taking up the position was then subsequently sent out to fight.

Finally, the very nature of regimental journals could also impact the ability of those involved to produce them regularly. In being created by the regiment, and for the regiment, these publications relied on members of the regiment to provide content. Particularly for those publications that set aside sections for each battalion to contribute, this could cause problems, as detailed in a number of editorial notes from the *Rifle Brigade Chronicle.* In 1890 we are told:

> The publication of the Chronicle has this year been unavoidably delayed for several months, owing to some misapprehension on the part of contributors as to the date of issue, but the Committee hope that in future years it will be in the hands of subscribers in the month of February.'[492]

Late submission was also noted in the 1891[493] and 1892[494] issues. In 1893 the editor was more direct in his criticism, informing readers that:

> The 3rd Battalion…did not send in their contributions until nearly two months after the appointed time, thereby delaying the issue of the Chronicle, and further, necessitating an alteration in the arrangements of this year's number.'[495]

All of the above mentioned features make regimental journals a very distinct sub-genre of military periodicals, working in their own unique publishing environment.

[491] See entry for *Journal of the Household Brigade* on the Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[492] 'Preface by the Committee', *The Rifle Brigade Chronicle for 1890,* p. [viii].
[493] 'Editorial', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle for 1891,* p.210.
[494] 'Editorial', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle for 1892,* pp.149-150.
[495] 'Editorial', *Rifle Brigade Chronicle for 1893,* p. 240.

Commercial relationships

Finally, it must be remembered that regimental journals did not operate in a vacuum, and were part of the wider marketplace for military publications. Interestingly, in general, commercial military periodicals and regimental journals had good relationships, suggesting that they did not see themselves as direct competitors. Articles were often reprinted in regimental periodicals from commercial publications, such as when the *Brigade of Guards Magazine* reprinted an article entitled "The expedition against the Jebus" by Lieutenant F Davies, which had previously been published in the *United Service Magazine* 'by kind permission of the Editor.'[496]

Regimental and commercial publications frequently shared the same staff, as in the case of Major Eyre Crabbe, who worked for the *Naval and Military Magazine* (1897-1899) while also editing the *Household Brigade Magazine.* He regularly encouraged readers of the regimental journal to also read the *Naval and Military Magazine*[497]*,* demonstrating the potential for shared audiences and cross advertising.

The advertising, indeed, did go both ways. *The Broad Arrow* (1868-1917) regularly advertised Regimental Journals in their 'Regimental News' section. The issue for 14th January 1893 contained a note stating:

> Highland Light Infantry (71st) – This good old regiment has started its regimental paper – the *Highland Light Infantry Chronicle.* It is to be published quarterly at two-pence per number, and a better two-pennyworth than the issue before us (No. 1, for January 1893) it would be hard to find…[498]

Commercial military periodicals also, occasionally, printed articles celebrating the history of a regimental journal. In 1893, the *Army and Navy Gazette*

[496] *Brigade of Guards Magazine.* Vol. vi, no. 61 January 1893, p. 10.
[497] 'Editorial', *Household Brigade Magazine*, vol. 1, no. 1, January 1898, p.39.
[498] Regimental News', *The Broad Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 1281, 14th January 1893 p. 56.

featured a celebration of the anniversary of the *Queen's Own Gazette* (1875)[499]*,* telling its readers that:

> *The Queen's Own Gazette,* the regimental paper, has now existed for eighteen years, and judging by the support it has received, it seems destined to run its course for many a long year to come. It deserves to do so, for it is a regimental paper in the truest sense, all its space being devoted to purely regimental matters affecting the interest of the three branches – Line, Militia, and Volunteers. In this respect the *Gazette* sets an example. It lays itself out for promoting a real *esprit de corps,* and it does it most effectually. Great credit is due to its present editor, who has occupied his position for five years, and has shown himself well qualified for the discharge of a responsible duty.[500]

The article indicates the viewpoint held by many commercial military periodicals that regimental publications had a role in promoting esprit de corps and reporting on regimental activities, but that they should not stray from this 'responsible duty'. The *Broad Arrow* also touched upon this, in their article covering the same celebrations, stating:

> Eighteen years ago, regimental papers were few and far between, and *The Queen's Own Gazette* is not on the ambitious lines of some of its more recently established contemporaries.'[501]

The article linked the success of the *Queen's Own Gazette* with their lack of over-reaching ambition, and made it clear that they did not think that regimental journals should attempt to deal with weightier matters.

In fulfilling different roles, commercial and regimental journals were able to coexist happily, often sharing readers and space within regimental reading rooms and libraries. Building on this, the next section will go on to explore the functions and roles that underpinned importance of regimental journals for their regiments, by exploring the key concepts of 'Memorial and Memory', 'Dispersed Communities', and 'Myth Making'.

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[499] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[500] 'Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regiment (50th)', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. 34, no. 1,721, 14th January 1893, p. 34.
[501] *Broad Arrow,* 'Regimental News', *The Broad Arrow,* Vol. 1, No. 1280, 7th January 1893, p. 23

Memorials and memory

Perhaps the most obvious role that regimental journals played was reporting and recording the happenings of the regiment, whether that was on active duty during conflict, or the everyday occurrences and peace-time occupations. The periodical acted as a document of official record for the regiment, and they were collected and stored in regimental libraries and reading rooms, and at times also in the military institutions that served the British Army at large.

Regimental journals contained accounts of all of the conflicts in which the regiment was actively involved, and are a particularly rich source of information on the 'small wars' of empire, as will be discussed in Chapter Four. They also included important regimental news, such as promotions[502], marriages[503] and births[504], and details of men in the regiment who had passed exams.[505]

However, in general, they were filled with the domestic and social occasions that filled the time of both officers and men, whether stationed at home or abroad, for, as David French tells us, 'Regiments were not only military organizations. They were self-contained societies.'[506] Dinners, balls, teas and social gatherings were important events, which were frequently reported in detail within the pages of a journal.[507]

Sport in all its forms, as previously mentioned, made up a huge percentage of the content in many regimental journals, which generally focussed on

[502] 'Editorial', *The Bugle: A Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News,* vol. XI, no. 269, 15th December 1899, p. 3127.
[503] 'Editorial' *Borderers Chronicle,* New Series, No. 5, November 1893, p. 1.
[504] 'Births', *Green Howards Gazette,* vol. IX, no. 100, July 1901, p. 76.
[505] 'Officers' Examinations', *The Lancashire Lad,* no. 7, December 1909, p.12.
[506] French, *Military Identities,* 99.
[507] See for example: 'Our Regimental Ball' *St. George's Gazette,* no. 7, 31st July 1883, p. 5; and 'Army Temperance Association', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* vol. 2, No. 14, February 1899, pp. 145-6.

straightforward sports such football[508], cricket[509] or polo[510], but at times they also featured more unusual activities. The *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette* from 1891 contained regular accounts of the fortnightly Regimental Gymkhana held while they were stationed at Lucknow. They included events such as 'Lemon cutting', 'tilting at the ring', 'obstacle race', 'cigar race' and 'tug of war',[511] and 'lime cutting', 'doolie race', 'tentpegging', 'mop competition', and the 'half-mile race'.[512] The *Thin Red Line* for March 1894 also reported on the Highland Games that took place while the regiment was stationed in India.[513]

Many editors self-consciously cultivated the journal as an item of collective memory, encouraging contributors to provide accounts of their activities that could be memorialised within its pages. The *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1862* included an entreaty from the editor, who asked for:

> early and general contributions from all who are disposed to aid him in his endeavour to maintain the prestige of *The Journal,* and render it worthy of a permanent home in the library of every member, past and present, of Her Majesty's Household Brigade.'[514]

The number of back issues of journals that were sold further illustrates the importance of having a copy of this official record for members of a regiment. As an editorial note in the *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette* from March 1892 tells us:

> Every copy of the May '91 edition of the *Gazette,* and also of the February edition, has been sold out, the back numbers of the other monthly copies can still be obtained, however. Should we find a sufficient number of subscribers who would like to have bound volumes of the Regimental paper, we can later on make arrangements to re-print a certain number, and ample notice will be given.[515]

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[508] 'Football', *The Tiger and Sphinx',* no. 5, December 1898, p. 84.
[509] 'Cricket', *Journal of the Household Brigade: for the year 1870,* pp. 94-104.
[510] *'Polo Team, 52nd Light Infanty, 1895', Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle, 1895,* p. 89.
[511] 'Regimental Gymkhana', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 4, August 1891, 6-7.
[512] 'Regimental Gymkhana', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 7, November 1891, 7.
[513] 'Regimental Games', *Thin Red Line,* vol. 1, no. 3, 31st March 1894, p. 42-44.
[514] 'An opening address to the subscribers', *Journal of the Household Brigade: for the year 1862*, p. 4.
[515] 'Gossip', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 9, March 1892, 6.

Men were not just buying the *Gazette* for the latest news of their regiment, but were purchasing back issues as a memorial of their time. The suggestion of a bound volume, in particular, illustrates just how clearly regimental journals saw their role as a repository of memory, to be collected and kept. For many regiments this process was successful, and the journals were collected and kept, and it is important to recognise that they have become an important tool for modern historians interested in regimental histories. Geoffrey Powell, in his 1992 history of the Green Howards, included a note in the preface stating that:

> I have been especially impressed by the importance of the *Green Howards' Gazette* as the repository for the details of our history. Without its articles on specific subjects and its routine accounts of unit activities, it would have been all but impossible for this history to have been written.[516]

Regimentals and dispersed communities

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, many periodicals came into being because the regiment to which they belonged were being posted overseas. While the nineteenth century saw the development of technologies, such as the steamship and the telegraph that aided long distance communication, for the majority of soldiers, sending messages back home was still a slow, expensive and unreliable undertaking. The number of historical studies into both army and empire that make great use of soldiers' letters home, indicates that this element of the imperial communication network was plentiful and a rich source of information[517]. Letters were not, however, the only form of communication, and this section will examine the use of regimental journals as a means of connecting empire and home, centre and periphery and of maintaining links between dispersed communities[518].

[516] Powell, *The History of the Green Howards,* p. 11.
[517] See for example Holly Ferneaux's *Military Men of Feeling,* Richard Holmes' *Sahib,* and Snape, *Redcoat and Religion.*
[518] See Lester, Alan, 'Imperial Circuits and Networks', for a useful discussion of the ideas of imperial centre and periphery, as well as the importance of periodicals in connecting imperial outposts.

To begin, it is perhaps useful to reiterate just how dispersed the British Army was during the long nineteenth century. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the British Empire covered nearly a quarter of the Earth's surface. Wherever the British held sway, the British Army had troops stationed, and this meant that soldiers could be posted to New Zealand or Malta, the West Indies or Ireland, British North America or British East Africa, India or Gibraltar. Some regiments spent long periods overseas, either on one posting or moving between international stations, with little opportunity to return home, as this account from the *Tiger and Sphinx* (1890-)[519], illustrates:

> "For it's hame, hame, hame, an' it's hame that I would be," and home we were, or, rather, home we sighted, on 8th December. On the afternoon of that day, in one of the most dismal and raw fogs one could imagine, we steamed up the mouth of the Mersey, and found ourselves once more – after an interval, to some of us, of nearly eighteen years – surrounded by a crowd of British faces, and listening to the heartiest British cheers we had heard for many a long day.[520]

For these scattered regiments, their journal could provide a vital lifeline to link them to friends, family, colleagues and British society more generally. They also allowed for communication across the British military, even while it was dispersed. The journal exchanges mentioned earlier in the chapter included at least two regiments who were stationed in India at the time they were received.[521] Copies of journals were also frequently presented to senior military figures, therefore serving as a kind of semi-official report of activities.

Returning to the theme of esprit de corps, regimental journals also played a vital role is allowing communication between scattered members of a single regiment. While the regiment was imagined as a unified community, with shared experiences, histories and values, in reality, the smaller units that made up a regiment were often posted separately, and could go long periods without seeing each other. This was particularly true after the Cardwell Reforms of the 1870s, which reorganized many regiments so that they were

[519] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[520] 'The arrival at Edinburgh', *The Tiger and Sphinx,* No. 6, February 1899, p. 97.
[521] Both the *Thin Red Line* and *Nines* were sent from regiments stationed in India.

made up of at least two battalions, one stationed at home and one in empire at any given time. The regimental journal could be a key tool in allowing members one battalion to gain awareness of what members of the other were doing. A clear illustration of this was the Rifle Brigade. The Brigade was made up of four battalions, and taking 1893 as an example: the First Battalion were in Calcutta, India; the Second Battalion were in Dublin, Ireland; the Third Battalion were in Peshawar, India; and the Forth Battalion were in Devonport, England. The *Rifle Brigade Chronicle* included a section for each battalion to report their news, and this may have been the only way that many of the regiment's members knew what was happening in the other battalions.

For regiments in this kind of situation, their periodical was one of the few tools available to create a shared sense of identity. As an editorial note in the *Lancashire Lad* (1885-) for June 1908 points out:

> As far as possible we will endeavour to chronicle all items of general interests in each of the Battalions and the Depot. If this results in keeping the various units of the Regiment more in touch with each other, and assists is fostering *esprit de corps,* the object of the "Lancashire Lad" will be attained.'[522]

At that time the Loyal North Lancashire Regiment, which the journal served, had 5 Battalions. The 1st Battalion were in Ireland, the 2nd Battalion were in Mauritius, the 3rd and 4th Battalions were in Preston, and the 5th Battalion were in Bolton.

During times of conflict, or active engagement, this aspect of a journal's role might be particularly crucial. Men from one battalion might hear official reports or stories and rumours of the exploits of their comrades in another battalion, but the regimental journal might be one of the few ways they were able to read detailed accounts. The *Tiger and Sphinx* for December 1898 provided an almost daily account of the 2nd Battalion, Gordon Highlander's involvement in the Tirah Expedition between 17th November and 7th December 1898[523],

[522] 'Editorial Notes', *Lancashire Lad,* no. 1 (Second Series), June 1908, p. 2.
[523] 'The Tirah Expedition, 1897-98', *The Tiger and Sphinx,* No. 5, December 1898, pp. 91-94.

which allowed the 1st battalion to read up-to-date news about their colleagues' experiences, and acted to create a sense of unified service and history that would otherwise have been impossible.

The regimental journal also worked as a tool for soldiers to keep their friends and family abreast of their news. The editor of the *Dragon: East Kent Chronicle* jokingly suggested that:

> For the benefit of those who are too lazy to write home, and account of our recent change of quarters, and also, as a record of an exceptionally long journey by sea, train, and marching, we insert a slight account of the Regiment's doings, during the move and the places stopped at on the way.[524]

It was certainly true that the journal was sometimes used in place of a letter home, or was sent to provide a more complete picture of a soldier's experiences while serving away from home. The *North Lincoln Sphinx* explicitly saw part of its own role as providing a link to friends and family, stating that:

> During its short existence, the North Lincoln Sphinx has found its way to almost every portion of the Queen's dominions. Sent as a memento of love and kindness by the officers and soldiers of the Regiment to friends and relations in far-distant lands…who can say it has not, now and then, added a tiny link to the scared chain of affection that binds us to Home, and those loved beings, whose presence gives life an animation to the sweetest, loveliest, and most soothing pictures that memory can draw?[525]

Alongside personal letters and mementos sent home, the regimental journal acted as a way of connecting soldiers to those communities which they had left behind, providing collected news, stories and anecdotes. This could present a much more complete picture of an individual's experience, and would also have served to make those reading back home feel more connected to those serving overseas.

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[524] 'The Move'. *The Dragon: East Kent Chronicle,* no.5 (New Series), 31st May 1887, p. 7.
[525] *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* Vol. 1, No. 14, 10th December 1862, p. 247.

Finally, the regimental journal could act as a bridge between soldiers and the community from which they could feel most alienated while scattered across the globe: that of British society more generally. As the *North Lincoln Sphinx* explained:

> We soldiers, feel the fullest power of that spell which the thought of home casts over the wanderer in distant land, and at this peculiar season [Christmas] we are more than ever subject to its influence. Men who never go abroad for years cannot appreciate home as we do; what they never miss they cannot long for…[526]

This explains the importance of the regimental journal also carrying news of events back home, such as sporting events[527], local news[528], and news of the royal family[529]. While many soldiers would have had access to some general and local newspapers, the regiment's periodical could act as a kind of digest, compiling important news from a number of sources and allowing men to catch up on events that they had missed.

In all of these ways, regimental journals served to connect their readers to those communities to which they belonged. They allowed communication across vast distances, collected and shared memories between members of the regiment and their colleagues, family and friends, and allowed its members to feel part of a British society from which they might be separated for many months or years.

Myth making

While John Keegan suggests that 'most regiments have a very robust sense of identity'[530], Michael Snape would argue that these identities were very much Victorian creations, suggesting that:

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[526] *The North Lincoln Sphinx,* Vol. 1, No. 10, Christmas 1861.
[527] For example 'Canterbury Grand Cricket Week', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1870,* pp. 177-181.
[528] See for example: 'Serious Fire at Pembroke Dock', *Men of Harlech,* vol. III, no. 2, April 1895, p. 35.
[529] See for example: 'Obituary', *Queen's Own Gazette,* no. 112 (vol. V, no. 16), 1st April 1884, p. 122.
[530] Keegan, John. 'Regimental Ideology' p. 7.

> the regimental traditions which became so much a feature of regimental life in the nineteenth century were often highly contrived and were as much a tribute to the inventiveness of officers and men as they were to exploits of their forebears. [531]

Regimental journals played a vital part in creating, cementing and transmitting these traditions, however organic or contrived they might be. This was particularly true after the Cardwell reforms of the 1870s, which as previously mentioned combined battalions to create new regiments, assigning locale designations that often had little to do with the men who made up the new amalgamated regiments. David French suggested that this reorganisation served at times to destroy 'existing notions of regimental *esprit de corps'* that had been created over many years'[532], a sentiment that was also expressed in the pages of several military periodicals[533]. French went on to argue that the late nineteenth-century military authorities believed that it was of upmost importance to quickly establish or re-establish those feelings and connections, and directly links the establishment of many regimental journals at that time with the work to create traditions and shared histories.[534]

The recording of contemporary events was a of the key ways of doing that. The other was focussing on the history or histories of the regiment, and in particular on the heroic exploits involved in previous campaigns or sporting victories. And as John Mackenzie has theorized, heroes and legends could be created by sharing of stories and images that were:

> repeatedly renewed in succeeding decades, facilitating the constant repetition and modification for each new generation that are the markers of truly powerful myths.[535]

For many regiments the repeated stories on which they focussed were those of their history, for example a series that appeared in *The Lancashire Lad* between 1909 and 1910, began with an account of how the regiment was

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[531] Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion,* p. 190.
[532] French, *Military Identities,* p. 76.
[533] 'Esprit de Corps', *16th Queen's Lancers Gazette,* vol. VI, no. 7, July 1896, p. 8.
[534] French, *Military Identities,* pp. 81-82; and Hobsbawm and Roper, *Invented Traditions.*
[535] Mackenzie, *Popular Imperialism and the Military,* p.115.

formed in the 1740s[536], thus acting as a kind of foundation myth. Such myths or legends, described by Peter Burke as stories that perform 'the function of justifying some institution in the present and thus of keeping that institution in being'[537] were fundamentally important to the military as a whole, and to regiments in particular, because, as French explains they served to

> Make members of the regiment feel content about who they were, the functions they had to perform, and the hardships they had to endure.[538]

The Lancashire Lad went on to provide depictions of all of the battles and campaigns in which the regiment played a role, thus providing a sense for the men of the regiment that they were part of a long and illustrious history. A similar series appeared in the *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette* between 1891 and 1892.[539]

Editors could be clear about why they were including such content, with the editor of the *St George's Gazette* telling its readers that:

> As there are many young soldiers now serving with the Battalion who are probably not acquainted with the traditions and achievements of the Regiment with which they are now serving, it is intended to publish, with every issue of St. George's Gazette, extracts from the Historical Records of the Regiment, and, it is hoped, that by holding forth the bright example of their predecessors, the young soldier will strive to emulate the meritorious and gallant conduct in camp and quarters of their predecessors in the 'Old and Bold'.[540]

Regimental journals would also devote a great deal of space to defending the historic prestige and honour of their regiment. A scathing review of a biography entitled *An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny* (1894) appeared in the *Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle,* the following year.[541] It

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[536] Purdon, 'An Historical Sketch of the 47th (Lancashire) Regiment and of the Campaigns Through Which They Passed', *The Lancashire Lad,* no. 4 (New Series), March 1909, pp. 15-16.
[537] Burke, *History and Social Theory,* p. 101.
[538] French, *Military Identities,* p. 84.
[539] 'History of the Regiment', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 5, September 1891, p. 1-2.
[540] *Supplement to the St. George's Gazette,* no. 1, 31st January 1883, p. [1].
[541] 'Review: An Unrecorded Chapter of the Indian Mutiny; being the personal reminiscences of Reginald G. Wilberforce, late 52nd Light Infantry, compiled from a

contained a long chart detailing all of the inaccuracies of the story, honing in on the most minute of details in an attempt to challenge what the journal saw as a misrepresentation of the events in which the regiment had been involved.

Shared regimental histories and myths could also be built around more domestic elements of military life, for example the *16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette* had a feature of 'Regimental Dogs' listing the names and stories of some distinguished dogs, which ran across two issues.[542]

Again, sport was incredibly important. Riedi and Mason argue that 'sporting victories provided occasions for elaborate, almost ritualised, celebrations which themselves became part of a regiment's history and identity.'[543] Stories relating to football, a sport with a history closely tied to the military, were the most frequent. A number of journals contained reminiscences related to the introduction of football to a regiment, as in *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette:*

> It was in the year 1872 that the noble game of football may be said to have been first started in the Regiment. The 1st Battalion was then quartered in the Gosport Forts, and in a field outside Fort Grange every afternoon (Sundays, of course, excepted), the ball, a round one, I remember, used to be brought out, sides picked up, and a game of a most rough-and-tumble description played, till ended by darkness.[544]

Regimental reputations could be built upon their sporting achievements, and this in turn could be linked to a sense of esprit de corps, as clearly demonstrated by an editorial in the *Dragon: East Kent Chronicle,* from 1887:

> In the country we are going to we shall find the name of the regiment well known, for on its last tour of service it gained for itself the credit of being the best infantry regiment in India. In marching, shooting, and sport of all kinds, it more than held its own, and we shall have all our

diary and letters written on the spot*', Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle, 1895,* pp. 222-238.

[542] 'Regimental Dogs', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 3, July 1891, pp. 10-11 and Regimental Dogs', *The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 4, August 1891, pp. 10-11.

[543] Mason and Riedi, *Sport and the Military,* p. 257.

[544] Handley, A. M. 'Regimental Football- Past and Present', *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. 1, no.2, May 1893, p. 31.

> work cut out for us if we are to emulate the achievements of The Buffs who marched, shot, and played in India before our time. Very few of the old hands, who served in the regiment in those days are with us still, and we are a much younger body of men than that which formed the battalion when it last embarked for India, but our *esprit de corps* is as strong as ever, and with every man doing his best for the credit of the old crops we should be able to maintain the Indian idea that the name of The Buffs was synonymous for all that is good and praise worthy in an infantry regiment.[545]

The collecting together of these stories and myths, made the regimental journal a key tool for forming and transmitting esprit de corps and a regimental identity across a dispersed military and down through time. That so many regimental journals continue to be published today, illustrates their success in performing this task and the enduring importance these publications have for the communities they represent.

Conclusion

Taken together these two types of military periodical, the institutional and regimental, illustrate the diverse requirements of the British army during this period, and the recognition by those within the military that periodical publications were vital resources to facilitate the meeting of those needs. They show that military life could be both professional and social, and that distinct publications could serve different purposes. Viewed alongside those titles covered elsewhere in this thesis, it is clear that periodical literature was created, used and circulated for a wide variety of reasons, and appealed to a wide variety of readers, even within what appears to be a closed and limited community.

Both institutional and regimental periodicals also clearly illustrate how dispersed military populations could be, and how vital publishing became as a tool for sharing information and creating and maintaining links within and between communities. The majority of publications discussed in this chapter

[545] 'Editorial'. *The Dragon: East Kent Chronicle,* no. 4 (New Series), 31st January 1887, p. 1.

self-consciously marketed themselves as tools for interactive communication; and stressed the importance of reaching officers and men who were unable to be together in person.

Despite serving such a wide range of roles and meeting such a wide range of needs, it is interesting that such little attention has been paid to these publications as active agents in the developments of military professionalism and in military life more generally. Other than in Strachan's work, they are barely acknowledged at all. This has allowed myths around the stagnation, apathy and backwardness of the British army to persist, and obscured the important role of military periodicals in the creation of networks and communities central to military life that this thesis is so keen to draw attention to.

The next two chapters will focus on key themes, war and peace, and on professional identity and masculinity, and look at how military periodicals interacted with and created ideas around the important military issues of the day.

Chapter Four: Peace and War

Introduction

Military periodicals covered a wide range of subjects, focussing much of their attention on war, and preparations for war, but also devoting surprisingly large amounts of space to social, recreational and other subjects. As we have already seen when looking at regimental journals, non-military subjects played an important role, and this was true in almost all military periodical publications. While, over the course of the nineteenth century, Great Britain was at war in more years than she was at peace, most conflicts only involved a very limited number of men at any given time. For the rest of the British army, their time was spent maintaining peace, training, and engaging in a wide range of non-military activities such as hunting, attending balls and dinners, travel, and sports. The content of military publications reflected this.

At only three periods during the nineteenth century was this balance of small-scale active conflict broken: the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), The Crimean War (1853-1856) and the Boer War (1899-1902). At these times the balance of content in military periodicals shifted towards coverage of the conflicts, although it was still rare for war-related content to entirely dominate any issue of a publication. For troops posted out to the empire and involved in colonial wars, the experiences they had often involved more active combat than those stationed back at home. As the century wore on, the empire expanded, and more troops were sent out to police Britain's interests, and the coverage of empire in military periodicals expanded accordingly, reflecting the experiences of their readers.

Scholars using these publications in the past have focussed almost entirely on the content that covered war or strategic thought, neglecting the wider subject coverage within them. They have also mined them for quotes, sound-bites or articles, removing ideas and experiences from the wider context in which they were placed. This chapter aims to remedy that, exploring the full range of content that featured within these military publications. It will demonstrate that

rather than operating in a separate military sphere, British army officers had clear, strong and abiding ties to civil society and to civilian experience. It will also explore the development of war reporting and investigate the different roles that military and civilian periodicals played, and finally will look at how military periodicals influenced public opinion, political policy and military strategy.

The subjects, content, events, and publication environments covered here are vast and diverse, covering three major wars, a wide range of smaller, imperial conflicts, as well as wealth of peacetime activities and materials. This chapter aims to recover the broad panorama conveyed in military periodical publishing, eschewing narrow accounts of individual conflicts for a wider perspective on the range of subjects covered. This leaves a great deal of scope for future projects focussing on in depth analysis of the coverage of individual conflicts or investigating the role of poetry or literature within these publications. My reading highlights three key points about the British army in the nineteenth century: firstly that the military was not simply a profession, but also a way of life. Secondly, that military life had close ties with civil society, and did not operate in a separate sphere. And thirdly, that during this period individuals and groups within the military were forming and negotiating ideas about what military education, training and professionalism involved. As a clear understanding of such ideas had not yet been reached, uncertainty manifested itself in the diversity of material that was featured in periodicals produced for military audiences.

Peace

As stated above, the majority of the British army spent the majority of their time engaged in activities other than warfare. They were either stationed at imperial outposts, or based at home, and in either case their focus was on training and drilling. Boredom could be a huge problem, and the military authorities expended a great deal of time, energy and money trying to combat its effects, which often displayed themselves in drinking, gambling, fighting,

and reckless behaviour.[546] This was particularly true in empire where, as Richard Holmes suggests, 'almost all Europeans had time on their hands, and there was a constant need for 'entertainment.''[547] He goes on to explain that in many overseas stations, and particularly in India, action was taken to 'respond to [the] threat to health and discipline [caused by drink and boredom] by opening reading rooms, coffee shops and libraries.'[548]

Military periodicals were often self-consciously aware of the unique patterns and challenges of the job. As an editorial from "*Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette* explained, the operation of the army generally left both officers and men with lots of free time to fill:

> In the noble profession of Arms where our duties, though tying us for ten months in the year to one spot, yet leave us daily much time that we can call our own, it is not unusual to find great divergence of opinion as to the best occupation for our leisure hours. In *theory,* of course, we employ them in the study of our drill books, of military history and tactics, in the cleaning of our arms, the polishing of our boots – in fact, we devote every moment to our practice. In *practice* we find that these pursuits still leave us spare time which we employ for the benefit of our comrades, ourselves, or neither. And, though most of us would repudiate the base insinuation, it not infrequently happens that "neither" gets the lion's share.[549]

Military periodicals played a role in combatting this boredom. Articles like the one above directly engaged with the subject, providing suggestions of useful activities to keep the men busy, to provide them with meaningful entertainment and to combat unhealthy or unhelpful behaviours. This was a frequent topic of discussion across the 19th century, indicating a long-term anxiety and a problem without an easy solution.[550] Military periodicals also

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[546] For discussions of this see for example Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home,* pp. 125-179, Campbell, *"The Army isn't All Work",* pp. 23-31; and Strachan, *The Reform of the British Army*, pp. 65-67.
[547] Holmes, *Sahib,* p. 157.
[548] Holmes, *Sahib,* p. 159.
[549] 'Editorial', "*Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette: A Monthly Chronicle of the Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment),* vol. 2, No. 15, June 1894, p.33.
[550] See for example: 'Military Education', *Military Register,* vol. VII, no. 171, 21st May 1817, p. 633; 'The Guards' Institute', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. VIII, no. CCCXCIII, 13th July 1867, p. 444; 'Industrial Employment', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XXXVI, no. 1898, 22nd May 1869, p. 333; and Handley, A. M.

acted as a means of entertainment in their own right. With a few exceptions, they contained a variety of content, some of which was related to war or military operations, but a large percentage of which was entirely unrelated to military subjects, such as serialised romance stories, accounts of European travel, and Society news and events.

This mix of content was evident from the first. For example, of the fifty-four articles included in the first and only issue of the *Military Magazine* (1793), only four related directly to battles. Thirty-two further articles related in some way to war, weaponry or military life, and eighteen related in no way to military subjects, including two accounts of duels fought by men who were not in the military[551], anecdotes about literature[552] and theatre[553], and a letter by Jonathan Swift on the art of conversation[554]. A full third of the articles were related to non-military subjects. In terms of page numbers, the non-military content took up closer to half of the periodical.

As the century progressed, many periodicals were explicit about their aim to provide content that was both instructional and entertaining. The *United Service Journal* laid out in 1829 that, like so many other journals, it would follow Horace's advice in the *Ars Poetica* and combine the 'utile' and the 'dulce' to create a 'perfect whole'.[555] In 1852, the *British Soldier* chose to place itself alongside other forms of light, entertaining literature when introducing itself, stating that:

> In this reading age, when all classes are supplied with cheap literature, penny magazines addressed to and representing all tastes and all feelings, and expressing all opinions are spread through the length and breadth of the land. The British Soldier and Sailor have along been left

'Regimental Football- Past and Present', *"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. 1, no.2, May 1893, p. 31.

[551] 'Duel between Lord Bruce and Sir Edward Sackville' pp. 19-31 and "Duel', pp. 211-212, both in *Military Magazine,* vol. I, 1793.

[552] 'Lord Bacon's Opinion of Writers', *Military Magazine,* vol. I, 1793, p. 182.

[553] 'Anecdote', *Military Magazine,* vol. I, 1793, pp. 182-183.

[554] 'An Original Letter of Dean Swift, on Conversation: lately discovered', *Military Magazine,* vol. I, 1793, pp. 60-69.

[555] 'Preface', *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine,* vol. I, 1829, p. 2

> unrepresented in this literary field; and yet, perhaps, there are few classes who have more leisure for study than both these.[556]

It then went on to list a diverse range of subjects that it intended to cover:

> Besides [an] article on current events, we propose devoting a page or two to army news, as to shew [sic] the present situation and movements of the different regiments, with anything else that may interest the soldier: to give military anecdotes, poems, biographies, problems (chess and mathematical), amusing riddles, conundrums, &c., and, running from number to number an interesting tale; the whole will be interspersed with one or more woodcuts, illustrating the subjects treated of.[557]

Regimental journals (covered in chapter Three), in particular, often contained very little material covering 'military' subjects. They featured accounts of every-day life for the regiment, including regimental dinners[558], sporting events[559], balls[560], and travel[561], as well as a wide range of fiction and poetry. The reasons for this have already been covered, but as I show in the following subsections, they provide a rich source of information on the social and domestic aspects of military life. There were also a number of more general military periodicals that prioritised the social aspects of military life over more technical subjects: the *Sword and Chatelaine* (1892) promised that it would 'touch with a light hand, and in a genial spirit, upon every subject which concerns the society in which Service people are accustomed to move.'[562] It devoted between 1.5 and 2 columns to 'Social Events', which consisted of items regarding the movements of 'society figures', details of upcoming 'society' marriages, and news of events such as official openings and dinners[563]. Similarly, the *King* (1900-1905) focussed on aspects of 'high life'. Its military coverage ebbed and flowed, often indicated by whether the army or the services were mentioned in its ever-changing subtitle.[564]

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[556]'Introduction', *The British Soldier,* vol. I, No. 1, June 1852, p. 1.
[557] *Ibid*, pp.1-2
[558] 'Our Regimental Dinner', *St George's Gazette,* no. 5, 31st May 1883, p. 1.
[559] 'Football', *The Tiger and Sphinx',* no. 5, December 1898, p. 84.
[560] 'Editorial', *Green Howards' Gazette,* Vol. VI, no. 72, March 1899, p. 183.
[561] 'Sport in Albania', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 4, April 1888, p. 181.
[562] 'Our Commission', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 9th April 1892, p. 1.
[563] See for example 'Social Events', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 3, 23rd April 1892, p. 7.
[564] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.

Some non-military subjects featured more heavily than others in military publications, the most popular being fiction and poetry, sport, social events, and the royal family, and these are all granted subsections below, followed by a subsection on miscellaneous topics.

Fiction and Poetry

Fiction and poetry featured in a large proportion of military periodicals, with only very heavily technical publications such as *Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps or Royal Engineers* and the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institute* (1837-1951) not containing any literary items. The inclusion of literary matter began early, with the first issue of *The Military Panorama* (1812-1814), published in October 1812, devoting a tenth of its pages to 'poetical essays'. By the second issue, literary content had grown to take up around a quarter of the publication.

Short stories and serialised fiction grew in popularity as the century progressed, and were most likely to appear in the monthly journals or weekly magazines, and were rarer in weekly military newspapers. Many of the fictional items were war or adventure stories, such as 'Our War Story' by J. L. Hornibrook[565], 'Across the Salt Sea' by John Bloudelle-Burton[566] and 'The True Story of a Soldier' by Eric Ross[567]. However, there were numerous other stories that focussed on subjects further removed from military interest, such as domestic drama or romance. Examples include 'A Woman with a Soul', by Myra Swan, which featured in the *Borderers' Chronicle* in 1894[568] , 'One morning in the Garden', by Harold Ohlson, which featured in *The King* in

[565] *War Bits,* 2nd edition, vol. 1, no. 1, 23rd December 1899,10.
[566] See for example: Bloudelle-Burton, John. 'Across the Salt Sea', *Navy and Army Illustrated,* vol. IV, no. 41, 9th July 1897, pp. 110-112.
[567] Ross, Eric. 'The True Story of a Soldier', *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine,* vol. II, no. 7, January 1885, pp. 52-56.
[568] Swan, Myra. 'A Woman with a Soul', *Borderers' Chronicle,* No. 12, July 1894, pp. 6-8, and No. 13, August 1894, pp. 7-8.

September 1901[569], 'The Gatekeeper's Daughter', from the *Cinque Ports Pilot* in December 1860[570] and 'Man Proposes' by Mrs A. Phillips, which featured in the *Army and Navy Magazine between* October 1883[571] and October 1884.[572]

Some military periodicals prioritised literary contributions. For example, the *Sword and Chatelaine,* in its first issue, contained a story specially commissioned from Arthur Conan Doyle: 'The Major's card: the story of a regimental scandal'.[573] Commissioning a story from such a well-known author was an expensive undertaking, and the editor justified the cost: 'I mean to pay the best writers because it will pay me to pay them'[574]. However, the *Sword and Chatelaine* lasted for less than a year, suggesting that the editor had miscalculated.

Poetry was frequently run, appearing in an even wider array of titles: it often formed a small part of the weekly military newspapers.[575] As with the fiction, it was made up of a mix of military-themed[576] and more general compositions[577], and included reprints of well-known poems[578] as well as new contributions[579]. One of the reasons it was more common was because,

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[569] 'One morning in the Garden', *The King,* vol. 4, no. 89, 14th September 1901, pp.360-361.
[570] 'The Gatekeeper's Daughter, *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 6, 12th December 1860, p. 3.
[571] Phillips, Mrs A. 'Man Proposes', *Army and Navy Magazine,* vol. VII, October 1883, pp. 1-40.
[572] Phillips, Mrs A. 'Man Proposes', *Army and Navy Magazine,* vol. VIII, October 1884, pp. 575-588.
[573] 'The Major's card: the story of a regimental scandal', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 9th April 1892, pp. 12-15.
[574] 'Editorial', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 9th April 1892, p. 6.
[575] See for example: 'Thoughts at Whitsuntide and Other Poems', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 493, 18th June 1842, p. 391.
[576] See for example: 'The Soldiers' Lamentation', *Military Magazine,* vol. IV, no. IV, October 1812, p. 264; and Miss Pardoe, 'The Young Soldier's Farewell', *United Service Journal,* no. 26, January 1831, p. 23; Smith, Sergeant Benjamin, 'The Veteran to his Medal', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 3, August 1852, p. 77.
[577] 'William the Conqueror', *Curragh News,* vol. I, no. 1, 7th February 1891, p. 7.
[578] Tennyson, Alfred. ' The Charge of the Heavy Brigade at Balaclava, October 25th, 1854', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 1178, 18th March 1882, p. 7; Kipling, Rudyard, 'Fightin' Bobs', *I'm Ninety-Five,* Vol. XVI, No. 1-3, January-March 1900, p.p. 7-8.
[579] Ewart, Serjeant, 'An incident of Waterloo', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 2, July 1852, p. 33; 'A Scot', 'Guards' Boating Club Regatta – 1889', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* vol. II, no. 20, August 1889, p. 455.

especially if poems were reprinted, items could be selected to fill space that otherwise would be have been empty. In this sense they fulfill the same function as balaams (short items kept standing in print to make up for a shortfall in specially written content)[580], though there is certainly work to be done here in the role of poetry in ideological formation and maintenance.

Books reviews were frequent, the material reviewed reflecting wide interests. In the *British Soldier* (1851), there were reviews of a history of the British Constitution[581], *The Calendar of Marlborough School[582],* the *Ladies Companion* for September 1851[583], a history of the Royal Military Academy[584], and *The New Navy List*[585]. The *United Service Gazette* for January 1871 included a review of Mary Elizabeth Braddon's *Fenton's Quest*.[586] Even in the *United Service Journal,* which generally only covered professional subjects, occasional literary reviews appeared. The editor justified the inclusion of a review of Frances Trollope's *Hargrave* by saying:

> We do not often feel ourselves called upon to notice the lighter literature of the day, and especially that which takes the form of fiction, but Mrs. Trollope's new "Romance of Fashionable Life," is of so singular as well as so superior a character that we cannot abstain from commending it to the attention of our readers.[587]

In other journals, occasional articles, letters and notices engaged with literature as a subject, often suggesting reading as a pastime, highlighting the importance of a rounded education, or reflecting on the role that literature played in military life. An obituary of Charles Dickens, which appeared in the

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[580] See *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*, p. 92, for a nineteenth-century definition.
[581] 'A Treatise on the Development of the English Constitution', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, October 1851, pp. 84-85.
[582] '*The Calendar of Marlborough School*.', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, October 1851, pp. 85-86.
[583] 'The Ladies Companion, for September', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, October 1851, pp. 86-87.
[584] '*Records of the Royal Military Academy, 1741-1840', British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, October 1851, pp. 87-88.
[585] 'The New Navy List', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, October 1851, pp. 88-89.
[586] 'Literature', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1984, 14th January 1871, p. 7.
[587] 'Hargrave; or the Adventures of a Man of Fashion. By Mrs Trollope'. *United Service Magazine,* no. 173, April 1843, 612.

Wellington Gazette and Military Chronicle, summed up the importance of non-military fiction to the lives of officers overseas:

> By no profession or calling, under the rule of Victoria, is the loss the nation has suffered in the death of the illustrious Dickens more keenly felt than by the Army. Called upon as many a soldier is to expatriate himself from his country, and to spend many a dreary year on Foreign service, it may be on the scorching sand of India, or at the bleak outpost of a Canadian district – far away from the soothing influences of home and friends – how much has been indebted to the vivid scenes of home-life which "Our Mutual Friend" drew with such matchless effect.[588]

Sport

Sport, as mentioned several times in this thesis, played a central role in military life, and likewise formed an important part of military periodical content. Its popularity grew as the century progressed, and was increasingly promoted by the military authorities, both for officers and for men of the rank and file. There were many reasons for this: Strachan points to the links between sport and discipline[589], Campbell highlights its role in career progression for officers[590], and Riedi and Mason stress its 'contribution to physical fitness, relieving boredom, and in strengthening those ties that bind men together.'[591]

Military periodicals featured sport in a range of forms, sometimes simply listing sporting results[592], or providing accounts of sporting events[593], while others featured regular sporting news[594]. On occasion they engaged with the subject in more depth, perhaps outlining the rules of football[595], a history of

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[588] 'The army and its own reformer', *Wellington Gazette and Military Chronicle,* 15th June 1870, 62.
[589] Strachan, *The Reform of the British Army,* p. 85.
[590] Campbell, *"The Army isn't All Work",* pp. 16-17.
[591] Riedi and Mason, *Sport and the Military,* p. 255.
[592] 'Football', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. LIV, no. 2806, 1st November 1913, p. 1050.
[593] '26th (Queen's) Lancers' Annual Sports', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 1570, 5th October 1889, p. 8.
[594] 'Sporting Intelligence', *Military Register,* vol. XII, no. 301, 13th October 1819, p. 1318.
[595] 'Football', *XII: East Suffolk Gazette,* No. 1, 10th December 1863, p. 4.

polo[596], discussing fitness and physical training in other nations[597] or boxing in the services[598]. Adverts for sporting books[599], equipment[600], and apparel[601] were also regularly placed, showing that military readers were seen as a prime market for such materials.

The sports covered were also diverse: besides football[602], we find cricket[603], rugby[604], polo[605], golf[606], hockey[607], horse-racing[608], athletics[609], hunting[610], driving[611], cycling[612], fox-hunting[613], boxing[614], yachting[615], racquets[616], and quoits[617]. All of this content served to promote military sport, a deliberate move by the editors of military periodicals who, as mentioned in Chapter Three, wanted to encourage esprit de corps, and who were modelling an

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596 'Grand "Polo" match between the officers of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) and the 9th Lancers', *Broad Arrow,* vol. IX, no. 212, 20th July 1872, pp. 77-78.
597 Army Gymnastics', Major the Hon. A. E. Dalzell, Inspector of Gymnasia, Bengal. *The 43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle,* 1893, p. 23.
598 Edgeworth-Johnstone, Captain W. 'Boxing in the Services', *Navy and Army Illustrated,* vol. IV, no. 42, July 23rd 1897, pp. 152-153.
599 'Popular Manuals', *Army and Navy Gazette,* no. X, 10th March 1860, p. 163.
600 'John Lillywhite', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XLIII, no. 2244, 22nd December 1875, p. 287.
601 'Cricketing Outfitters. – John Wisden & Co.', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. VIII, no. CCCXCV, 27th July 1867, p. 480.
602 'Football', *The Tiger and Sphinx',* no. 5, December 1898, p. 84.
603 'Cricket', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1866,* pp. 169-173.
604 'Service Sport', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLVIII, no. 2499, 14th December 1907, p. 1208.
605 'Polo in the Army', *Navy and Army Illustrated,* vol. II, no. 24, 13th November 1896, p. 251-252.
606 'The Actors' Golf Tournament', *The King of Illustrated Papers,* vol. I, no. 22, 2nd June 1900, p. 699.
607 Thomson, A. G. 'Hockey with Rajputs', *United Service Magazine,* vol. 17 (New Series) or vol. 138, no. 837, August 1898.
608 'Our Sporting Notions', *Curragh News,* vol. I, no. 5, 7th March 1891, p. 1.
609 'Athletic Sports at Chatham', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2064, 27th July 1872, p. 3.
610 ''Hunting', *Cavalry Journal,* vol. 1, no. 1, January 1906, pp. 123-124.
611 'Driving', *Military Magazine,* vol. IV, no. I, July 1812, p. 39/
612 'Military Cycle Race Meeting', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXXVIII, no. 1952, 19th June 1897, p. 588.
613 'The Fox-Hunting Season', *The King and His Navy and Army,* vol. 18, no. 375, p. 35.
614 'Boxing', *Curragh News,* vol. I, no. 2, 14th February 1891, p. 1.
615 'Under the burgee', *The King,* vol. 19, no. 405, 5th November 1904, 200.
616 'Racquets', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* vol. II, no. 13, January 1889, p. 36.
617 'Matches', *The Thin Red Line: The Regimental Paper of the 2nd Batt. (Princess Louise's) Argyll & Sutherland Highlanders,* vol. 1, no. 9, 30th September 1894, p. 132.

idealised professional martial masculinity, something that will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Sport's central role in military periodicals is unsurprising, considering, as Campbell explains, that 'the average officer spent the vast majority of his time occupied with sport, more so than any other single activity, to include his military duties.'[618] Different postings provided different prospects for sport, with India, in particular, represented as offering ample time and opportunity for a range of sporting activities, including some – like polo – which would otherwise have been beyond the means of many officers. Ireland was also a prime posting for those of a sporting inclination, in part because there were so few 'soldiering' duties to fill up the time. One of the few non-regimental military periodicals that was founded in Ireland, the *Curragh News* (1891), clearly demonstrated the importance of sport to that area. A weekly paper that appeared between February and September 1891, it had the subtitle: 'A Sporting, Military and General Newspaper.' The front page was generally taken up with horse- and dog-racing and news from the military camp, while subsequent pages included more general news, fiction and reviews. Although covering all types of sport, including cricket, football and rugby, the main focus was on horse-racing, dog racing and boxing, which probably followed local interests. As the only newspaper in the area[619], it provided general as well as military news, but the hierarchy of the subtitle indicates how important sporting news was, and the prevalence of horse-racing is unsurprising in an area which has a long history of horse-breeding and horse-racing[620].

The sporting content in military periodicals also illustrates how sport linked the military to civil society, as much of the sport reported was civilian[621]. Military sporting events were generally well attended by the civil population, as the

[618] Campbell, *"The Army isn't All Work",* p. 10.
[619] 'To Our Readers', *Curragh News,* vol. I, no. 1, 7th February 1891, p. 4.
[620] See Hennessy, W. M. 'The Curragh of Kildare', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* vol. 9, 1864, p. 343-355; and 'The Curragh Racecourse' *Kildare.ie:* http://www.kildare.ie/community/details.asp?GCID=46 [accessed 13/09/2019].
[621] See for example: 'The Turf', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1879,* pp.171-213.

Army News from April 1897 demonstrated when it reported that 'the great gala day at Aldershot attracted an enormous crowd of spectators, military and civil, to the Army Athletic Ground on Monday.'[622] Officer sporting events, or those organised by the more aristocratic regiments, could also be 'Society' events, attended by the upper classes and even Royalty. For instance, an account of a 'Grand "Polo" match between the officers of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) and the 9th Lancers', which appeared in the *Broad Arrow* in July 1872, highlighted the presence of the Prince and Princess of Wales, Princess Mary Adelaide and the Duke of Teck, as well as a large number of other titled attendees.[623] Sport also helped to create opportunities for shared colonial association, as illustrated by an article in the *United Service Magazine* in August 1898, which documented an attempt by British officers to teach some Indian Sepoys hockey.[624]

Sport, as demonstrated in Chapter Three was important for esprit de corps, and played an important part in regimental life. It was also seen as an important aspect of training for war, as Campbell explains:

> Officers at the highest levels of the Army firmly believed that participation in games and field sports gave young officers the essential traits required to lead British soldiers – moral and physical courage, physical fitness and mental agility, loyalty and team spirit.[625]

Moreover, this could be achieved in a relatively safe manner and environment. This was an idea that was frequently discussed in the pages of military periodicals, particularly by those in favour of introducing more systematic and frequent sports training.[626] Military periodicals often acted as a forum for discussing military physical training, and army sport of course contributed to this agenda.

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[622] 'The Army Football Final: How the Gunners Overthrew the Rose', *Army News,* vol. III, no. 56, 21st April 1897, p. 12.
[623] 'Grand "Polo" match between the officers of the Royal Horse Guards (Blue) and the 9th Lancers', *Broad Arrow,* vol. IX, no. 212, 20th July 1872, pp. 77-78.
[624] Thomson, A. G. 'Hockey with Rajputs', *United Service Magazine,* vol. 17 (New Series) or vol. 138, no. 837, August 1898.
[625] Cambpell, *'The Army isn't All Work',* p. 20.
[626] See for example: Army Gymnastics', Major the Hon. A. E. Dalzell, Inspector of Gymnasia, Bengal. *The 43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle,* 1893, pp. 235-261.

Social Events

Social events, both military and civilian were central to the British army, particularly for officers, whose means more often afforded such opportunities. As already discussed, regimental periodicals abound with accounts of balls, dinners, dances and theatricals, but these also regularly filled the pages of more general military newspapers, magazines and journals.

Many of the social events attended by both officers and men of the ranks were organised by the army themselves. Facilities for providing entertainment for the men proliferated at the century progressed, spurred on by a realisation that providing controlled social activities reduced drunkenness and crime, and increased esprit de corps.[627] These facilities included games rooms, canteens, libraries and reading rooms, and even sometimes theatres and dance halls.[628] Accounts of the building and opening of such facilities as well as their uses featured frequently.[629]

Theatrical events were popular, with accounts being given of performances put on by the military[630], as well as adverts for, and reviews and accounts of, professional and amateur civilian shows[631]. The military also frequently threw balls and dances to which friends, family and the local population were invited. Similarly, officers frequently attended civilian events, and formed an important part of an area's social scene, particularly in empire, where they

[627] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 13 and p. 30.
[628] Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home,* p. 163.
[629] See for example: 'Aldershot Mission and Soldiers' Institute', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 219, 10th October 1863, p. 4; and 'The Soldier's Institute', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XXXVII, no. 1990, 15th Jun e 1870, p. 565.
[630] See for example 'Garrison Theatricals', *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 290, 6th June 1866, p. 2; 'On Leave: The Guards' Burlesque: Brilliant Performance', *Army News,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1st April 1896, pp. 11-12.
[631] See for example: 'Concert in the Gymnasium', *Curragh News,* vol. I, no. 5, 7th March 1891, p. 1; 'The Theatres and Other Places of Amusement', *Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine,* no. 3, September 1884, p. 216.

might make up a large proportion of the British population[632]. Coverage of these festivities was sometimes first hand, but was more frequently provided by letters or reports copied from other newspapers and journals.[633] It often included lengthy listings of the dignitaries that attended, many of whom were civilians, again highlighting the interactions and interconnections between military and civilian life.[634]

Accounts of Christmas celebrations filled the pages of many periodicals between December and January (and sometimes well into the new year if the news took longer to travel). These often included accounts of parties and dinners, and details of events thrown for the soldiers' families and children,[635] but could also include letters from soldiers detailing their more meagre celebrations while on campaign in empire, such as one included in the *Green Howards' Gazette* in April 1898, which told of how while stationed in Lagos, in modern day Nigeria:

> We did our best to spend a hearty, old-fashioned Christmas, and with the aid of a tinned plum pudding and some indifferent champagne, felt as ill the next morning as if we had been at home.[636]

Also illustrating the importance of family events was the frequent coverage of weddings in regimental journals[637], the more local military periodicals such as *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette*[638] and *Jackson's*

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[632] See for example: 'The Highland Society', *Army and Navy Register,* Vol. III, No. 34, April 1843, p.p. 60-62; and 'Editorial', *Green Howards' Gazette,* Vol. VI, no. 72, March 1899, p. 183.
[633] See for example the coverage of a ball in the *Army and Navy Register,* which is taken from *The Comet* newspaper. 'Royal Artillery', *Army and Navy Register,* Vol. III, No. 32, February 1843, p. 20.
[634] See for example: 'Balls and Suppers', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1879,* p. 96.
[635] 'Christmas Tree at the Tower', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* vol. II, no. 14, February 1889, pp. 97-98.
[636] Tomlin, Lieutentant M. H. 'With the Lagos Battalion', *Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. VI, no. 61, April 1898, p. 5.
[637] 'Wedding of Colour-Sergt. Stafford and Miss Woodward', *Green Howards Gazette,* vol. V, no. 55, October 1897, pp. 105-106.
[638] 'Wedding at Binstead', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 1213, 25th November 1882, p. 8.

Woolwich Journal[639], and, on occasion, in more general military periodicals.[640] Other than in regimental journals, these reports generally only covered the marriages of officers, and not of the rank and file, reinforcing hierarchies for their military readership. The reason for including this material varied depending on the publication and circumstances, with some of the reports of 'society' weddings acting as entertainment and illustrating the rise of celebrity news[641], while the regimental journals, often acting as a kind of family album, included them as important events to record, and many military periodicals would have included them to provide a model of an idealised family, particularly as married soldiers were proven to be better behaved.[642]

While festivities and celebrations were often recorded, there were also reports for and by those who spent their free time more soberly, with coverage of religious events[643], temperance meetings[644] and the activities at the Soldiers' Homes[645] becoming more prominent and frequent as the century progressed, in line with the growth of such movements in wider society[646].

The Royal Family

Royalty and the royal family were also heavily featured. The strong relationship between the military and the royals was long established, with many members of the royal family serving in the armed forces, often as Commander-in-Chief, and the close ties between the regimental system and royalty. The idea of fighting for King or Queen and Country was also central to

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639 'Marriages', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. XLLII, no. 474, February 1853, p. 32.
640 'Fashionable Marriage', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XXXVI, no. 1910, 14th August 1869, p. 551.
641 Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown,* p. 396.
642 Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 64.
643 'Thanksgiving Services', *Broad Arrow,* vol. 12, no. 303, 18th April 1874, pp. 493-494.
644 'Army Temperance Association', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* Vo. 7, No. 74, February 1894, pp. 125-126.
645 'Miss Daniell's Soldiers' Homes', *United Service Magazine,* vol. 8, no. 781, December 1893, pp. 263- 270.
646 Anderson, 'The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain', p. 53.

a soldier's identity, and news, images and updates regarding the royal family allowed soldiers, particularly those serving overseas, to feel connected to the Sovereign whom they were serving.

The news that featured often comprised simple accounts of the movements of key royals, such as the Queen, Prince Albert or their children.[647] Sometimes it covered details of important events in the royal family, with the majority of military periodicals including notices of royal births, birthdays, marriages or deaths.[648] Such occasions were sometimes marked by more in-depth coverage, with a slew of articles appearing in the *Naval and Military Gazette* that covered every aspect of Queen Victoria's marriage in February 1840[649], and a poem appearing in the *United Service Magazine* in January 1842 to commemorate the birth of the Prince of Wales.[650] Social events organised or attended by members of the royal family were also given extensive space within military periodicals throughout the nineteenth century.[651] This corresponded with a general increase in media coverage of the monarchy, and the embracing by Queen Victoria of what John Plunkett describes as a 'civic publicness', in which she utilised the media to make herself more symbolically available to the British public.[652]

The close relationship between the military and the royal family resulted in many military periodicals reacting angrily to any criticism of the royals. After a number of newspapers published attacks on Prince Albert in 1853, the *Army*

[647] See for example: 'Personalities', *Army News,* vol. I, no. 9, 27th May 1896, p. 5; and 'His Royal Highness Peince [sic] Alfred', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 2, no. 26, 8th January 1859, p. 24.
[648] See for example 'Birth of a Princess', *Army and Navy Register,* Vol. III, No. 35, May 1843, p. 77; 'Marriage of the Prince of Wales', *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 119, 11th February 1863, p. 1; 'Editorial', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. LVI, no. 664, 1st June 1898, p. 94.
[649] See for example: 'The Court', *Naval and Military Gazette,* 1st February 1840, p. 75; and 'The Court', *Naval and Military Gazette,* 15th February 1840, p. 107.
[650] J. W. W. 'On the Birth of the Price Of Wales', *United Service Magazine,* no. 158, January 1842, p. 83.
[651] See for example: 'The Prince Regent's Fete', *Military Magazine,* vol. II, no. 1, July 1811, pp. 22-24; and 'Social Events', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 9th April 1892, p. 11.
[652] Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch,* pp. 239-247.

and Navy Register responded by suggesting that there was a plot by foreign revolutionaries, attempting to sow the seeds of discontent:

> We have very strong suspicion that the Editors who have permitted the charges against Prince Albert to appear in the newspapers conducted by them, have been misled by some of the reckless socialists or red republicans, who have found a harbour of refuge in this country…[653]

Mentions of subjects related to the royals were frequent, and almost without exception positive. This was particularly true during wartime, a fact highlighted by a short note in *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* in January 1900:

> Queen Victoria is greatly endearing herself to "Tommy Atkins" and "the lot of little things" he has left behind him by her gracious sympathies with their trials and joys. No wonder when they think of her Majesty's incessant kindnesses that the soldiers of the Queen will do anything and go anywhere for her. The Queen-Empress is as a personal magnet to every item in her army. Of what other nation and its sovereign can this be said so truly?[654]

The royal family personified what would otherwise be an abstract concept: patriotism. The military press therefore embraced the new celebrity status of the royals, utilising their public presence and image as one point around which to build a collective identity for their military readers.

Other Subjects

Those subjects covered above were featured most consistently and frequently. However, there were many and various other non-military subjects covered within the pages of military journals, magazines and newspapers.

[653] 'Prince Albert and His Detractors: Who are they? And What is their Object?', *Army and Navy Register,* no. 199, February 1853, p. 5.
[654] 'Editorial', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. LVIII, no. 663, January 1900, p. 12.

These included astronomy[655], chess[656], the slave trade[657], photography[658], fashion[659], palmistry[660], the making of musical instruments[661], railway travel[662] and an almost endless list of others. They illustrate the diverse range of interests held by military periodical readers, demonstrating that the role of military officer could be a social position as much as a profession.[663] It also further highlights the point made in previous chapters that what constituted 'professional' knowledge for the military was both protean and porous.

That non-military and peace-time subjects filled so much of the space in military periodicals tells us a great deal about the lives of their readers. The majority of those serving in the military saw limited active service during their careers, and even for those posted out to empire and directly involved in conflict, much time was devoted to activities other than warfare. The clear links between the military and all areas of civil society, including family, friends, 'Society' and the royal family also demonstrate just how embedded the British Army was in the society of which it was part, and dispels any ideas about military service as a flight from the domestic. Those writing and reading at the time did not see the combining of professional and personal, civil and military, as problematic or strange, but as an essential aspect of military life. The *Army News* in 1896, wrote, without a trace of criticism, about the focus of soldiers on arriving at a new posting:

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655 'The Story of the New Planet Neptune', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 222, May 1847, pp. 1-14.
656 Atkins, C. T.'Chess Problem', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, June 1852, p. 26..
657 'The East-African Slave Trade', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2033, 23rd December 1871, p. 4.
658 'Amateur Photography: notes and pictures from the new photographic club', *The King and his Navy & Army,* vol. 17, no. 361, 2nd January 1904.
659 'Fashions of To-Day and To-Morrow', *The King,* vol. 19, no. 413, 31st December 1904, xii.
660 'Palmistry', '*Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 38, 24th December 1892, p. 9.
661 'How brass bands are made', *The Regiment,* vol. 2, no. 42, 23rd January 1897, p. 241.
662 'The Traveller: Holidays on the Midland Railway', *The King,* vol. 18, no. 391, pp. 568-570.
663 King, '"Army, Navy, Medicine, Law,/ Church, Nobility, Nothing at all": Towards the Study of Gender, the Professions and the Press in the Nineteenth Century', <21>.

> Jack Tar's first consideration on landing at a strange port, so tradition asserts, is to look out for a new sweetheart; Thomas Atkins, in similar circumstances, proceeds to organise a smoking-concert; while the commissioned ranks, from major to subaltern, precedently [sic] direct their attention to sport and the drama.[664]

Military periodicals both reflected and moulded ideas about the balance of military identity, stressing the central role of recreation, and the close ties to home and country fostered by engagement in civil society.

War

Having acknowledged the important role of peace-time experiences and content, this section will now explore how military periodicals reacted when wars were being fought. It will begin by looking at the three large-scale conflicts of the nineteenth century: the Napoleonic Wars, the Crimean War and the Second Anglo-Boer War. It will explore how military periodicals covered those wars, the type of news they presented and how they fitted into the larger media marketplace. It will do so by looking at all three conflicts together, and exploring the developments and continuities of how military periodicals approached them. It will begin by laying out what publications there were at the time of each, then continue by looking at the type and timeliness of their reporting, and will conclude by exploring the importance of the afterlife of each conflict and the building of military mythologies around them.

The following section will explore the almost constant, but smaller scale, imperial wars, which received noticeably less coverage within military periodicals. It will investigate how general attitudes, and the prominence of colonial subjects within military publications changed over the long nineteenth century, demonstrating their increasing importance for training and for regimental esprit-de-corps.

[664] 'On Leave: The Guards' Burlesque: Brilliant Performance', *Army News,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1st April 1896, p. 11.

The final section will investigate the coverage of peacetime preparedness, particularly focussing on the British reaction to the Franco-Prussian War and its aftermath. It will explore how military periodicals became a focus for the discussion of how to maintain a functioning army and to build professionalism during peacetime, and how they made themselves indispensible as a tool for processing increasing anxieties at the turn of the century.

It will uncover how coverage of these events and subjects differed in military periodicals from the general press, and where their focus lay and why. In doing so, these subsections will illustrate that these sources provide a rich insight into the experiences of British soldiers during this period, above and beyond the strategic and tactical information that these publications are often mined for. They also provide a wealth of information on the media landscape of the time, moving past the overemphasis of the metropolitan dailies that has often dominated previous scholarship. Military periodicals provide a middle ground between the official and public sources, such as official dispatches, histories and later military scholarship; and the private accounts provided in diaries and letters.

Large-Scale War and the Military Press

The French Revolutionary Wars (1792-1802), followed almost immediately by the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), dominated the British and European experience for over twenty years, spanning the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. They had a large-scale and wide-spread impact on the social, economic and political situation of Britain and its empire, and continue to play a central role in British consciousness right up to the present. These were also the first conflicts to be widely covered by a burgeoning British periodical press, and as discussed in Chapter One, this was the period when ‘professional’ publications, including the military periodicals, began to develop.

While this new genre was beginning to emerge, it must also be recognised how unstable it was, and how those involved in publishing it were still trying to define their place in the market. No military periodical was published for the entirety of the period, and only one periodical, the *British Neptune* (1803-1823) was published in the years 1801 and 1810. However, as mentioned in Chapter Two, holdings of the *British Neptune* are particularly scant, making it hard to chart any developments in coverage or publication practices. This subsection, therefore, will concentrate on only four military periodicals that appeared after 1810: the *Royal Military Chronicle* (1810-1817), the *Military Magazine* (1811-1812), the *Military Panorama* (1812-1814), and the *Military Register* (1814-1821), all of which engaged with the on-going conflict, although with a broad range of approaches.

By the time that the Crimean War (1853-1856) broke out, military periodicals were well established, with several, such as the *United Service Magazine,* the *United Service Gazette* and the *Naval and Military Gazette* having been published for over twenty years. Unlike the Napoleonic Wars, there were many publications that covered the entirety of the war, and the number of publications also saw a wide range of perspectives. This included the more local outlooks provided by the *Army and Navy Register* (1840-1855) and *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* (1853-1901), as well as the Evangelical point of view propounded by the *Mariners' Church Magazine* (1828-1861). There were also a small number of military periodicals launched specifically to cover the war, including the *War Investigator* (1855-1856) and *The War Times* (1854), indicating that by this time publishers believed there was the capacity to expand their audience during wartime. These titles represent the first British campaign periodicals, and would shape the way that similar magazines and journals covered the Boer War and the First World War. They were also less clearly 'military periodicals' than the majority of those that came before. While containing content largely focussed on the war and warfare more generally, much of it written by soldiers, they were aimed at a wider readership, including the general public. Because of the expansion of the military publishing environment by this time, a much wider range of Crimean

publications will be utilized, allowing an investigation of the various ways that different periodicals approached the war.

Finally, by the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), there was a much larger number of military periodicals in production, and this included a number of new genres. This was the first large-scale conflict during which regimental journals were produced, and these provided a very different perspective. As discussed in Chapter Three, regimental journals focussed on the more everyday experiences of a regiment, and also often provided a more personal perspective than commercial military periodicals. Perhaps most notable was the fact that they offered an insight into the thoughts and feelings of troops who were not serving in the conflict, but who were stationed at other imperial postings. For example, the Durham Light Infantry, who were serving in India and modern day Sri Lanka in 1899 and 1900, wrote in their journal at the end of December 1899 of how imperial duties continued regardless, a fact often overlooked in military histories of conflicts:

> The war remains the all absorbing topic of conversation, and has naturally thrown a gloom over the Christmas festivities. Although good maps are to be seen in all quarters, there is still a good deal of haziness in the minds of some, as to the places in which the various Commanders are operating. On the whole, however, the interest taken in the progress of the War is intelligent, and it is intense.[665]

Illustrated military periodicals were also a feature of the Boer War, with a number of publications, such as the *Illustrated War News* (1899-1900) and the *Illustrated War Special* (1899-1900) being launched specifically to cover the conflict. These operated alongside such publications as the *Navy and Army Illustrated* (1895-1906) and *Regiment* (1896-1917), which had been established in the years running up to the war. Not only were these highly illustrated publications, but they also frequently contained photographs. While Roger Fenton and others had pioneered war photography during the Crimea[666], this was the first time that photographs of war were published in

[665] 'Editorial', *The Bugle: A Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News,* vol. XI, no. 271, 29th December 1899, p. 3155.
[666] Gervais, 'Witness to War', pp. 371-375.

periodicals on such a grand scale. This war was experienced visually, as well as via the first-hand accounts of correspondents[667].The range of images that appeared was wide. Portraits were the most common, with frequent images of British Generals leading the operations appearing in a range of titles[668], following the fashion for celebrity photographic portraits that had emerged with 'the *Royal Album* at its forefront' in the early 1860s.[669] These appeared alongside less flattering portraits and caricatures of the Boer leaders.[670] There were also more sombre examples; the *Brigade of Guards Magazine* included photographs of the regiment's dead and wounded.[671] Images of the landscape and landmarks were included on a regular basis[672], and illustrations of the fighting were a frequent feature.[673] Although photographic technology was not yet developed enough to allow for action shots of the fighting, there were images of the immediate aftermath of battles, such as those that appeared in the *King* of the relief of Ladysmith. [674] Many images graphically depicted the more difficult elements of warfare, including the shooting of wounded horses[675], the shooting of spies[676], and the burying of the dead.[677] This was a conflict which also saw a much greater coverage of the opposing side, with a

[667] Morgan, 'The Boer War and the Media', p. 9.
[668] See for example: 'Lieutenant-General the Right Hon. Lord Methuen…', *Black and White Budget,* vol. 1, no. 8, 1st December 1900, p. 1; and 'Well-Known Soldiers. – No. 144', *The Regiment,* vol. VIII, no. 205, 3rd March 1900, p. 354.
[669] See Plunkett, *Queen Victoria: First Media Monarch,* p. 144.
[670] See for example: 'Catch 'Em Alive', *The Regiment,* vol. IX, no. 225, 21st July 1900, p. 249; and 'Conje (soliloquising)', *Black and White Budget,* vol. III, no. 27, 14th April 1900, p. 53.
[671] 'Our Portraits', *Brigade of Guards Magazine,* no. 36, December 1900, [3 plates before p. 743].
[672] See for example: 'Frere Bridge, Aliwal North…', *Black and White Budget,* vol. III, no. 26, 7th April 1900, p. 18;
[673] See for example: 'The Battle of Glencoe', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 2, 28th October 1899, p. 1; and 'One Bit, Twice Shy', *Black and White Budget,* vol. III, no. 27, 14th April 1900, pp. 48-49.
[674] 'The relief of Ladysmith', *The King,* 4 page supplement to vol. 1, no 10, 10th March 1900, p. 1.
[675] 'Putting the Wounded Horses out of their Misery…', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 8, 9th December 1899, p. 8.
[676] 'The Traitor's Death!', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 8, 9th December 1899, p.1.
[677] See for example: 'The price of Empire', *Black and White Budget,* vol. III, no. 31, 12th May 1900, p. 173.

number of periodicals carrying illustrations, photos and accounts from or about the Boer soldiers and their experiences (See Figure 4.1).[678]

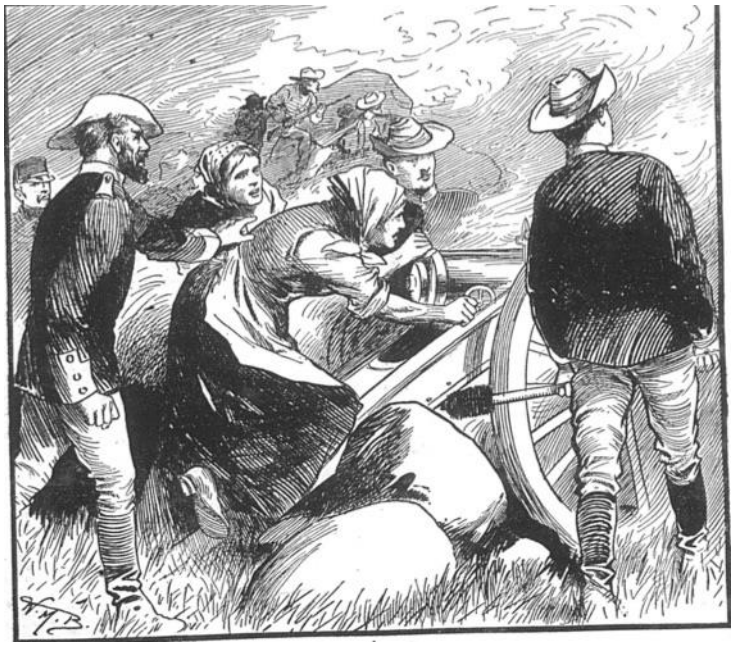

Figure 4.1: 'A Boer's "Vrouw" sends a shot into the British', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 15, 27th January 1900, p. 1.

As with the Crimean War, there were also a small number of publications that were launched purely to cover the events of the conflict, including *War Bits* (1899) and *Under the Union Jack* (1899-1900). Again, these were less clearly 'military' and were aimed at a wider readership, including the general public.

Looking simply at the numbers and types of military periodicals from their beginnings in 1793 during the French Revolutionary Wars through until the end of the Second Anglo-Boer War in 1902, it is easy to chart a number of developments. There were more publications, more sub-genres, and titles

[678] 'See for example: Inside the Boer Camps', *The King: of Illustrated Papers,* vol. 1, no. 1, 6th January 1900, pp. 14-15; and 'A Boer's "Vrouw" sends a shot into the British', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 15, 27th January 1900, p. 1.

aimed at various segmented audiences. Looking at the ways that these conflicts were covered illustrates an even wider range of developments and innovations.

Timeliness

The speed at which they were able to report news from the front plays an important part in assessing the role of military periodicals, as they were operating alongside the general metropolitan and provincial press. For the general press, wars were a great source of news, and the public was interested in reading about every aspect of it, meaning the pages of the general press were filled with details and accounts. As Jenny Uglow, with reference to the Napoleonic Wars, summarises:

> …the London and provincial papers carried full reports of debates and immensely detailed – if late and often inaccurate – accounts of military and naval actions, copied from despatches in the official *Gazette.*[679]

During the Napoleonic Wars all military periodicals were monthlies, except the *Military Register,* which was weekly, but only began publication in March 1814, towards the end of the conflict. As discussed in Chapter Two, by the Crimean War, in the middle of the century, there were a significant number of both monthly and weekly military periodicals, and by the turn of the century and the Second Anglo-Boer War there was a large number of monthly and weekly periodicals, and even a few quarterlies. There were never any daily military periodicals, excluding those pseudo-military newspapers produced as an attack on the Stamp Tax (See Chapter Two), and therefore the military press was never in a position to challenge the metropolitan dailies in providing the most up-to-date news.

During the Napoleonic Wars, it generally took about two weeks for official dispatches to reach London, with their news appearing in newspapers the day after they arrived. So, for example, the storming of the Ciudad Rodrigo on the

[679] Uglow, *In These Times,* p. 5.

19th January 1812, was reported in the *Times*[680] and other London dailies[681] on Wednesday 5th of February, and it was featuring in weekly provincial newspapers by that Friday, 7th February.[682] The monthly military periodicals were not able to include reports of the event until their March 1812 issues[683], around six weeks after the event actually occurred. Such delay was a defining feature of the reporting of the Napoleonic Wars, and Brian Cathcart points out the 'apparent fragility' of the communications systems available[684]. Therefore, readers expected to wait to read about the news of such conflicts, and would not have seen such accounts as out of date.

The Crimean War was the first conflict during which telegraphic communication was used, and initially much was made of the importance of this new technology.[685] It is, however, interesting to note, whatever the public expectations to the contrary, just how little difference either the new technology or the intervening forty years had made to the time-lag in news reaching Britain. Reports of events were still appearing in newspapers around two weeks after they took place, with the Battle of Alma, which took place on the 20th September 1854, first reported in the *Times* on 2nd October 1854.[686] This demonstrates the reality that technologies, however revolutionary, were often slow to change conditions on the ground. The Crimea was a much greater distance from Britain than the majority of battles in the Napoleonic Wars, and the conflict was taking place in an area that had much less established communication networks, added to which, the telegraph proved to

[680] Editorial', *Times,* 5th February 1812, p. 3.
[681] See for example 'Editorial', *Morning Chronicle,* 5th February 1812, p. 3 and 'Editorial', *Globe,* 5th January 1812, p. 4.
[682] See for example 'Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo by Storm', *Chester Chronicle,* 7th January 1812, p. 3 and 'Wednesday and Thursday's Posts', *Stamford Mercury,* 7th February 1812, p. 2.
[683] See for example: 'Dispatches', *Military Magazine,* vol. III, no. III, March 1812, pp. 220-221.
[684] Cathcart, *The News From Waterloo,* p. 270.
[685] 'Portable Telegraph for the Camp in Turkey', *British Army Depatch,* vol. VIII, no. 322, 25th August 1854, p. 5.
[686] 'London, Monday, October 2, 1854', *Times,* no. 21861, 2nd October 1854, p. 6.

be more unreliable than many had hoped, something that was regularly commented upon within the military press.[687]

Again, military periodicals were neither able nor aiming to compete with the speed of news published by the general daily press. While reports of the Battle of Alma first appeared in the *Times* on 2nd October 1854, several more days passed before the news appeared in weekly military publications. The *British Army Despatch* included its report on the 6th October 1854[688], and the *United Service Gazette's* appeared a day later on the 7th[689]. By this stage, however, military periodicals were more aligned with the metropolitan and provincial weekly press, with their coverage generally appearing around the same time.[690] It is interesting to note that unlike many of the other weekly publications, the longer established military periodicals did not adapt their publishing schedules to fit into new patterns of telegraphic dispatches, meaning their news was often nearly a whole week late. The *United Service Gazette* attempted to argue that this was a positive, stating that:

> It can scarcely be counted a disadvantage to the professional papers that the most recent news from the seat of war is generally telegraphed the day after their publication. It is true they lose the momentary prestige of publishing what too often proves to be a *canard;* but on the other hand they are spared the mortification of having to stultify their own intelligence, for, before they can again appear, the real truth has been elicited by the investigation or the appearance of official despatches, and they then become the records of established facts.[691]

Crimean-era military periodicals prioritized accuracy over speed. While they themselves were not concerned with producing the fastest or most up-to-date news, one of the most frequently appearing criticisms by military periodicals

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[687] See for example: 'The Vagaries of the Telegraph.' *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard,* Vol. VIII, No. 328, 6th October 1854, p. 5.
[688] 'The Battle of Alma.' *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard,* Vol. VIII, No. 328, 6th October 1854, p. 4.
[689] 'The Battle on the Alma', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1135, 7th October 1854, p. 4.
[690] See for example: 'The Battle of Alma', *Supplement to the Carlisle Journal,* no. 2904, 6th October 1854, p. [2]; and 'The War: The Battle of Alma', *The Bucks Chronicle, Bucks Gazette, and Advertiser for Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex,* vol. XLIII, no. 2220, 7th October 1854, p. [4].
[691] 'The Siege of Sebastopol.' *United Service Gazette,* no. 1140,11th November 1854, 4.

touched on both the communications strategy of the British army and of the telegraph itself, citing the slowness with which the War Office was either receiving or conveying news. The *British Army Despatch* caustically questioned why:

> If the news circulated by our morning contemporaries, and conveyed to them by their several correspondents, through the electric telegraph, be substantially true and materially correct, then how is it and why is it that it has not reached the war department? Are its agents asleep, or stupid, or both?[692]

They continued that 'arrangements ought to have been made for rendering the Government the depository of the *earliest* authentic intelligence.'[693]

By the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Boer War, there was a significant reduction in the time-lag for news arriving in Britain, with telegraphed news of events often being published within days rather than weeks. For example, an account of the Battle at Spion Kop, which took place on the 23rd-24th January 1900, appeared in the *Times* on the 26th January[694], although, as will be discussed below, many of the details were incorrect and an updated and accurate account appeared the next day.[695] Due to the lack of daily publications, the news delivery of military periodicals was still more aligned with the London and provincial weeklies than the metropolitan dailies, although, due to the fortunate timing of the arrival of the news, the *Army and Navy Gazette* was able to publish their report on the same day as the more accurate account in the *Times*.[696]

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[692] 'The Vagaries of the Telegraph.' *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard,* Vol. VIII, No. 328, 6th October 1854, p. 5.
[693] 'The Vagaries of the Telegraph', *British Army Despatch,* vol. VIII, no. 328, 6th October 1854, p. 5.
[694] 'The military situation', *Times,* no. 36049, 26th January 1900, p. 7. *The Times Digital Archive,* http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8dw7W1. [accessed 28th December 2018].
[695] 'The War', *The Times,* no. 36050, 27th January 1900, p. 7. *The Times Digital Archive* http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8dwLu8. [accessed 28th December 2018].
[696] 'Sir Redvers Buller's Position', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLI, no. 2088, 27th January 1900, p. 77.

A further factor that impacted on the timeliness of news from the Boer War was the introduction of military censorship. This was not an entirely new practice, as it had been implemented in a number of colonial conflicts such as the Egyptian campaign of 1882 and Kitchener's Sudan expedition in the late 1890s.[697] This new approach to news from the front was as a direct result of the coverage of the Crimean War.[698] Military censors ensured they maintained complete control of the telegraph during the Boer campaign, meaning that news of actions was delayed until no longer militarily sensitive. For example, when speaking of Sir George White's reconnaissance trip from Ladysmith, the Special Correspondent for the *Illustrated War News* wrote of how:

> I knew of it the night before, but I was bound to secrecy, and indeed, I could not have told you if I wished, for there is a very strict press censorship over all press telegrams, and I could have got nothing through.[699]

Not only were the censors able to delay news from being sent, they were also able to remove or alter any details or information that they deemed damaging or dangerous, with the *Army and Navy Gazette* rueing the 'hard and unsatisfactory' time that the press was having under the censorship rules.[700]

Regimental, as well as commercial publications, felt the effects of the censor. The *Green Howard's Gazette* apologised as:

> Our monthly letter from the 1st Battalion has been delayed somewhat by its having passed through the hands of the Censor, but does not appear to have been mutilated in any way.[701]

In general, publications serving the military were more understanding of the need for censorship than the commercial press.

A common feature of all three conflicts was that delays in official news resulted in the publishing of rumour and at times entirely incorrect news,

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[697] Matthews, *Reporting the Wars,* pp. 202-203.
[698] Knightley, *The First Casualty,* p. 15.
[699] 'Full account of White's reconnaissance', *Illustrated War News,* no. 1, 21st October 1899, 8.
[700] 'Editorial', *Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XLI, No. 2097, 31st March 1900, p. 303.
[701] 'Regimental News', *Green Howards Gazette,* vol. IX, no. 100, July 1901, p. 58.

something that was frequently discussed and lamented in the military press.[702] The Battle of Spion Kop, as mentioned above, was an interesting example. The first account that appeared in the *Times*[703] was based upon a telegram from General Sir Redvers Buller (1839-1908) which had been issued by the War Office the previous morning, and which detailed how the British were still holding the position. In fact they had already retreated. The *Times* had to publish a report correcting their erroneous one the following day. [704] This was an example where a slower publication schedule worked to the military press' advantage, with the *Army and Navy Gazette* able to include the up-to-date account without including the incorrect information. Even then, the *Gazette* was more cautious in its coverage than many of the metropolitan dailies, writing that:

> It is, of course, impossible at this distance from the seat of war, and on such fragmentary intelligence, to form any accurate judgement as to the causes which influenced [the retreat]. War, it has been said, is a puzzling game, and its moves are difficult to follow and explain.[705]

The military press was rarely able to scoop the metropolitan daily newspapers in providing the fastest news, and therefore they had to take a different approach, tailoring their coverage to their audience of military specialists. As shown above, they often did this by favouring accuracy over speed, but they also included different types of content and reporting styles, something that will be discussed in a later section.

News from the Seat of War

[702] See for example: General summary &c.', *The Military Register,* vol. 4, no. 70, 5th July 1815, p. 2; 'The War in the Crimea.' *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 120, October 1854, p. 152; and 'Correspondence.' *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard,* Vol. VIII, No. 333, 10th November 1854, p. 3.
[703] 'The military situation', *Times,* no. 36049, 26th January 1900, p. 7. *The Times Digital Archive,* http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8dw7W1. [accessed 28th December 2018].
[704] 'The War', *The Times,* no. 36050, 27th January 1900, p. 7. *The Times Digital Archive* http://tinyurl.galegroup.com/tinyurl/8dwLu8. [accessed 28th December 2018].
[705] 'Sir Redvers Buller's Position', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLI, no. 2088, 27th January 1900, p. 77.

During all three conflicts military periodicals had their own correspondents on active service at the seat of war, sending back accounts of their experiences. During the Napoleonic Wars, this meant that military publications were receiving similar types of reports to the general press, which also relied on military correspondents.[706] But after the wide-scale adoption of civilian correspondents during the Crimean War[707], there was a divergence between reports in military and civilian periodicals, illustrating a widening marketplace and an increasing segmentation and specialisation of audiences.

During the Second Anglo-Boer War the publishing of letters from soldiers at the front, which had often been sent to their families and not written specifically for publication, became much more extensive in military periodicals.[708] The increased use of such letters, and of a more diverse pool of correspondents more generally, resulted in the presentation of a much wider range of perspectives than from previous large-scale conflicts, with the voices of the rank and file soldiers featured frequently,[709] and a number of accounts appearing that were written by or about Army Chaplains.[710]

Interestingly, a move towards named by-lines in the press at large in the years building up to the Second Anglo-Boer War, was only partially taken up by the military press. The majority of commercial publications continued to favour anonymous contributions[711], and at times it was clear why military contributors preferred not to be named. An article that appeared in the *Illustrated War News* in February 1900[712], was supposedly contributed by 'An Officer of the Secret Service', a designation, you would expect, whereby anonymity was

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[706] Knightley, *The First Casualty,* p. 2.
[707] See Knightley, *The First Casualty,* p. 2; and Waters, *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture,* (chap. 4).
[708] See for example: 'Letters from the Front', *Illustrated War News,* no. 18, 17th February 1900, p. 10.
[709] See for example: 'Letters From Our Boys at Home', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* 25th November 1899, p. 10.
[710] See for example: 'Extract from Letter of Rev. A. A. L. Gedge, C.F. Natal Field Force.' *The Sentry,* vol. 8, no. 4, April 1900.
[711] See for example: 'Red-Hot News From the Seat of War', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* 28th October 1900, p. 2, which was 'From Our Special Correspondent'.
[712] 'Would Delagoa Bay Help the British?', *Illustrated War News,* no. 17, 10th February 1900, pp. 8-9.

important. However, it is interesting to note that many regimental journals featured their own named correspondents, with Thomas Miller Maguire writing for the *Household Brigade Magazine*[713] and H. L. Smith-Dorrien writing for *I'm Ninety-Five,* the journal of the 95th Regiment, Sherwood Foresters.[714] The different attitude to named authorship might have something to do with the nature of the publications, with regimental journals containing less 'news' and a more personalised view, while commercial publications may have thought it safer or more exciting for readers to be presented with unidentified contributions.

The time delay for military correspondence from the front lines could be even more significant than that of official dispatches.[715] Such reports generally also appeared slower than the accounts provided by civilian war correspondents, as military periodicals simply did not have access to the same level of communications organisation or technology as large commercial newspapers, or the finances to pay for them.

And while it might seem that having military correspondents reporting for military periodicals would provide an advantage in getting news directly from the front line of every battle, this was not always the case. Military correspondents, like their civilian counterparts, were frequently elsewhere when important actions were taking place. For example, the correspondent for the *Royal Military Chronicle*, writing between the 7th and 24th September 1811 for an article which appeared in the December issue, suggested that there was talk of an imminent battle at the Cuidad Rodrigo.[716] His next account, which did not appear until the April 1812 issue, reported that he had missed

[713] Maguire, T. M. 'The Guards in Action: The Orange River Campaign', *Household Brigade Magazine,* vol. III, no. 31, July 1900, pp. 469-474.
[714] 'See for example: '1st Battalion News', *I'm Ninety-Five,* Vol. XVI, No. 1-3, January-March 1900, pp.17- 19.
[715] See for example: 'Continued journal of an officer of the Royals from Portugal Legre to St. Payo, in Spain', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 3, no. 1, November 1811, 9-15; and 'Correspondence'. *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard,* Vol. VIII, No. 328, 6th October 1854, p. 3.
[716] 'Continued journal of an officer of the Royals in Spain', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 3, no. 2, December 1811, 125.

the siege and the storming of the Cuidad Rodrigo, and had arrived a week after it had taken place. This meant that he could not provide an account of the battle itself, although he did forward a rather vivid description of the aftermath:

> About the greater breach seems to have been the great "tug of war;" and especially near the magazine which was blown up, and occasioned the death of General M'Kinnon, and so many of our countrymen. Here had indeed been hot work, as the blood and mangled remains of bodies sufficiently evinced.[717]

Again, military correspondents could rarely compete with those in the general press for the most up-to-date first-hand accounts, but what they were able to do was provide accounts that contained information and details that would be of most interest to the readers of the military press, their friends and colleagues.

Tailored Content

As they could not compete with the London daily newspapers in providing the most up-to-date news, military periodicals saw their role as providing something else. So while almost all military publications included the most recent official dispatches, they focussed much more on providing detail and accuracy.

In 1810, the *Royal Military Chronicle* laid out the aims for its coverage of the Napoleonic conflict:

> Our purpose under this head is to give, not merely a detailed narrative, but an intelligible and explanatory statement of all the military movements, accompanied occasionally by plans and military drafts, without which it is sometimes impossible that the objects and designs of the contending parties can in any degree be understood.[718]

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[717] 'Continued journal of an officer of the Royals in Spain', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 4, no. 1, May 1812, 42.
[718] 'Journal of the present operations of the army in Portugal', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 1, no. 1, November 1810, 18.

It also provided detailed descriptions of the region and the military situation, including distances, key places, garrisons and towns.[719] Similarly reporting from the Crimea and the Second Anglo-Boer War periodicals provided much more precise detail of the events, often listing the regiments involved, providing descriptions of the weaponry in operation, discussing the movements of troops and the strategic importance of events and actions[720], and even, on occasion, including hand-sketched plans of operations[721]. This level of detail was designed for a readership who understood the British army, and who would often have known the regiments and the men involved.

Reports sent back from the military correspondents also provided a wealth of detail about their experiences, including descriptions of the places and the scenery[722], or the activities undertaken to relieve boredom and boost morale between actions. For example, an account in the *Household Brigade Magazine* from March 1900, reported that:

> The General (Lord Methuen) has done his best to help us to while away the time, and has taken a keen personal interest in the promotion of all kinds of sport. We have football matches, boxing contests, tug-of-war, and so forth…The sports afford great fun, and we forget all about the enemy.[723]

Sport, as previously discussed, was hugely important for the British army, and even during the war sporting images still took up a significant proportion of space within military periodicals. These included images of cricket matches

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[719] 'Journal of the present operations of the army in Portugal', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 1, no. 1, November 1810, 18-27.
[720] See for example: 'An Artillery Officer', 'The Artillery at Inkermann', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1143, 2nd December 1854, p. 8; 'The Siege of Sebastopol' *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, no 313, December 1854, pp. 475-500; and 'Graphic account of the Modder River fight', *War Bits,* 2nd edition, vol. 1, no. 1, 23rd December 1899, p. 4.
[721] 'An Officer', 'Position of the Allied Armies on the Morning of the 20th September 1854', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no 313, December 1854, plate between pages 474 and 475.
[722] 'Continued journal of an officer of the Royals from Portugal Legre to St. Payo, in Spain', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 3, no. 1, November 1811, p. 11.
[723] 'Life and Modder River Camp', *The Household Brigade Magazine,* vol. III, no. 27, March 1900, pp. 181-182.

from the front line[724] and illustrations of captured British troops playing football while held by the Boers[725].The use of such images served to illustrate fair play and resilience under duress, making those military periodicals that published them crucial tools for boosting the morale of both military and civilian readers and acting as a form of propaganda.

Another key aspect of the accounts provided by the correspondents at the front was the amount of space they devoted to describing the every-day and domestic. Such details provide a wealth of information about the lived experience of troops. Descriptions of the conditions of camp were frequent[726], with one correspondent for the *Illustrated War News* reporting how the Camp outside Ladysmith:

> might have been Aldershot, Woolwich, Gibraltar, all rolled into one. The sounds and sights, the very air is military. Martial music, brass bands, and rattling drums strike on the ear continually; orderlies, escorts, staff officers come and go without intermission; and over beyond in the great encampment, half of tents, half a shanty town, the British soldier, true to unalterable traditions, lives his life, just as he does all the world over, whatever the business in hand.[727]

This type of reporting acted to domesticate the alien[728], and present difficult circumstances in a way that created ideas of 'unalterable traditions'[729], boosting the morale of readers and creating links between dispersed communities.

Correspondents also provided accounts of the arrival of the mail and the month-old newspapers from home[730], the ways that they were able to spend

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[724] 'A cricket match and Chieveley between "F" Co., 2nd West Yorks., and "C" Co., Queen's.' *The King,* vol. 1, no. 13, p. 398.
[725] 'The Captured Hussars Playing Football', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 4, 11th November 1899, p. 4.
[726] See for example: Correspondence from the Theatre of War in the Peninsula', *Military Panorama,* Vol. 2, August 1813, p. 468; and 'Life and Modder River Camp', *The Household Brigade Magazine,* vol. III, no. 27, March 1900, p. 181.
[727] 'Full account of White's reconnaissance', *Illustrated War News,* no. 1, 21st October 1899, 8.
[728] Ferneaux, *Military Men of Feeling,* pp.121-146.
[729] Hobsbawn, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', p. 1.
[730] 'Continued journal of an officer of the Royals from Portugal Legre to St. Payo, in Spain', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 3, no. 1, November 1811, p. 10.

their pay[731], and the struggles to remain clean and well groomed. As one account from the Napoleonic Wars explained:

> 29th...we were in great hopes of coming up with our baggage, but found that it had been ordered on to Guarda. I had had no change, or even my clothes off, since being on piquet, on the 24th, or an opportunity of washing or shaving, so that some of us began to resemble our allies, the Portuguese, as to mustachios and whiskers, and smoky complexion.[732]

These are the kinds of details that it is hard to find elsewhere. They illustrate what it was like to be part of the British army during the long nineteenth century, and the small privations caused by campaigns in which soldiers were frequently on the move. As shall again be described in the next sub-section, one of the conventions of military periodicals is that these accounts appear as descriptions of every-day realities, rather than as complaints, and this further sets them apart from much of the material that appeared in the general press which was often filtered though party-political lenses to score particular points.[733]

This type of 'domestic' reporting was relatively unusual during the Napoleonic Wars, and was a feature of military periodicals, whose readers were interested in the experiences of their friends and colleagues. During the Crimean War, this type of coverage became much more common, with correspondents like William Howard Russell seeking to present the real experiences of the soldiers involved (even if the presentation was sometimes informed by political imperatives). By the end of the century illustrated semi-military publications aimed at both the services and the public devoted an increased amount of space to thoughts of friends and family, and 'home'

[731] 'Soldiers pay in the Crimea', *London Weekly Investigator,* no.7, 12th January 1856, p. 38
[732] 'Continued journal of an officer of the Royals in Spain', *Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. 3, 6, April 1812, pp. 420-21.
[733] See for example: Cathcart, *The News From Waterloo,* pp. 83-111; and Knightley, *The First Casualty,* p. 16.

became an almost tangible subject when illustrations were used alongside the reporting.[734]

Scrutiny of Political and Military Leadership

The Napoleonic Wars were the first British military campaigns to be extensively covered by an established newspaper press. This meant that the military leadership had to deal with a scrutiny and an accountability that they had never previously faced[735]. It did not always appreciate the interference of the press, nor the frequent featuring of anonymous letters and articles very obviously contributed by army officers at the front. Wellington, writing to General Craufurd in July 1810, complained that officers should:

> 'mind their own business, instead of writing news and keeping coffee-houses... as soon as an accident happens, every man who can write, and who has a friend who can read, sits down to write his account of what he does not know, and his comments on what he does not understand, and these are diligently circulated and exaggerated by the idle and malicious, of whom there are plenty in all armies. The consequence is that officers and whole regiments lose their reputation, a spirit and party which is the bane of all armies is engendered and fomented…'[736]

In 1811, shortly after Wellington composed the above, the rules concerning how officers could interact with the press were tightened, forming the first move towards wartime military censorship. [737] The rules fell short of explicitly banning corresponding with or writing for military periodicals, though they left room for officers to be punished for doing so. The impact of these rules was limited, as indicated by another letter penned by Wellington, this time to his brother in March 1812, in which he suggested that his campaigns would be successful 'unless those admirably useful institutions, the English

[734] See for example: 'The Sentinel's Reverie', *Pearson's Illustrated War News,* no. 3, 11th November 1899, p. 14.
[735] Matthews, *Reporting the Wars,* p. 37.
[736] Letter, Duke of Wellington to Brigadier General R. Craufurd, Alverca, 23rd July 1810. Quoted in Turner, *Gallant Gentlemen: a portrait of the British Officer 1600-1956,* 151-152.
[737] *General Regulations and Orders for the Army*, 372.

newspapers, should have given Bonaparte the alarm, and should have induced him to order his marshals to assemble their troops to oppose me.'[738] Military personnel did continue to write for the press right through the century, although they generally remained careful to do so anonymously.[739]

Writers for and editors of military periodicals tended to be more circumspect about what they included than those of the general press, as well as more realistic about the circumstances of a campaign. So while accounts of tough conditions[740], logistical problems[741], and lack of pay and provisions[742] did appear (as we have seen), the complaints featured were much more considered, and the authors were careful not to lay the blame on their leaders.[743] The publications walked a delicate line between providing accurate information and a true account of conditions, and writing anything disparaging or critical of the men or the military authorities. When discontent was expressed, it was most often aimed at the politicians, particularly when it was felt that lack of support for the military had resulted in hardship for the men.[744]

While the military press might be careful about the details and criticism they included, the same could not be said for the civilian correspondents of the general press. Many in military circles were uncomfortable with the kind of coverage civilian reporters provided, and concerns were frequently expressed in both editorials and in letters to the military press. Like Wellington writing to his brother, some were worried about the security implications of such

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[738] Letter, Wellington to Lord Wellesley, March 1812. *Wellington Supplementary Dispatches,* Vol. 7, p. 303.
[739] Strachan, *The Reform of the British Army,* p. 26.
[740] See for example: 'Letter relative to the Affairs in the Peninsula', *Military Panorama,* Vol. 1, [no.2], November 1812, p. 166; The sick and wounded', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1142, 25th November 1854, p. 762.
[741] Correspondence from the Theatre of War in the Peninsula', *Military Panorama,* Vol. 2, August 1813, p. 467.
[742] 'Letter relative to the Affairs in the Peninsula', *Military Panorama,* Vol. 1, [no.2], November 1812, pp. 166-167.
[743] See for example: 'Letter relative to the Affairs in the Peninsula', *Military Panorama,* Vol. 1, [no.2], November 1812, p. 167; and Lord Raglan', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1148, 6th January 1855, p. 9.
[744] See for example: 'Who is to Blame?' *United Service Gazette,* no. 1143, 2nd December 1854, p. 6.

detailed and quick reporting of the British positions, strategies and logistical difficulties[745]; others questioned the necessity and the morality of publishing such graphic details of the suffering of the troops.[746] A number of soldiers during the Crimean War wrote to the military press disputing accounts of their squandering pay on drink and complaining of unfair comparisons with the French troops.[747] Towards the end of the war the military press expressed a real anxiety about the government passing speedy legislation in reaction to the public opinion riled up by the media[748], and to the civilian interference in army operation and organization that resulted. [749] The *British Army Despatch* felt the need to remind its readers that newspapers were in the habit of creating or exaggerating drama, as it boosted their sales:

> We have all been too apt to forget that it is the business of the newspaper correspondents to write as spicy articles as possible for their employers, and they have, consequently, taken advantage of the miseries that must always attend warfare to make up as palatable a dish as possible for those who delight in either the incredible or the horrible.[750]

This kind of reflection by military periodicals emphasizes their complicated position straddling the divide between the military and the (civilian) media, but also suggests an awareness that the readership that they were cultivating or maintaining might not look so favorably upon 'spicy articles'. Interestingly, many in the military also seemed to have short memories, for there were frequent comments in military periodicals about how Wellington had not had to deal with such criticism in the press. Sir Charles Pasley, in an 1855 letter to the *United Service Journal,* claimed that:

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[745] 'Preparations for the War.' *United Service Gazette,* no. 1144, 9th December 1854, p. 4.
[746] See for example: 'The Speech of Sir C. Pasley'. *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 318, May 1855, pp. 124-5.
[747] 'Soldiers pay in the Crimea', *London Weekly Investigator,* no.7, 12th January 1856, p. 38.
[748] 'W. P. B.' 'Army Reform'. *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 318, May 1855, p.192.
[749] 'The Renewed attacks on Lord Raglan.' *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 320, July 1855, 432.
[750] 'Fictitious Letters'. *British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard,* vol. 9, no. 342, 12th January 1855, 11.

> Had there been persons of that class attached to the British Army during the Peninsular war, England would probably have been at this moment a province of France…[751]

The *Naval and Military Gazette* also had strong opinions on the subject, particularly on the number of letters published in the press from complaining soldiers at the front. It suggested that:

> It was fortunate for the Duke of Wellington, while in the Peninsula, that people were more prudent than they now are, and abstained from printing the letters of repentant Prodigals and Croakers of Camp. [752]

As demonstrated earlier, this was far from the truth, although the scale of the press and therefore the problem was much bigger than forty years previously. Public opinion also had an impact on the conduct of the war in a way which it had never previously had[753]. But what the military press reaction illustrates is a British army that had not yet come to terms with the mass media, rather than one facing an entirely new phenomenon.

While the *Times'* reporting of the war is famous for alerting the public to failings in supply and organisation of the British Army[754], numerous articles on these topics had appeared in the military press long before the first British soldier landed on the Crimean peninsula. These make it clear that elements of the military press had identified the problems that would plague the conflict. *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* did not relish the prospect of British involvement, reflecting that:

> It is well to look to the results of such a war before we embark in it, or our natural impetuosity will lead us into difficulties, out of which we cannot retire without considerable pecuniary loss, and from which we shall certainly gather neither honour nor reputation. [755]

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[751] 'The Speech of Sir C. Pasley'. *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 318, May 1855, 124-5.
[752] 'Lord Raglan', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1148, 6th January 1855, p. 9.
[753] See Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination,* pp. 2-6; Ceadel, *Semi-Detached Idealists,* p. 46; and Parry, *The Politics of Patriotism,* pp. 213-219.
[754] Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination,* p. 29; Waters, *Special Correspondence and the Newspaper Press in Victorian Print Culture,* (chap. 4).
[755] 'Prospects of War'. *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 112, January 1854, p. 9.

It went on to point out one of the key logistical problems that would impact Britain's ability to conduct its campaign, saying:

> The distance both of France and England from the seat of war will render the maintenance of a standing army in the Russian territories a work of considerable expense, and the fact of this force being kept up in the heart of an enemy's country, will render it extremely difficult to forward supplies to our troops.[756]

As Strachan has contended, this suggests an awareness of organisational problems and an inability to overcome them rather than a complete lack of preparedness.[757] Louise Richardson has argued in defence of the Crimean generals, suggesting that:

> …most of them knew when they were dispatched to fight that they were utterly ill-equipped to do so. Most of the generals in fact opposed the operation but there was no mechanism in place through which they could voice their reservations.[758]

While we may agree with Richardson's claim, there was indeed a mechanism for them to voice their concerns: military periodicals. And voice them they did, with frequent articles and letters featuring pre-Crimean concerns about recruitment, staff numbers and training.[759] The only problem was that such periodicals were not always read by those making the decisions or agreeing the budgets.

Other news

Even in times of war, the content in military periodicals rarely exclusively focused on the conflicts. Life continued as before for those troops not serving at the front, and their experiences and exploits were also reported on. Beyond that, as discussed above, the readers of military periodicals were always keen to read about non-military matters, and considerations of morale and

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[756] Ibid.
[757] Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy,* pp. 1-5.
[758] Richardson, 'Strategic and Military Planning, 1815-56', p. 20.
[759] See for example: 'To the Editor of the Naval and Military Gazette', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 697, 16th May 1846, p. 307. 'Army and Ordnance Expenditure', *The British Soldier,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1851, p. 33.

censorship also impacted what was covered. The *Military Magazine,* which ran for just two years between 1811 and 1812, focussed more on issues at home, and while the official dispatches from the Napoleonic wars were always printed, they were placed at the back of the publication, and came after articles on local riots[760], sport[761], and plant diseases[762]. Occasional articles did appear celebrating military victories[763], but again these were often towards the back of the magazine, and were surrounded by articles on issues that would seem much less significant to military historians[764]. Though it was launched very late in the Napoleonic conflict the *Military Register* focussed largely on issues surrounding military jurisprudence and the accountability of senior officers and the military authorities.

In *Jackson's Woolwich Journal* for October 1854*,* despite including the news of the Battle of Alma, less than one full page out of sixteen was devoted to the Crimean War: as much space was devoted to the Arctic Expedition.[765] Other items in the issue included a 'Fatal Accident in Artillery Practice'[766], the 'Reduction of Postage to New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia'[767], and the 'Remodelling the Civil Service'[768]. During the Second Anglo-Boer War the same publication included only brief snippets about events in South Africa, with its coverage of the lifting of the siege at Mafeking consisting of only one

[760] 'Nottingham Riots', *Military Magazine,* vol. III, no. II, February 1812, p. 99.
[761] 'Sporting', *Military Magazine,* vol. IV, no. I, July 1812, pp. 37-39
[762] 'Puritomania', *Military Magazine,* vol. II, no. 3, September 1811, pp. 188-190.
[763] 'Victory of Salamanca', *Military Magazine,* vol. IV, no. 2, August 1812, pp. 118-122.
[764] For example the above article on Salamanca was preceded by news from Malta regarding the Italian Government: 'Malta', pp. 117-188, and was followed by the theatre section: 'Public Places', pp. 122-126.
[765] 'The Artic Expedition', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 120, October 1854, p. 153, and 'The Artic Expedition', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 120, October 1854, p. 155.
[766] 'Fatal Accident in Artillery Practice', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 120, October 1854, p. 153.
[767] 'Reduction of Postage to New South Wales, Victoria, and South Australia', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 120, October 1854, p. 156.
[768] 'Remodeling the Civil Service', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XI, No. 120, October 1854, p. 156.

brief paragraph, almost entirely reflecting on Baden-Powell's bravery.[769] Likewise, the *Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers* for 1900 included 9 papers, of which only one, covering the official report of the siege of Kimberley, dealt with the Boer War[770]. *The King*, still devoted a great deal of space to its favourite cricket, horse racing, highland games, theatre and other 'society' news and events.[771]

These publications, as with their war coverage, were tailoring this content to their readerships. The *King,* knew that its readers expected a range of social content, while the *Professional Papers* filled its pages with the same technical material that its readers would be looking for. Some periodicals felt it necessary to react more to the outbreak of hostilities, while for some it formed only a small part of their world view.

The Afterlife of Conflicts

Coverage of each of these conflicts did not end with the ceasing of hostilities. The afterlives of each war were long and comprised discussions about each war, how it was fought, and the people involved that lasted right through into the twentieth century. There were retellings of Wellington's heroic exploits[772], accounts and letters from men present during battles and campaigns[773], frequent accounts of the role played by various divisions and regiments[774],

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[769] 'Editorial', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal,* vol. LVIII, no. 668, p. 95.
[770] 'Siege of Kimberley (Official Report)', *Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers,* vol. XXVI, 1900, pp. 69-92.
[771] See for example *The King,* vol. 1, no. 23, 9th June 1900, for coverage of all of these items alongside news of the war.
[772] Graham, Frederica, 'Campaigns of Wellington', *British Soldier,* vol. I, no. 1, June 1852, pp. 21-24.
[773] See for example: 'Historical Military Notes', *Brigade of Guards' Magazine,* vol. II, no. 23, November 1889, pp. 573-576; 'Extracts from the Diary of an Officer of the Grenadier Guards: During Part of the Crimean War, from February 1854 to July 1855', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1866,* pp. 215-262; Scots Fusilier Guards', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1416, 25th February 1860, p.117; '"The Thin Red Line"', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLVII, no. 2442, 10th November 1906, p. 1061; and 'Fancy Statistics', *Broad Arrow,* vol. VIII, no. 187, 27th January 1872,p. 100.
[774] See for example: 'An Incident on the Retreat to Corruna', *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle for 1893,* pp. 123-124; Scots Fusilier Guards', *Naval and Military*

notes on the commemorations held[775], and as the years passed a marking of the dwindling number of survivors of each campaign.[776] These all formed part of a process of the formation, negotiation and renegotiation of a shared collective memory.

Accounts and memories were often contested, and controversies about the memorialising of campaigns began almost immediately they ended, and continued right through the century. Waterloo was a particular focus for controversy, because, as an article in the *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1866* explained:

> There is something so strangely fascinating about the battle of Waterloo, worn out as the subject is, that we see nearly every year new works dealing with the whole or with special details.[777]

A particularly heated example of this played out in the *United Service Journal* during the 1830s, in a series of articles and correspondences which became known as the 'Crisis of Waterloo', and which centred on disputed accounts of the positions and actions of all those involved in the battle.[778] The controversy rumbled on for years, and this prolonged debate perfectly illustrates the impossibility of knowing the exact details of what happened at such a large scale and dispersed event as the Battle of Waterloo. Each division, regiment, and person had a different recollection of events, and even those in positions of command often did not know what all of those involved were doing. Balaclava, and particularly the Charge of the Light Brigade, played a similar role for the Crimea. The latter was equally reviled and celebrated in military periodicals, with the *United Service Gazette* summing up the mixed feelings

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Gazette, no. 1416, 25th February 1860, p.117; '"The Thin Red Line"', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLVII, no. 2442, 10th November 1906, p. 1061; and 'Fancy Statistics', *Broad Arrow,* vol. VIII, no. 187, 27th January 1872, p. 100.

[775] 'Royal Fusiliers', *Broad Arrow,* vol. XXXV, no. 900, 26th September 1885, p.419.

[776] 'The Survivors of the Balaklava Charge', *Broad Arrow,* vol. XXXV, no. 904, 24th October 1885, p. 559.

[777] 'The Waterloo Controversy', *Journal of the Household Brigade for the Year 1866,* p. 297.

[778] See for example: *United Service Journal,* July 1833, pp. 299-324 and pp. 542-544; *United Service Journal,* September 1833, pp. 1-16, pp. 253-256 and pp. 392-393; and Vivian, Hussey. "Letter", *United Service Journal,* No. 141, August 1840, p. 433.

about the event, when describing the Charge as a 'gallant blunder'[779]. The pages of the military press became an important forum for discussing and disputing the behaviour of individuals involved with the Charge.[780] An account of an 'Old Comrades' dinner of the 8th Hussars published in the *Army and Navy Gazette* in 1907, even included a suggestion that some veterans of the regiment were falsely claiming they were survivors of it.[781] Historians still argue about what precisely happened in the lead up, and again the coverage by military periodicals only serves to illustrate how inconsistent and disputed eye-witness accounts of a single event can be. This is why forums such as military periodicals became sites of negotiation of these shared memories, but also why they could never truly be resolved.

While many readers seemed to relish reliving past events, or exploring the history of the services, not everyone was happy with it. Writing to the *United Service Journal* in February 1843, 'An Old Peninsular' complained of the 'so oft repeated attempts made by yourself and by others, through the medium of your Magazine, to obtain for the remnant of the Peninsular Army some honourable mark of distinction.'[782] He went on to say 'enough has already been said on the subject, and…henceforth silence becomes us best.'[783] Silence about the past conflicts was, however, not something that the military periodicals embraced, and as explored in Chapter Three, a mythologised memory of various campaigns became absorbed into the identity and ethos of many soldiers and regiments.

As with the two prior conflicts discussed, the memorialising and commemorating of the Second Anglo-Boer War continued in the military press

[779] 'The Light Cavalry Charge at Balaklava.' *United Service Gazette,* no. 1141, 18th November 1854, 6.
[780] See for example: 'The Charge of the Six Hundred', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1582, 2nd May 1863, p. 4; and 'The Light Cavalry Charge at Balaklava', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1582, 2nd May 1862, p. 280.
[781] '8th Hussars', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLVIII, no. 2466, 27th April 1907, p. 393.
[782] 'An Old Peninsular', 'The Old Peninsulars', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 172, March 1843, p. 449.
[783] Ibid.

long after the general press had lost interest. However, the outbreak of the First World War barely more than a decade later, and the loss via death and injury of much of the professional standing army that remained after the Boer War, had a huge impact on the way that the Boer War was remembered. A significant number of those who participated in the Boer War, and who would have gone on to be venerated veterans, did not survive the next conflict they faced. The unprecedented scale of the Great War, its devastating effects on the public psyche, and the implications that this had for the way that war was thought about going forward, meant that the Boer conflict did not embed itself in public consciousness in the same way as the previous ones.[784]

Perhaps the most striking feature of the coverage of the Boer War in military periodicals was just how self-conscious the journals were about both the war and their own roles in it. There were frequently articles reflecting on the changing nature of warfare[785], the role of the war correspondent[786], and the difficulties of covering such a war.[787] They regarded themselves as an integral part of the wider campaign, and were able to interrogate and analyse their role in the proceedings. The format had existed for a century, and both the evolutions and the continuities were clear to see.

Small Wars

While the wars previously covered were on a large scale, involving the mass mobilisation of troops and significant logistical and strategic planning, these were not common occurrences. The British army was, however, almost

[784] For discussions on this point see: Donaldson, *Remembering the South African War,* pp. 45; Searle, ‘’National Efficiency’ and the ‘Lessons’ of the War’, p. 203; and Lowry, ‘International Opinion in the First Age of ‘Globalization’’, p. 278.
[785] ‘See for example: The story of the week’, *Pearson’s Illustrated War News,* no. 2, 28th October 1899, p. 6.
[786] ‘See for example: Valentine, ‘Do War Correspondents Tell the Truth?, *The King: of illustrated papers,* vol. 1, no. 7, 17th February 1900, p. 205.; and ‘What war correspondents earn’, *Pearson’s Illustrated War News,* no. 2, 28th October 1899, p. 13.
[787] See for example: H. C. Shelley, ‘A week’s march and three battles’, *The King: of illustrated papers,* vol. 1, no. 1, 6th January 1900, p. 4.

constantly involved in smaller scale conflicts somewhere in the empire, and it is the coverage of these that will be discussed here.

Firstly, it is important to recognise just how important these 'small wars' were. As Louise Richardson points out with regard to the first half of the nineteenth century:

> Small as the army was in this period at least two-thirds of it was committed overseas. In 1846, for example, with 103 infantry battalions and 100,600 men, the distributions of troops and regiments was: 23,000 (23) in India, 32,620 (54) elsewhere in the Empire, and 44,980 (35) in Britain.[788]

Both officers and men were more likely to see active duty while posted overseas, and those postings involved a significant proportion of the manpower of the British army. Yet, while Strachan argues that the 'empire was…the most consistent and most continuous influence in shaping the [British] army as an institution,'[789] the coverage of it within even military periodicals did not reflect this importance. Small-scale wars simply did not gain the recognition or coverage in either the general or military presses that their collective significance warranted. As will be discussed in the next chapter, imperial postings, at least for the first half of the century, were viewed as less prestigious and desirable. They rarely gained the attention of the British public, and even in military circles they were seldom placed centre stage. This might explain why, as Strachan also laments, modern analysis of the nineteenth century British army frequently overlooks the empire, failing to acknowledge how central it was to military development and professionalisation during this period. This modern neglect by military history reflects and reinforces one that began at the time.

Military periodicals, on the other hand, do provide a comprehensive and rich source on many of these imperial conflicts, even while the status and column space devoted to them never equalled that of the large-scale 'European' conflicts. Military periodicals covered British warfare in places as diverse as

[788] Richardson, 'Strategic and Military Planning, 1815-56', p. 18.
[789] Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army,* p. 74.

China[790], South America[791], New Zealand[792], Egypt[793], South Africa[794], India[795], Borneo[796] and what is now Ghana[797], and conflicts that occurred from the end of the eighteenth century[798] to the twentieth-century crumbling of empire.

Some military periodicals from the period were aware of and acknowledged the under-representation of imperial wars in the press. The *United Service Gazette,* in particular, frequently reflected on the hierarchies of interest, and on the general public's disregard for subjects relating to empire. For example, when writing about a 'small' Indian conflict in 1872, the *Gazette* admitted that:

> We are so much absorbed here at home in Imperial England, and especially in the great Metropolis itself, with Tichborne trials, Park-Lane murders, and other local events of a similar stirring and sensational description, that we cast but a very careless eye over the Indian news, and quite as careless a thought upon the deeds which little armies of our brave troops are doing to uphold the national power and glory in that distant quarter of the world. Who, for example, knows or cares anything about the Looshai Expedition, which has just been successfully terminated?[799]

At times they were angry about the lack of interest by politicians and the general public in the business and the sacrifice of maintaining the empire, writing in 1873, at the outbreak of the Ashantee conflict that 'the slaughter was very respectable for a little war in Africa, but as the killed and wounded were merely black men, their fate is not likely to excite any great

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[790] 'The War with China', *United Service Gazette,* no. 516, 26th November 1842, pp. 6-8.
[791] 'Colonial defence', *Wellington Gazette and Military Chronicle,* 15th November 1870, p. 124.
[792] 'New Zealand', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1593, 18th July 1863, pp. 5-6.
[793] 'Editorial', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 6, 14th May 1892, 9.
[794] 'The soldier's story', *Our Soldiers' Magazine,* no. 4, October-December 1887, 84.
[795] 'The War in India', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 2, no. 26, 8th January 1859, 20.
[796] Ernett, Frederick W. 'A Bornean Mahdi', *The King,* vol. 1, no. 12, 24th March 1900, p. 363.
[797] 'The Ashantee Invasion of British Territory: The First Battle Great Losses', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2103, 26th April 1873, p. 6.
[798] See for example: 'Military Transactions, in September, 1798', *British Military Library,* vol. 1, no. 1, October 1798, pp. 38-40.
[799] 'Our Little Wars in India', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2052, 4th May 1872, p. 4.

commiseration in England.'[800] While the *United Service Gazette* was particularly eloquent on the subject, they were not alone in lamenting a lack of interest in imperial defence, and in worrying about the implications of the neglect, both economic and strategic, that resulted. This will be discussed more fully in the final section of this chapter.

While such wars have been separated here from the larger conflicts covered, they did not only happen in the gaps between those wars. The June 1900 issue of the *Black and White Budget* clearly illustrated this, covering not only the Boer War, but also concerns about insurrection in Egypt, accounts of the Boxer Rebellion in China, and an uprising in Ashantee in West Africa.[801]

The term 'small wars' only came into widespread use towards the end of the nineteenth century, at a time when research was finally being undertaken into the separate strategic needs of such warfare.[802] One of the most important pieces of work on the subject, *Small Wars,* by Charles Callwell, was first published in 1896. So while the term is used here to draw together disparate imperial conflicts in the long nineteenth century, this was not how they were referred to for much of the period itself. Many conflicts were referred to by their individual name or geographic location[803], while others were reported under the heading of 'Imperial News' or 'Colonial Defence'[804]. Some publications did not even differentiate news about imperial conflicts from other foreign news, with the *Naval & Military Herald* (1858-1859) publishing their regular updates from China and India[805] under the heading of 'Foreign

[800] 'The Ashantee War', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2103, 26th April 1873, 5.
[801] *Black and White Budget,* vol. III, no. 37, 23rd June 1900.
[802] Carwell, *Small Wars,* p. 19.
[803] See for example: 'New Zealand', *Oriental Mail and War Office Gazette,* No. 3, 4th November 1865, p. 57; and 'The Coomassie Expedition', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2119, 16th August 1873, p. 5.
[804] See for example: 'Colonial defence', *Wellington Gazette and Military Chronicle,* 15th November 1870, p. 124.
[805] 'The War in India', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 2, no. 26, 8th January 1859, p. 20.

Intelligence', alongside articles on countries such as 'Montenegro',[806] 'Mexico'[807], 'Japan'[808], and 'Turkey'[809].

As the nineteenth century progressed, a number of factors, largely precipitated by advances in transport and communications technology and the resulting burgeoning of interest in overseas news, brought imperial wars and their unique strategic challenges to the fore. This occurred alongside a shift in perception of the importance of imperial service for military training and career progression, which will be discussed in the following chapter. Military periodicals played an important role in the growth of imperial warfare as a field of study, alongside the development of a specialised vocabulary to cover it. They gradually devoted more column space to the subject, and, as will be discussed in the next chapter, began increasingly to highlight the opportunities for experience and progression offered by imperial service and to contribute to a growing metropolitan awareness of empire and colonial conflict.

As with their reporting of European conflicts, military publications provided more detail and in-depth analysis of imperial wars than the general press, frequently focussing on the regiments and commanding officers involved, as well as on specifics of weaponry and tactics. For example a talk on the 'Chitral Expedition', which was given at the Royal United Service Institution in July 1895 three months after the conclusion of hostilities in India, appeared in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* in January 1896. The article, while not timely, provided huge amounts of specialist information, including the number of men stationed in the region, the regiments involved, their movements, the communications between the actors and the authorities, and much detail regarding the logistics of the operation.[810] This type of material was specifically designed to be of interest to the professional

[806] 'Montenegro', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 1, no. 10, 18th September 1858, 156.
[807] 'Mexico', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 1, no. 18, 13th November 1858, 285.
[808] 'Japan', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 1, no. 19, 20th November 1858, 300-301.
[809] 'Turkey', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 1, no. 21, 4th December 1858, 331.
[810] Younghusband, Captain F. E. 'The Chitral Campaign', *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* Vol. XL, No. 215, January 1896, pp. 5-23.

audience of the journal, and, as discussed in Chapter Three, its publication allowed for a dispersed body of men to use such information for professional development, strategic analysis and to learn about the actions and movements of friends and colleagues.

Finally, as with the three large-scale wars, many of these 'small wars' had a long afterlife in military memory and in the pages of military periodicals. However, their role was subtly different. The lack of large-scale public interest in colonial wars meant that the celebration and memorialisation of them was much more inward looking. They were less often a focus of articles or letters, but rather formed a substantial part of the 'Records' of various regiments, a common feature of a number of military publications.[811] Commemorations were noted and marked,[812] memories were shared, but perhaps there was slightly less negotiation of the collective memory, as a much smaller number of men were involved. A key feature that complicated the memory-making of imperial wars was that many relevant sites of conflict saw repeated outbreaks of hostilities, with peace often being an unstable state and unrest a regular feature of imperial life. Memories of past campaigns were frequently brought to the fore by each new outbreak, and each new chapter in events needed to be slotted into a longer and on-going narrative. So with the first rumblings of discontent in New Zealand in 1863, a correspondent wrote to the *United Service Gazette* about his experiences of fighting there in 1846.[813] Interestingly, one of the key focuses of his account was of how little those at home knew or understood about New Zealand, and the experiences of British soldiers there, drawing a contrast with the greater coverage of other wars:

> In 1846 it would have been greatly to the advantage of the army had we but had a newspaper correspondent to chronicle the events which occurred – cutting our way through forests, along the sides of mountains, penetrating into a country before untrod by Europeans.[814]

[811] See for example: 'Record of the Services of the Rifle Brigade', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 518, January 1872, pp. 59-63.
[812] See for example: 'Memorial at Taranaki', *Tiger and the Rose,* vol. xi, no. ii, April 1898, p. 4.
[813] 'The Army in New Zealand', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1571, 14th February 1863, p. 3.
[814] Ibid.

Despite imperial campaigns generally receiving less coverage when compared with the European conflicts of the period, it is also true that as a whole, coverage of imperial conflicts dominated military periodicals, simply because they were so frequent and involved so many troops. Few issues appeared that did not mention, even in passing, one of the many 'small wars' of empire, meaning that even if the reader's eyes were rarely directed at events in empire, they provided a constant background noise to the reading experience.

Peacetime preparedness

This final section will explore a topic that bridges war and peace: peacetime preparedness. This was an almost universal and constant source of anxiety for the British military, and was frequently featured in military periodicals. There were discernible spikes in interest in the subject in the general press, both in the build-up to, and the aftermath of, large-scale conflicts. But for military publications it was a subject that never went away, and a regular source of discussion was how best to keep the public interested in defence and military preparedness when there were no immediate threats of war. Editors regularly foregrounded their concerns about political policies that favoured reductions of the military,[815] demonstrating that military periodicals were rarely as a-political as they claimed to be. Both editors and contributors wrote articles expressing concerns about man-power[816], training[817], and defensive preparedness[818] that illustrate the important role that military periodicals played as a forum for the military to discuss the important concerns of the day.

[815] See for example: 'Army and Ordnance Expenditure', *The British Soldier: a journal devoted to the interests of the United Services,* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1851, p. 33.
[816] See for example: 'What is to be the Peace Establishment?' *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1213 5th April 1856, p. 216.
[817] See for example: 'The training of the English and Prussian armies', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXIX, No. 318, 1st March 1871, p. 44.
[818] 'Starving the Empire's Defences', *The King,* vol. 2, no. 32, 11th August 1900, p. 173.

Primarily this section will focus on the period surrounding the Franco-Prussian War, as not only was this an event that sparked deep anxiety in the British military and the public, but also it is one of the few examples where these anxieties were not triggered by events in the British army itself. This meant that the gaze of the military periodicals, when discussing the issue, was broader than one location or one campaign, and the anxieties that became manifest encompassed both the European and the Imperial theatres.

Although the Franco-Prussian War is now seen as a turning-point in European relations and in the strategic and tactical thinking of European militaries[819], what becomes apparent when examining military periodicals is that anxieties about these issues appeared several years before the war. Heightened coverage had begun earlier in the 1860s, with observations of Prussia's rising power during the conflicts in Denmark and then Austria. An article in the *Cinque Ports Pilot,* from July 1866, reflected on the changing nature of warfare, asking:

> If a fortnight's warfare between three Powers numbers a hundred thousand men among the dead and the slain, who could estimate the sacrifice of life and treasure if all Europe were plunged into a general war?[820]

Three years later, the *Wellington Gazette* devoted a great deal of coverage to the development of the military landscape in Europe, writing that '[t]he papers for the past month have been filled with accounts of the recent evolutions of the Prussian Army', and going on to provide numerous excerpts from those articles to provide a summary.[821] Crucially, a month later it analysed events which highlighted the implications for the British military:

> As it appears from the most carefully-prepared data, that in the event of a European War, the Military force we should require, would be at least double that we could now place in the field, and would even then have to be supplemented by a system of enlistment that should bring recruits

[819] Porter, *Britain, Europe and the World 1850-1982,* p. 36; and Otte, *The Foreign Office Mind,* p. 35.
[820] 'Editorial', *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 295, 11th July 1866, p. 2.
[821] 'The Prussian Army', *Wellington Gazette,* no. CLXLXI, 15th October 1869, pp. 110-112.

> readily to the "fore," it is clear that some decided step must be taken in this respect, if we desire to hold our own among the nations of the world.[822]

After the outbreak of hostilities between France and Prussia in July 1870, the level of interest in the conflict became apparent by the amount of coverage devoted to a foreign war[823]. By this time, news from the Continent was reaching Britain very quickly, as technologies such as the telegraph and military balloons had been fully integrated into the communications systems of the country.[824] As in all of the previously discussed conflicts, military periodicals were not able to scoop the general daily press, but they were often not far behind: the *Wellington Gazette* published news of the outbreak of war a day after it was declared (although as it was a monthly periodical, this owed much to luck, as war was declared the day before their publication date and the news was inserted into the flexible space of "Occasional Notes" at the back of the publication, meaning it could be included without resetting the entire rest of the publication.[825]

What is important about the coverage of the Franco-Prussian war was that immediately, and alongside, the reporting of events as they happened, a discussion developed about what it meant for the British military in wider strategic terms. In a series of articles on the 'Position of Great Britain in Reference to the Present Contest', which appeared in the *United Service Journal* in September, October and November 1870, Colonel G. Poulett Cameron spoke of the reaction of the British military to the outcomes of the Franco-Prussian War. He opened by lambasting the Prime Minster, William Gladstone, the Secretary of State for War, Edward Cardwell, and their allies for their policies towards the military:

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[822] 'Volunteering v. Conscription', *Wellington Gazette,* no. CLXLXII, 15th November 1869, p. 121.
[823] See for example: 'The Continental Crisis', *Sheldrake's Aldershot & Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 574, 23rd July 1870, p. 4; 'Naval and Military Matters in France', *Army and Navy Gazette,* Supplement, 29th October 1870, p. 1; and 'Monthly summary', *Jackson's Woolwich Journal and Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXIX, No. 316, 2nd January 1871, p. 12.
[824] Martin, 'Conflictual Imaginaries: Victorian Illustrated Periodicals and the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71)' pp. 41-58.
[825] 'Occasional Notes', *Wellington Gazette,* no. 163, 15th July 1870, pp. 75-76.

> Whatever explanations however may be offered or accepted, it is now a recognized truth by all parties, including some of Mr. Gladstone's most strenuous and determined supporters, that the enormous reductions not merely in our military, but naval strength, have been made with an utter disregard of the national honour and safety, and simply to serve party feelings and interests.[826]

Poulett then criticised political patronage as hindering the organisation of the British army[827]; suggested that due to the lack of logistical and organisational support provided by the government, it would take around two weeks to muster a defence force should Britain be invaded[828]; and highlighted the deficiencies of British military education when compared with the Prussian system.[829]

Poulett's articles were filled with ideas and opinions that were shared by many in the military, but his tone, while in keeping with much of the general press, was not universally taken up by military writers. There were others, such as Captain E. Rogers, another writer for the *United Service Journal,* who advocated a more measured approach. Writing a couple of months later but discussing many of the same subjects, Rogers opened by saying:

> That the subject is an all-important and all-absorbing one, in the face of contemporaneous events justifying the consideration of the many plans and suggestions with which the Press has lately teemed, cannot be denied, but, and notwithstanding the angry grown of the hungry Northern Bear [Russia], there is no need to approach the question in a spirit of panic, alike undignified and unreasonable.[830]

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[826] Poulett Cameron, Colonel G. 'The Position of Great Britain in Reference to the Present Contest', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. DII, September 1870, pp.93-94.
[827] Poulett Cameron, Colonel G. 'The Position of Great Britain in Reference to the Present Contest', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. DIII, October 1870, pp. 225-226.
[828] Poulett Cameron, Colonel G. 'The Position of Great Britain in Reference to the Present Contest', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. DIII, October 1870, p. 229.
[829] Poulett Cameron, Colonel G. 'The Position of Great Britain in Reference to the Present Contest', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. DIV, November 1870, pp. 413-418.
[830] Rogers, Captain E. 'The Reserve Question', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. DVI, January 1871, pp. 11-12.

Another article illustrates just how diverse opinions on the subject could be within one publication. Published anonymously in the April 1871 issue of the *United Service Journal*, the article entitled 'The Teachings of the War of 1870', advocated for continuing the policy of voluntary enlistment, and championed Cardwell's organisational system.[831]

This diversity within one periodical is important, as it highlights that while a constant source of anxiety and of material to fill the pages of military periodicals, opinions around peace-time preparedness were so diverse and often contradictory that they in no way provided a unified picture of the present, or a plan for the future. This was a pattern across the nineteenth century: where one article would appear claiming that Britain remained the dominant military power, another would caution that the country was falling behind or was dangerously overstretched.[832] While this was an important reflection of military anxieties and opinions, it must also be remembered that it was a lucrative approach for military periodicals to take. They could present themselves as indispensable, both as recognising and publicising problems, but also as the nexus for developing solutions.

In the case of the Franco-Prussian War, military periodicals were also operating in a media environment that was often fanning public anxiety about the situation in Europe. The publication of 'The Battle of Dorking'(1871) in *Blackwood's Magazine*, which, as we have seen, had by this stage become a quasi-military journal in its own right[833], and other invasion fictions at this time, created such a stir, that military periodicals had to present their arguments within the context of intense public interest.[834] Unlike the general press, the military press had to tread a fine line: on the one hand they wanted to encourage preparedness, extra resources and increased staffing and

[831] 'The Teachings of the War of 1870', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. DIX, April 1870, pp. 478-479.
[832] See for example: Colonial Defence', *Wellington Gazette and Military Chronicle,* 15th November 1870, p. 124.
[833] 'The Military Staff of Blackwood's', *Annals of a Publishing House,* vol. III, pp. 22-266.
[834] See for example: Jones, Major W. P. 'The Invasion of England', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 524, July 1872, pp. 363-367.

recruitment; on the other hand, they wanted to present the military as forward-thinking, organised and highly-trained for any eventuality.[835]

Military periodicals, by their very nature, often had a blinkered approach to the world, placing themselves at the centre of any discussion, and regularly ignoring other areas of public life that demanded a greater share of the country's money and attention. As specialist publications aimed at an audience with clear interests and agendas, this is hardly surprising, but it is something that must be fully understood when mining these sources to provide insight into Britain's views on its military and its defence.

Conclusion

As noted in previous chapters, what is illustrated here is the diversity of material and coverage that appeared in military periodicals. This shines a light on areas of military interest and military life that have often previously been overlooked. The predominance of material covering subjects unrelated to war or conflict is particularly important to note. Military periodicals tailored their content for an audience drawn from an army that was frequently a peace-time institution, and recognised that the army was a life-style as well as a profession.

The detail-rich coverage of conflicts, when it does appear, is also important, as it tells us of the particular wants and needs of military readers, as well as illustrating both the constraints that both convention and military rules imposed on them and the niche that military periodicals carved out for themselves in relation to the general press. This latter is important, as they had to operate alongside and compete with a wide range of other publications, and therefore needed to offer something unique and specifically tailored to their readership.

[835] See for example: 'The Invasion Topic', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2056, 1st June 1872, p. 5.

In reprising this panoply of subjects, and litany of conflicts, this chapter has aimed to highlight the wide range of scholarship that remains to be done using these sources. Each section of this chapter could have been a thesis in itself. And perhaps most importantly, when used alongside other sources, these periodicals provide an important insight that falls somewhere between the grand political perspective and the every-day individual soldier or civilian point of view, illustrating both the strategic and the domestic, the private and the public.

Chapter Five: An Officer and a Gentleman: Professional Identify and the Construction of Military Masculinities

Introduction

The rise of the 'professions' and of a professional ideology in nineteenth century Britain is both well-documented[836] and well-researched.[837] This movement has generally been explained as resulting from industrialisation and a gradual shift from feudalism towards a technical and capitalist system of governance, which began in the eighteenth century but accelerated during the early nineteenth century.[838] This development was both particularly pertinent and particularly problematic for the military, which, from the end of the Napoleonic Wars, was required to redefine itself as a peace-time institution.[839]

The development of professional periodicals and their rising popularity coincided with this drive towards professionalism within society at large, and this is no coincidence; these two historical phenomena are intrinsically linked. It is the intersection of the two within the military that this chapter aims to investigate. While Chapter One has already explored how a growing 'professional' readership created a marketplace that was duly exploited by commercial publishers, this chapter will focus on the role that military periodicals played in forming and disseminating ideas about professional identity.

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[836] See, for example, R. L. Edgeworth's *Essays on Professional Education.* London: J. Johnson and Co., 1812; H. Byerley Thomson's *The Choice of a Profession.* London: Chapman and Hall, 1857; T. H. S. Escott's *Social Transformations of the Victorian Age*: *A Survey of Court and Country.* London: Seeley and Co., 1897.
[837] See, for example, Carr Sauders and Wilson, *The Professions;* Reader, *Professional Men;* Duman, 'The Creation and Diffusion of a Professional Ideology in Nineteenth Century England' and Gourvish, 'The Rise of the Professions'.
[838] See Carr-Sauders and Wilson, *The Professions,* pp. 294-297; this is also the central argument of Readers' *Professional Men.*
[839] Although there was almost no period during the nineteenth century where the British army was not engaged in conflict somewhere within the Empire, it largely defined itself in terms of large-scale European wars. See Chapter Four for further explorations of this idea.

It will do this firstly by examining three tropes or stereotypes of nineteenth-century military identity which are particularly enduring and frequently discussed in literary and social history studies of the army. They are often presented as appearing chronologically, beginning with the 'Aristocratic Amateur', which is then followed by the 'Soldier Saint', and ending with the 'Imperial Adventurer'. Looking at these through the lens of the military periodical will illustrate both the reality and the representation of these military identities, how they appeared or were engaged with, and the implications for military professionalism.

Secondly, this chapter will examine how military periodicals promoted, reflected and catered for the growth in professionalism more directly, looking at the space they allocated to debates on the subject, the related content that they chose to include and the emphasis they placed upon professional identity within their pages.

This will demonstrate that there was both continuity and change over the period, and will provide a more nuanced discussion of developments in contrast to many popular grand narratives, which over-emphasise the failure to professionalise of the pre-First World War British Army. This chapter will also show the diverse nature of the nineteenth-century British military, and the multifaceted aspirations, experiences and achievements not only of one army, one division, or one unit, but of a single officer or soldier which are clearly illustrated by the range of military periodicals available, and the variety of content included within them.

What is a profession?

In beginning to examine the process of professionalization and the formation of professional identity, it might seem important to define what 'profession' means. However, this in itself, proves problematic. As Duman describes, 'sociologists have struggled unsuccessfully to isolate those characteristics

which distinguish the professions from other occupational groups.'[840] Historians have done little better, with Reader preferring to let the definition 'emerge rather hazily', Shortt suggesting that definitions are 'best left deliberately vague'[841] and Gourvish stating that there are inherent problems in defining the term.[842] Looking at the military individually does not make matters any easier. Foucault situates the military not as a profession, but as an apparatus of state control[843], while Gourvish suggests that, alongside the Civil Service, the military uncomfortably straddles the divide between government and profession[844]. Carr-Sauders and Wilson entirely exclude the military from their study of the professions as 'the service which soldiers are trained to render is one which it is hoped they will never be called upon to perform.'[845] Gwyn Harries-Jenkins suggests that the key reason that defining military professionalism is problematic, is that:

> it is unlikely that members of the armed forces in different ranks, regiments and regimes have over a long period consistently held to a single strategy or view of themselves.[846]

This is an important argument, and one that this chapter will continually return to.

While this difficulty with definition might seem like a huge disadvantage when studying the process of professionalization within the military, it actually presents an opportunity. It allows this investigation to focus on the periodicals themselves, using them to uncover what those in the nineteenth-century military actually thought and said about their 'profession' and the processes, discussion and evolutions of ideas about military professionalism. Alongside this it also allows a study of how the form of the military periodical precipitated, facilitated and shaped the debate and how different and

[840] Duman, 'The Creation and Diffusion of a Professional Ideology in Nineteenth Century England', p. 113.
[841] Shortt, 'Physicians, Science, and Status', p. 52.
[842] Gourvish, 'The Rise of Professions', p. 13.
[843] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish,* p.168.
[844] Gourvish, 'The Rise of Professions', p. 15.
[845] Carr-Sauders and Wilson, *The Professions,* p. 3.
[846] Harries-Jenkins, 'The Concept of Military Professionalism', p. 119.

seemingly opposing ideas of the 'professional soldier' could exist simultaneously.

Rather than focussing on defining 'profession' therefore, it is perhaps more useful to look at the concept of group or collective identity. Using the model favoured by poststructuralist, feminist and queer theorists, this chapter will interrogate professional military identity as a construct[847], and investigate how such an identity was formed, transmitted, and constantly renegotiated within the military periodical press during this period. It will look for clues left over from group formation, as described by Bruno Latour: the justifying of the group's existence, the invoking of rules and precedents and measuring up of definitions against each other.[848] Some of the discussions around professionalization that featured within the publications were explicit, such as those that focussed on education and the purchase system; others were less obvious, focussing on appearance, behaviour and character, but still touching on professional issues. These generally coalesced around the idea of the 'gentleman', another hazy concept, which draws in other elements of identity, such as class, gender, nationality and race. Therefore, this chapter will take an intersectional approach[849], with a particular focus on the intersection between professional (occupation) and masculine (gender) identity within the military.

A further key element of group formation that will be explored is the closing off of boundaries around the group and the 'othering' of those outside. To do this characteristics of the group must be contrasted with those of the 'other' to distinguish group membership.[850] This was one of the most problematic processes for the British army in this period, as it struggled to clearly demarcate its boundaries. While at times there was a clear 'other', which

[847] See for example Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* pp. 1-20; Butler, *Gender Trouble,* p. 2 and p. 140; de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex,* p. 9; Roper and Tosh, 'Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinity', pp. 7-8.
[848] Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* p. 31.
[849] Hill Collins and Bilge, *Intersectionality,* p. 2.
[850] See King, 'Profession and the Press', *DNCJ,* p. 510; Latour, *Reassembling the Social,* p. 32.

could include European nationalities or racial groups from within the Empire, not only did these 'others' take many forms, depending on circumstance and period, but the very nature of military organisation and experience often required or allowed for officers and men to identify with or differentiate themselves from other groupings outside of the military. These groupings could be based around class, interest, religion, location or a wide range of other factors, and while straddling the divide between these groups did not seem to interfere with many soldiers' sense of professional identity, it certainly problematizes the concept of clearly defined boundaries between the military and civil society.

This chapter will accordingly both describe the tension between the multiple identities that were often embodied by military personnel at the time, and the fact that this tension could have both positive and negative impacts on the pace and progression of the professionalization of individuals and for the army as a whole.

The next section of the chapter will examine those stereotypes mentioned above: the 'Aristocratic Amateur', the 'Soldier Saint' and the 'Imperial Adventurer' that have proved so enduring in the imaging of the nineteenth-century military. All three models are inherently problematic when thinking about a 'professional' army for reasons that shall be explored below, and it has added to the perception of an antiquated and backward-looking military during this period. What military periodicals tell us about the extent to which these models truly represented the British army in the long nineteenth century will be examined, with a focus on class, behaviour, community and profession.

The Aristocratic Amateur

One of the most enduring ideas about the nineteenth-century British army is that it was officered almost entirely by aristocratic amateurs, who were little interested in professional pursuits and who repeated failed to implement

reform, successfully lead their men, or to learn from the mistakes of the past. This idea of military masculinity has dominated discourses surrounding the field, particularly those works focussing on the lead up to the First Wold War.[851] Famous aristocratic figures such as the Duke of Wellington, the Earl of Cardigan (1797-1868) and Lord Lucan (1800-1888) have filled accounts of military history, as have tales from aristocratic regiments such as those who make up the Household Guards and the Household Cavalry. Such images of military officers from the aristocracy and upper gentry have been reinforced by literary portrayals, including nineteenth-century examples from Jane Austen[852], Walter Scott[853], William Makepeace Thackeray[854] and Ouida[855], as well as more contemporary representations such as those in Bernard Cornwall's *Sharpe* series and George MacDonald Fraser's *Flashman* novels.

This model of martial masculinity was constructed around ideas of birth, blood and a defined set of social interactions and relationships, built very much upon a renewed interest in aristocratic traditions. It harked back to a chivalric past, and focussed on individual behaviour, politeness, and the following of a 'code of honour'.[856] While its heyday was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, one of the most frequent criticisms of the late Victorian and Edwardian British army was that it was still dominated by the upper echelons of society and had failed to embrace professionalism.[857] Strachan has challenged this viewpoint, claiming there has often been an oversimplification of the class structure in the army, and in particular that scholarship has ignored the importance of military families, the rising popularity of the army as an occupation for the sons of other professionals,

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[851] See Parker, *The Old Lie: The Great War and the Public-School Ethos;* and Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society*, p. 2.
[852] For example Colonel Fitzwilliam in *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), General and Captain Tilney in *Northanger Abbey* (1817), and Colonel Brandon in *Sense and Sensibility* (1811).
[853] For example in *Waverley* (1814).
[854] For example, numerous characters in *Barry Lyndon* (1844), *The Newcomes* (1855) and *Vanity Fair* (1848).
[855] For example in *Under Two Flags* (1867).
[856] Girouard, *The Return to Camelot,* pp. 260-262.
[857] See Spiers, *Army and Society,* pp. 6-8; Harries-Jenkins, *The army in Victorian Society,* pp. 3-4; Mansfield, *Soldiers as workers,* p. 40; and Bond, *The Victorian Army and the Staff College 1854-1914,* p. 8.

notably the clergy, and differences between different branches and regiments.[858] He also disputes the notion that the Purchase System acted as 'a relatively effective social filter'[859], pointing out that the army was seen as a route for social advancement, with newly rich industrialists being able to buy their sons socially advantageous commissions.[860]

Therefore the aristocratic make-up of the British Army was more uncertain and unstable than many historians have presented, something that those at the time were well aware of. This understanding of the vagaries of the class system was responsible for a focus on the idea of the 'gentleman', as the term connoted status for even those without title[861]. If the 'gentlemanly' ideal permeated aristocratic and middle-class aspirational ideas about behaviour throughout society, it was particularly linked with the military, which was viewed, as Reader suggests, as 'the most gentlemanly occupation of all.'[862] Crucially, ideas about both the aristocratic and the gentlemanly officer were rooted firmly in social and behavioural structures that were civilian and not military. The attitudes, behaviours and interests that such models were built upon relied on regular access to and interactions with a civilian population, and a network of connections that breached boundaries around a professional community.

How then did the military periodicals of this period present and interact with ideas about class and professionalism? Did they reflect a dominant aristocratic ethos in the army, or did they see such ideas as a challenge to reform and professionalisation? And how did civilian interests and connections impact upon professional identity? Finally, did those ideas change over time, and can military periodicals can be used to chart a process of moving away from an aristocratic and amateur model and towards a new professional military identity?

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[858] Strachan, *The reform of the British Army,* pp.110-111.
[859] Kennedy, 'John Bull into Battle', p. 130.
[860] Strachan, *The reform of the British army,* p. 110.
[861] Colley, *Briton: forging the nation 1707-1837,* pp. 252-253 and Kennedy, 'John Bull into battle', p. 130.
[862] Reader, *Professional Men,* p. 8.

An 'Aristocratic Amateur' Readership?

It is important to note that there were very few periodicals self-consciously marketed at an upper-class audience, and the two titles that did so, *The Sword and Chatelaine* (1892) and *The King* (1900-1905) were not launched until the end of the century. Both had subtitles that made it clear they were intended for an upper class readership: *The Sword and Chatelaine's* was 'The Weekly Journal of the Services and Society', and the *King's* was briefly (between 1904 and 1905) 'A Weekly Illustrated Journal for Society, the Salon, and the Services'. They both also contained regular sections with 'Society' news, as well as accounts and, in the case of the *King,* photographs of aristocratic weddings, colonial 'high society' and sporting events such as polo, hunting and sailing.[863] There are three possible explanations for this, the first being that the aristocratic gentlemen of the army found themselves well served by the general military periodicals of the period, and that separate periodicals for upper-class officers only appeared when a boom in publishing allowed for a more segmented press, or at least attempts at it. Supporting that argument is the fact that neither publication was long lived, perhaps indicating that they were an experiment, and that the publishers found that a substantive audience for such specific periodicals did not exist. The second explanation is that many aristocratic officers saw their military service as a hobby, and did not read 'professional' military periodicals. This hypothesis is supported by the high proportion of military material that appeared in non-military conservative journals, such as *Blackwood's*[864]*.* The third explanation is that officers often purchased or had access to a number of different publications, be they national and general daily newspapers, society papers, or 'professional' journals, and therefore might not need one single publication to cover all aspects of their lives. This is certainly backed up by numerous accounts of

[863] See for example: 'Social Events', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 9th April 1892, p. 11; and 'The Fox-Hunting Season', *The King and His Navy and Army,* vol. 18, no. 375, p. 35.
[864] See 'The Military Staff of Blackwood's', *Annals of a Publishing House,* vol. III, pp. 22-266.

officers' reading habits.[865] The likelihood is that all of these explanations played a part. It is also important to note that even the few periodicals consciously targeting an upper-class audience still identified that audience as 'professional' and not as amateur.

Nonetheless, there was a larger number of periodicals that were specifically marketed at the 'amateur' element of the British army - the Volunteers. These included *The Military Record and Volunteer News* (1877-1883), *The Volunteer Record and Shooting News* (1884-1902), *The Volunteer Service Review* (1881-1887), and the *Volunteer Service Gazette and Military Dispatch* (1859-1860). As mentioned in Chapter One, this thesis does not look at those elements of the military that were defined as amateur or semi-professional, such as the Militia, the Yeomanry or the Volunteers. However, it is important to acknowledge the existence of these periodicals here, as it indicates that by the second half of the nineteenth century there was a clearer distinction being made between the 'professional' and the 'amateur' sections of the army. It is also crucial that these publications sprang up after the reorganisations of the military in the later 1860s and early 1870s which precipitated the rise of the Volunteer Movement. This further illustrates the fragmentation of the military into specialised units; with identities separate enough to warrant individual periodical publications.

Content in other periodicals aimed at the aristocratic gentleman and the amateur

The lack of titles aimed specifically at aristocratic officers does not mean that publishers were not catering for them. There was a large amount of material in a wide range of military periodicals that was aimed at an upper class readership. Much of this content was discussed in Chapter Four, which examined the coverage of social events, sport, travel, and the royal family.

[865] See for example see Ferneaux, *Military Men of Feeling,* p. 65; Murphy, 'Imperial Reading?', p. 79; Murphy, '"Quite Incapable of Appreciating Books Written for Educated Readers"', p. 131; and Houlding, *Fit for Service,* p. 168.

The frequent coverage of events such as regattas[866], balls[867] and 'Society' weddings[868] indicates that publishers believed their readers to be a part of the strata of society that engaged in such activities, or at least to have aspirations to such. A great deal of material also conspicuously relied on a classical education, with frequent asides and idioms `made in Latin and French[869] and a general belief that the readers would be able to place allusions to poetry[870], classical and classic literature[871] and philosophical texts[872]. This type of material made a clear link between military and civil society, with publishers recognising that life for the majority of military officers straddled the divide. There is little sense that this undermined any sense of professional identity, and the inclusions of both types of material in 'professional' military periodicals suggests that the two were seen as interdependent.

The military press also included material that directly discussed and questioned what it meant to be 'an officer and a gentleman'. Some had very clear ideas: a 1839 article in the *Naval and Military Gazette,* entitled 'Materials for the Army', stated that the perfect gentleman was 'brave, high-spirited, young, sightly, active, healthy' and it stressed that the 'sons of the nobility are the natural military grade, for it is the duty of the aristocracy to support the dignity of the Crown, and the fame and honour of the British flag'[873]. It

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[866] See for example: 'Great International Regatta in England', *Aldershot Military Gazette,* no. 1107, 6th November 1880, p. 3 and 'International Regatta at Suda Bay', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXVII, no. 1365, 20th March 1886, p. 242.
[867] 'Farewell Ball to Sir Hugh Rose', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. V, no. CCLV, 19th November 1864, p. 740 and 'Dramatic Ball', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XXXVIII, no. 2048, 8th April 1871, p. 171.
[868] 'The March of Events', *The King and His Army and Navy,* vol. XVII, no. 351, p. 80.
[869] See for example 'Pensees d'un Soldat', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1577, 28th March 1863, p. 203; 'Unready!' *Broad Arrow,* vol. IX, no. 217, 24th August 1872, p. 233.
[870] See for example the *North Lincoln Sphinx's* frequent use of Byron: vol. no. 2, 15th September 1860, p. 6 and vol. 1 no. 14, 10th December 1862, p. 247.
[871] See for example 'Victory of Salamanca', *Military Magazine,* vo. IV, no. II, August 1812, p.120; 'The Unphilosophical Radical and the Services', *Broad Arrow,* vol. IX, no. 227, 2nd November 1872, p. 556; and 'Wit and Humour', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 990, 3rd August 1878, p. 3.
[872] See for example 'Recruits of 1862', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1656, 1st October 1864, p. 633.
[873] 'Materials for the Army', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 326, 20th April 1839, p. 249.

contrasted such perfect articles with 'loose and idle young men, soft and effeminate young men, *mere* dandies and radicals in principle, or roués in practice' who should be disqualified from the military, where 'the chivalrous feelings of religion and bravery should always blend.'[874] This author clearly linked class and the gentlemanly ideal, but it is also interesting to note that both religion and bravery are mentioned, suggesting, as shall be discussed in the next section, that ideas of Christian manliness existed well before their mid-century heyday.

At times military periodicals also tried to provide advice, discussion and instruction to their readers on how to behave in a suitably professional and gentlemanly way[875], as well as frequent articles reviews and adverts for books on etiquette.[876]. While this material was occasionally military specific, much of it covered general behaviour and etiquette, again demonstrating that the British army was a part of rather than apart from British society. This also supports the argument for the army as a route for social advancement and aspiration, as this type of material was generally aimed at an audience not comfortably schooled in the behaviours expected of them.

Not all of the content in military periodicals was entirely uncritical of the class structure of the British army, or the resulting social norms and behaviours. A frequent criticism, which featured in several publications, centred on the gentlemanly 'code of honour', which was so absorbed into the military ethos that officers could be court-martialled for behaviour that was deemed contrary to the 'character of an officer or a gentleman'.[877] However, nowhere in the

[874] Ibid.
[875] See for example 'Military Correspondence: Letter 1', *The Military Panorama,* vol. 1, no. 1, October 1812, p. 38; 'Officers' Mess Committees', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. IX, No. CCCCLVI, 22nd August 1868, p. 540; 'Behaviour of an English Officer', *Naval and Military Gazette,* Vol. XLII, No. 2222, 30th September 1874, p. 654.
[876] Examples include: 'Reviews, &c', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. 28, no. 1427, 28th May 1887, p. 425; 'Literary notices', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 158, 6th February 1836, pp. 84-85; 'Some military volumes', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. 52, no. 2705, 25th November 1911, p. 1115; 'Short notices', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. 57, no. 2780, 3rd May 1913, p. 415.
[877] For coverage of such courts martial see: 'Court Martial – Captain William J. Clarke, 77th Regiment', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 159, 13th February 1836, p. 100; 'Court Martial on Lieutenant-Colonel Moseley, C.B', *Naval and Military Gazette,*

Articles of War or the Munity Acts was it explicitly prescribed what constituted the character of 'an officer and a gentleman' or what infractions went against this character. The *Naval and Military Gazette* highlighted how problematic this was, stating that 'for the understanding of a thing it is necessary to see what it is; and we ask, where is this code of honour to be found?'[878]

Key figures whose conduct problematized the ideal of the aristocratic 'gentleman of honour' were also targets for censure, with the Earl of Cardigan (1797-1868) being a powerful example. His role Commanding Officer of the 12th Hussars meant that he was featured frequently in the pages of military periodicals, and while he seemingly embodied the requirements of 'an officer and a gentleman', his behaviour was described by elements of the military press as cruel, ungentlemanly, cowardly and lazy. A prolonged critique of the Earl appeared in the *United Service Gazette* throughout the 1840s. It charged him with 'the most discourteous and ungentlemanlike conduct, not merely to one or two of three, but to numerous officers under his command'[879], and particularly focussed on a number of incidents where the Earl had insulted junior officers in his regiment who could not challenge his behaviour without fear of repercussions[880]. Even the more conservative *Naval and Military Gazette,* which largely backed the conduct of the 'gallant Earl'[881], conceded that his trial for duelling by his peers at the House of Lords was a farce. [882] It was hard not to acknowledge that the Earl's aristocratic status protected him from censure by both Horse Guards and the Crown[883], an indication that those high enough up the social scale could act with impunity while those lower down had to suffer at their hands. This did not fit into anyone's idea of professionalism, and is one example where the military press recognised that class affiliations could undermine efforts to professionalise. It is also a clear

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no. 623, 15th February 1845, p. 102; 'The Cairo Court Martial', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. 2, no. 65, 30th March 1865, p. 203.
[878] 'Editorial'. *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 652, 5th July 1845, p. 425.
[879] *The United Service Gazette,* no. 408, 24th October 1840, p. 4.
[880] For examples see *The United Service Gazette,* no. 403, 19th September 1840, p. 3 and *The United Service Gazette,* no. 407, 17th October 1840, p. 4.
[881] 'Editorial' *Naval and Military Gazette,* No. 424, 20th February 1841, p. 120.
[882] Ibid.
[883] *The United Service Gazette,* no. 404, 26th September 1840, p. 4.

example of how military periodicals could be used to hold the military authorities to account, as discussed in Chapter Two.

Finally, a few periodicals did try to straddle the divide between the professional regular army and the amateur Volunteers, with the *Army and Navy Gazette* (1860-1921), the *Naval and Military Argus* (1889-1891), the *Army News for the Regulars, Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers* (1896-1897) and the *Military Mail and Volunteer Review* (1901-1916) all stating their aim to unite news and items of interest for both branches of the military. While in all cases the majority of their content was aimed at the professional soldiers, with the coverage of the Volunteers often limited to brief accounts of training or manoeuvres and the occasional letter[884], there would have been no need to stress the act of bridging a divide between amateur and professional if the majority of military officers saw themselves as amateurs anyway.

The 'Aristocratic Amateur' and Professionalism

So what can we learn about the class and professionalism of army officers by looking at military periodicals from the period?

Firstly, it seems clear that the amount of material produced for an upper-class readership supports the claim that such men dominated the military right through until the First World War. While some of this content was aspirational and aimed at those using the army as a tool for social advancement, much of it demonstrated the close familial, social and sporting ties between the army and the upper classes. The publishing of such material within 'professional' publications suggests that these civil-military networks were an important part of officer identity at this time, and that this was not seen as problematic or counter to any ideas of professionalism.

[884] For example in the *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. IX no. CDXVIII, only about 3 of the 37 columns cover subjects related to the Militia or Volunteers; and in *Army News,* vol. I, no. 7, 13th May 1896, of 16 pages, only 1.5 are devoted to Auxiliary Forces.

However, the sheer number of 'professional' publications, and the scale of the educational and professional content they provided undermines the idea that the army was staffed with amateurs, or those uninterested in professional development. Bruce Collins, when talking about the imperial context, has suggested that military service provided 'men from the landowning elite with the opportunity to apply their energy, ambition and even talent'[885], and numerous examples of aristocratic officers taking their profession seriously have been demonstrated by individual studies.[886] A key indicator of this professional drive was the number of upper-class officers who read, contributed to, and supported military periodicals. Those who did so often engaged with 'professional' subjects, with key examples including General Sir William Napier[887], Sir Vivian Hussey[888] and Lord Munster.[889] Strachan, in particular, is keen to show that there is 'an alternative picture to the ignorant, hunting, dandified rake portrayed by Dickens and Thackeray.'[890] This chapter will go on to discuss how military officers used their periodicals to create networks for professional development and as forums for discussion of numerous tactical, organisational and strategic issues. Here it is important to stress that those who did so were often part of that over-represented body of upper class officers.

Secondly, an examination of military periodicals illuminates the differences between branches or regiments of the British army, highlighting why they need to be thought about differently. Distinct parts of the organisation had different social make-ups, and their military periodicals can be seen to reflect alternative approaches to professionalism. For example, the Artillery and Engineers had the highest proportion of middle-class officers and the fewest

[885] Collins, *War and Empire,* p. 30.
[886] See for example Lauren Paine's *Gentleman Johnny: The Life of General John Burgoyne* (1973); Stephen Manning's *Evelyn Wood VC: Pillar of Empire* (2007); Hew Strachan's *Reform of the British Army* (1984) pp. 29-33 on Lord Frederick Fitzclarence; and Byron Farwell's chapter on Charles Napier, pp. 62-101 in *Eminent Victorian Soldiers* (1985)
[887] See for example: 'Letter', *United Service Journal,* no. 150, May 1841.
[888] See for example 'Letter', *United Service Journal,* No. 141, August 1840, p. 433.
[889] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 27.
[890] Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 109.

from the aristocracy, and both branches were early adopters of the specialised periodical, with the Engineers' appearing in 1837 and the Artillery's in 1860. On the other hand, the cavalry had the most aristocratic officers, with the *Naval and Military Gazette* claiming, in 1847, that 'no poor man seeks to place his sons in any of our Cavalry Regiments'[891]. They did not get their own periodical until 1906. If periodicals act as markers of professionalism, this would seem to support the argument that the more aristocratic a division, the slower the move to professionalise. However, this simple argument is challenged by the fact that the Household Brigade, which is made up of the Guards regiments, some of the most prestigious, aristocratic and expensive in the British Army[892], was one of the first to found a regimental publication, in 1862. While *The Journal of the Household Brigade* and its successor titles certainly were not the most technical periodicals produced during the period, they were not entirely devoid of articles on professional subjects[893]. They also played a role in fostering a group identity built around the military, and fostered esprit de corps, which is often cited hand in hand with ideas of military professionalism (as discussed in Chapter Three). This suggests that rather than a black and white designation of 'professional' or 'amateur', different approaches to both military identity and professionalism worked for different elements of the nineteenth-century military, with each approach being supported by a different type of periodical publication.

Thirdly, military periodicals chart changing attitudes towards class, professionalism and the behaviours expected of military officers. Their coverage of duelling, perhaps the most dramatic and theatrical performance of the role of the aristocratic 'Gentleman of Honour', offers a good illustration

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[891] 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette, No. 771, 16th October 1847,* p. 665.
[892] See 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette, No. 771, 16th October 1847,* p. 665; Mansfield, *soldiers as workers,* 45; and Strachan, *The reform of the British army,* p. 119.
[893] See for example: 'Malet, Lieut.-Colonet, 'On the Tactical Coup-d'Oeil', *Journal of the Household Brigade For the Year 1867,* pp. 286-299; 'Five Weeks With the German Guards', *Brigade of Guards' Magazine,* vol. II, no. 13, January 1889, pp. 37-42; and 'Major Baden-Powell's War Kites at Modder River', *Household Brigade Magazine,* vol. III, no. 27, March 1900, pp. 180-181.

of this. While duels were illegal throughout the period, they were frequently covered by military periodicals up until the middle of the nineteenth century. In general, the periodicals simply reported the events surrounding a duel[894], though occasional articles gave advice on how to be an honourable participant[895]. By the 1840s, the tone of coverage had changed, becoming more considered and more critical, coinciding with a shift in public opinion.[896] Increasing numbers of articles and editorials appeared questioning the necessity of duelling and debating alternative ways of resolving disputes.[897] A fatal duel between two officers in 1843 was seen as dishonourable due to the minor nature of the dispute, and was scathingly covered by the military press.[898] The *United Service Gazette* claimed that the events had brought the practice into disrepute[899], and the army was forced to act to discourage it.[900] Within twenty years the custom was already seen as antiquated[901], and while duels did continue to be fought on the continent, the coverage in military periodicals viewed them with a horrified fascination.[902] Military periodicals were an active agent in changing these attitudes, not only via editorial matter denouncing the practice[903], but by allowing a space for their readers to

[894] See for example: 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* No. 297, 6th October 1838, p. 643.
[895] See for example: 'Suggestions for the guidance of seconds in duels', *United Service Journal,* no. 53, April 1833, pp. 524-525.
[896] Andrew, 'The code of honour and its critics', p. 430.
[897] See for example: 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* No. 429, 27th March 1841, p. 201; 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 557, 9th September 1843, p. 571; Fusbos', 'To the editor of the Naval and Military Gazette', *Naval and Military Gazette,* No. 430, 3rd April 1841, p. 218 and Letter 'To the Editor of the Naval and Military Gazette', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 557, 9th September 1843, p. 571.
[898] See for example *United Service Gazette,* no. 548, 8th July 1843, p. 4; *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 550, 22nd July 1843, pp. 9-10; *United Service Gazette,* no. 550, 22nd July 1843, p. 4.
[899] 'Editorial', *United Service Gazette,* no. 550, 22nd July 1843, p. 4.
[900] *Hansard HC* Deb vol. 73 cols. 811-812, 11th March 1844 and 'Parliamentary Analysis : House of Commons', *Naval and Military Gazette,* No. 584, 16th March 1844, pp.172-173.
[901] See for example: 'Sixth Inniskilling Dragoons' *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1555, 25th Ocobter 1862, p. 676 and 'Revival of Dueling in the Army', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2087, 4th January 1873, p. 6.
[902] 'Duels in the French Army', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XI, no. DL, 11th June 1870, pp. 378-379 and 'The duel a Outrance', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. BI, no. 2446, 5th November 1879, p. 367.
[903] 'On Duelling', *Naval and Military Gazette,* pp.77-78.

discuss the issue, to debate the implications of change, and to suggest alternatives.

While the evolution of attitudes to duelling can be regarded as a quite linear move away from aristocratic traditions, and towards a new professional ideal, not all developments and attitudes were as straightforward. While as early as 1847 the *Naval and Military Gazette* was celebrating the reducing dominance of titled officers, claiming that those that remained were 'the remnants of an older system when the Army really held more of the *noblesse*'[904], in 1870 the *Aldershot Camp Times* was still arguing that the army was 'a profession which, noble in itself, requires nobility of mind, chivalry of thought in its officers. The British army, more perhaps that any other in the world, requires young men of spirit, birth, and *blood* for its officers.'[905] This illustrates the variety of opinion that existed in the military, but also the awareness that editors had of their audiences, and the tailoring of content to support their views.

In conclusion, military periodicals illustrate a more complicated relationship between class and professionalism than is generally acknowledged by either historians or portrayed in literature. An officer corps that was dominated by the upper classes did attend balls and polo tournaments, and yet they also wrote and read on professional subjects. Different opinions were expressed at different times and were represented by different parts of the military press, who spoke for fragmented readerships. There was both continuity and change over time; moves towards professionalism and the maintaining of older traditions, norms and social expectations. This is a general point that, as explained in Chapter One, later and more intensive studies will be able to explore in more detail. Here, given the lack of knowledge about this field of study, it has to suffice to note its heterogeneity.

[904] 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette, No. 771, 16th October 1847,* 665.
[905] 'The Purchase System', *Aldershot Camp Times,* no. 26, 4th November 1870, [2].

The Soldier Saint

Unlike the notion of aristocratic and amateur officer, which had a long history in the British military, the next 'ideal' of military manliness that I would like to examine is usually said to appear out of nowhere in the middle of the nineteenth century, with J. R. Watson talking of the 'extraordinary appearance in the British army of figures who became nationally famous as 'soldier saints.'[906] This constructed idea of an ideal British soldier can be contrasted with the aristocratic model, in that it was far more inclusive of men from the lower ranks and it was something that was achieved by deeds and not by accident of birth.

The 'Soldier Saint' was much more consciously crafted by the military and civilian authorities, often aided by coverage in the press, and served as a means of redeeming the reputation of the military during and after the Crimean debacle.[907] As Olive Anderson explains, it was during the Crimean conflict that for the first time ordinary soldiers emerged as objects of interest to the public, as they became:

> the 'people's army', and idealized notions of what they were fighting for, together with unparalleled public identification with their hardships before Sebastopol, combined to give them an immense emotional appeal.'[908]

Those interested in the reputation of the British army were keen to exploit this interest in the common soldier as it turned attention away from any failings of military leadership and towards individual acts of heroism, devotion or survival. While some of this interest arose organically, stories of such men were cultivated and exploited by the authorities and increasingly foregrounded by the national press, which speaks of a conscious reframing of military identity. Military periodicals were slower to embrace the mythology surrounding such figures, but the longer term impact of this hero-making

[906] Watson, 'Soldiers and Saints', p. 12.
[907] See Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* p. 95 and Ferneaux, *Military Men of Feeling,* pp. 5-6.
[908] Anderson, 'The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain', p. 46.

suggests a growing understanding that a new form of professional military masculinity was required.

The ideal of the 'Soldier Saint' had close ties to the literary and philosophical movements embracing 'Muscular Christianity', the central tenets of which David Newsome describes as:

> the duty of patriotism; the moral and physical beauty of athleticism; the salutary effects of Spartan habits and discipline; the cultivation of all that is masculine and the expulsion of all this is effeminate, un-English, and excessively intellectual. [909]

Much of the previous research looking at religion and the British army has concentrated on the second half of the nineteenth century and the rise in Muscular Christianity and conspicuous religiosity.[910] However, a key distinction needs to be made here between the constructed model of the 'soldier-saint' and that of the ordinary devoutly religious soldier. Kenneth Henrickson rightly argued that 'entirely new after 1856 was a popular fascination with a new type of military figure, the embodiment of the "moral" army, the Christian military hero' [911], but in reality religious soldiers had always formed a part of the British army. While the former relied on the existence of the latter, there were many religious soldiers who did not become 'soldier-saints', and religious zealotry was often viewed with derision and suspicion by both the authorities and the men.

What this section aims to illustrate is that there was in fact no sudden mid-century surge in religious feeling among soldiers, as many accounts seem to suggest. Rather what happened was a change in attitude by the authorities in regard to the relationship between religion and professionalism, and an acceptance that soldiers could have allegiance to organisations outside of the military without it compromising their loyalty. This allowed religion to move from the periphery to the mainstream. The section will chart how military

[909] Newsome, *Godliness,* p. 216.
[910] See Anderson, 'The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain'; Wee, 'Christian manliness and national identity'; Dawson, *Soldier Heroes.*
[911] Hendrickson, *Making Saints,* p. 94.

periodicals reflected this evolution, how their content played a role in fostering new ideas about religion in the armed forces, and how and why the representation of 'soldier saints' in military periodicals differed from that in the general press.

Periodicals aimed at religious soldiers

There were no periodicals that were aimed specifically at the 'Soldier Saints' themselves, as in almost every case a soldier had to die to be given such a title. Famous examples of this kind of journalistic canonisation include Captain Headley Vicars (1826-1855) [912], Sir Henry Havelock (1795-1857; see below) and General Gordon (1833-1885) [913]. However, a small but significant number of periodicals were founded specifically to cater to the needs of religious soldiers, many of which, such as *The British Flag* (1856-1950)[914] and *Our Soldiers' Magazine* (1887-1935)[915], ran well into the twentieth century.

As mentioned in Chapter One, one of the earliest military periodicals produced was the *Soldier's Magazine* (1828-1861)*,* which catered to Methodist and Evangelical soldiers. This publication was produced by George Charles 'Bo'Sun' Smith as part of his work with the Mariners' Church, and had close ties to an emerging temperance movement. A large number of the issues printed were given away freely, for the publication did not have to rely on commercial success, instead being financed by donations and the subscriptions of those involved with the Mariners' Church movement. The magazine frequently included notices regarding its own popularity and success:

> We are happy to say that our magazines are well known in almost every barrack, and highly prized by the soldiers. We distributed, a few

[912] See for example: 'Literature', *Naval & Military Herald,* vol. 2, no. 26, 15th January 1859, p. 44; and Broughton, 'The Life and Afterlives of Captain Hedley Vicars', https://www.19.bbk.ac.uk/articles/10.16995/ntn.710/ [accessed 22/09/2019].
[913] See Hendrickson, *Making Saints,* p. 130.
[914] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.
[915] See Title List, Appendix pp. 284-300, for changes of title.

> weeks since, several in the barracks at Coventry, and the troops were most eager to receive them…[916]

The reality of such statements is questionable, however. While widely *distributed*, it is hard to ascertain whether the *Soldier's Magazine* was widely *read*, and the experiences of many religious soldiers were certainly not so positive. As Alan Skelley explains 'those who were visibly devout were frequently ridiculed by their comrades'[917], and the authorities, suspicious of the loyalty of religious troops, did much to curtail the practices of their non-Anglican soldiers during the early nineteenth century. [918] The *Mariners' Church Magazine* itself reported incidents of discrimination, such as in 1833, when an order was issued to the Guards Regiments based at both the Regent's Park and the Knightsbridge Barracks that no soldier could attend 'open-air' preaching. Coming shortly after a member of the Life Guards attended a Mariners' Church service, the *Magazine* saw this as a direct attack on their church and on religious freedoms more generally.[919]

A more personal account of ridicule was written by 'An Officer' in *The British Flag,* in March 1870, showing that religious tolerance was not widely adopted even later in the century. He tells of how:

> boots, pipes, or any article first to hand have often been flung, either in thoughtless mirth, or for ridicule's sake, at the head of that man who has moral courage, sufficiently strong, to pray on his knees by the side of his barrack bed. [920]

In the face of such prejudice, religious periodicals often saw it as their role to provide a space for soldiers to express their faith and to build communities. *Our Soldiers' Magazine,* the voice of the Christian Soldiers' Association,

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[916] 'Magazines and Barracks Religious Missions', *The Mariners' Church Soldiers' Magazine,* vol. I, no. 2, February 1833, p. 46
[917] Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home,* p.166.
[918] Hanham, 'Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army', p.161.
[919] 'Regent's Park and Knightsbridge Barracks', 'Life-Guards Regimental Orders at Knightsbridge', 'No Interference with a Soldier's Conscience' and 'The Source of Power to Restrain Religion', *Mariners' Church Soldiers' Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 5, May 1833, pp.166-169.
[920] 'An Officer', 'Testing', *The British Flag & Sentinel,* New Series, No. 3, March 1870, p. 27.

explicitly laid down its aim to provide a forum to unite soldiers with shared religious beliefs, stating how it would 'bind together all those men in the Army who are fighting under the banner of Jesus our King'[921]. Part of the role of the publication was to create a community that, while the individual members might be dispersed, held a shared set of values. The religious military periodicals were also the most inclusive of men from all ranks, featuring the highest proportion of content produced by N.C.O.'s and men of the rank and file.[922]

The Mariners' Church was the only organisation to produce a religious military periodical during the first half of the nineteenth century, and its longevity rested entirely on the determination of 'Bo'Sun' Smith, who ran it almost singlehandedly. His work fell foul of the authorities and of organisational politics on a number of occasions[923], and his financial situation was often precarious, but he steadfastly persisted in what he believed to be his life's calling. The publications that came later after him were all produced by organisations that were officially recognised or sanctioned by the military authorities. For example, the Soldiers' Friend and Army Scripture Readers' Society, which began their work informally at the Woolwich garrison in 1818, only began producing their periodical, the *British Flag* (1856-1950), after receiving an official charter from the Chaplain General in 1854.[924]

This pattern of activity followed by official recognition then the launching of a periodical publication was similar for many of the other religious organisations operating within the military during the nineteenth century, including the Soldiers' Christian Association and the Soldiers' Total Abstinence Association. They were founded to support soldiers whose needs were not being met by any internal element of the army, and it often took years before they had

[921] 'Introductory', *Our Soldiers' Magazine,* no. 2, April 1887, pp. 1-2.
[922] 'Letter from Corporal William Miles, 24th Regiment of Foot', *The Soldier's Magazine and Military Chronicle,* vol. 4, no. 6, June 1831, p. 229; 'A Sergeant's View of the Magazine', *The Soldier's Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 2, February 1828, p. 28.
[923] Kverndal, George Charles Smith of Penzance, pp. 111-112.
[924] 'Our History', Soldiers' and Airmen's Scripture Readers Society website: https://www.sasra.org.uk/about-us/our-history [accessed 25/11/2018].

proved that did not intend to ferment discontent or to challenge authority. Frequently it was only when there was a demonstrated improvement in the behaviour of the men involved that such organisations were accepted and sanctioned by the military authorities, and it was at this point that periodical publications appeared. This had much to do with the military authorities coming to terms with outside intervention by religious organisations that breached the boundaries of the profession, and formed links between the men and the civilian society. Initially worried that these ties would supersede the soldiers' loyalty to the army, an understanding grew over time that men could be loyal to both, and taking that a step further, by sanctioning such organisations and bring them under the umbrella of military control, the authorities fostered religious piety as an active but optional tenet of military professional life.[925]

Religious content in other military periodicals

Religion, while never a dominant subject, was a topic that featured regularly within a wide range of military publications. Sometimes it was simply the subject of news, appearing in reports of past religious events[926], or as notices providing details of future services[927].

Some items covering religion were more detailed or more opinionated about the subject. In these cases, periodicals were once again acting as forums to discuss appropriate attitudes, behaviour and regulations, though specifically in relation to the religious lives of the British army. As ever, a plethora of different ideas and opinions appeared. Some argued for religious freedom; some for better provision of religious instruction or support[928]; there were

[925] Hanham, 'Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army, p.174.
[926] 'Thanksgiving Services', *Broad Arrow,* vol. 12, no. 303, 18th April 1874, pp. 493-494.
[927] See for example 'Editorial', '*The 16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 8, February 1891, p. 11.
[928] See for example 'Editorial', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXV, no. 1283, 23rd August 1884, pp. 613-614 and 'An Old Soldier', 'Divine Service', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 170, January 1843, p. 109.

voices in favour of outside religious organisations working within the military[929] and voices against such impositions.[930] Some contributions expressed strong opinions against religious zealotry within the military, such as a letter from a correspondent in *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, who wrote:

> Ultra-religious men in the army have more than once brought us into serious mischief, - they are generally without either practical wisdom or common sense. Not one of them should ever be trusted.[931]

This *anti*-religious statement appeared in September 1857, at the moment when Henry Havelock, one of the most famous 'Soldier Saints' was undertaking his final campaign in the lead up to his martyrdom. But the *Naval and Military Gazette* had contained a prolonged correspondence between a number of individuals on the subject of whether war could ever be a Christian undertaking, as early as 1842,[932] earlier than any supposed explosion of religious fervour within the British military. This illustrates clearly that the timeline of religious development within the British military was not as linear as has often been presented.

Finally, it should be recognised that writing about religion within military periodicals could be a dangerous undertaking, as illustrated by two letters from A. McGowran of the 102nd Fusiliers, which appeared in the *Broad Arrow* in August and November 1873. In the first, McGowran complained about the treatment of non-Catholic soldiers stationed in Ireland by the local priests[933], but reported that as a result of his previous contribution he was removed from his position as orderly-room clerk, and sent back home to England.[934] This suggests a change in attitude towards Catholics by the military authorities by

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[929] Miss E L. De Butts, 'Miss Daniell's Soldiers' Homes', *United Service Magazine,* vol. 8, no. 781, December 1893, pp. 264-265.
[930] 'A Private Soldier', 'The Army Scripture Readers', *Sheldrake's Aldershot & Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 189, 14th March 1863, p. 4.
[931] 'Thoughts about India and other military subjects', *Colburn's United Service Magazine,* no. 346, September 1857, p. 22.
[932] A summary of the debate appeared in an 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 520, 24th December 1842, pp. 825-826
[933] McGowran, A. 'Insolence of the Roman Priesthood in Ireland', *Broad Arrow,* vol. XI, no. 269, 23rd August 1873, pp. 236-237.
[934] McGowran, A.'A "Sop to Cerberus"', *Broad Arrow,* vol. XI, no. 281, 15th November 1873, pp. 621-622.

the second half of the nineteenth century, but also foregrounds how integrated into the local community the military often were. These men stationed, as McGowran tells us, in a 'small and remote town in Ireland'[935] felt ostracised and victimised by the behaviour of the local priests, and believed it would impact upon their relationships with the other local inhabitants.

This level of religious material within military periodicals is only to be expected if we relate it to the wider press. Mark Knight argues that the inclusion of religious content in all kinds of periodical reflected the high-levels of church attendance, the social expectations of religious life during the period, and indeed a whole way of thinking that goes far beyond any explicitly 'religious' content.[936]

The portrayal of Soldier Saints

It is clear that a small but steady stream of religious material and discussion was available to men in the British military throughout the century. This section will explore how these publications engaged more directly with the idea of the 'Soldier Saint. It will do this by focussing on one example, Sir Henry Havelock, who died during the 'Indian Rebellion' in 1857. Havelock and the 'Indian Rebellion' are both important, as they became a focus around which much of the later construction of the Christian Soldier was built. [937] The conflict was often presented as a battle between the Christian and virtuous British, and the dangerous and violent Indian heathen, drawing together ideas about religion and race which presented the British Christian male as the idealised masculine model.[938] Havelock, an openly religious officer, rose to prominence during the conflict, and died in the process of liberating the besieged garrison at Lucknow.

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[935] McGowran, A. 'Insolence of the Roman Priesthood in Ireland', *Broad Arrow,* vol. XI, no. 269, 23rd August 1873, p. 236.
[936] Knight, 'Periodicals and Religion', p. 361.
[937] Hendrickson, *Making Saints,* p. 101.
[938] Blunt, 'Embodying War', p. 408; and Tickell, 'Cawnpore, Kipling and Charivari, p. 5.

The ‘hero-making’ of Havelock started almost immediately after his death, with eulogies read across the country[939], biographies appearing to establish his martyrdom[940], and a public subscription launched to raise money for a commemorative statue. Dawson suggests that this process of ‘mythologizing’ was made both easier and quicker due to the lack of war correspondents on the scene, as this allowed events to more easily be portrayed as heroic uncontradicted by reports of true conditions, the suffering of the men, and logistical problems of the campaign.[941] This was not true for the military press, which received numerous reports regarding the campaign, its likely causes and its probable outcomes, and this might explain why they did not embrace the story of Havelock in the same way as the general press. At the time of the crisis in India, their focus was much more on events on the ground, and, while Havelock’s part in the relief of Lucknow was reported, it formed just a small part of a larger narrative of what they called the ‘Mutiny’.[942]

Another reason military periodicals may not have embraced this myth-making could well have been that the stories that appeared about Havelock in the general press (and in books and pamphlets) did not always provide a very accurate representation. Hendrickson argues indeed that ‘Havelock the person differed significantly from Havelock the persona.’[943] Stories circulated that Havelock had faced persecution for his religious beliefs and it was this that had prevented him from rising to a high command until late in his life. While it was true that the military authorities had reservations about his behaviour, and particularly his preaching and his close association with

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[939] See Revd W. H. Aylen, *The Soldier and the Saint: or Two Heroes in One. A Christian Lecture in Memory of the Late General Havelock.* London: Judd & Glass, 1858; L. J. Bernays, *Havelock, The Good Soldier: A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Great Stanmore, Sunday 17th January 1858.* London: Sampson Low, 1858; E. P. Hood, *Havelock the Broad Stone of Honour; A just Tribute of the Tongue and Pen.* London: John Snow, 1858; O. Winslow, *Honouring God and and Its Reward: Lessons from the Life of the Late General Sir Henry Havelock KCB.* London: Shaw, 1858. All of these sermons are analyzed by Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* pp. 122-124.
[940] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* p. 124.
[941] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* p. 95.
[942] See for example ‘The Indian Mutiny’, *Colburn’s United Service Magazine,* no. 348, November 1857, p. 337.
[943] Hendrickson, *Making Saints,* p. 104.

soldiers of the rank and file[944], his failure to gain timely promotions had much more to do with his lack of funds than any discrimination based on his piety.[945] This element of his story made it hard for the military authorities and the military press to fully endorse it. In addition, the fact that it so quickly became a story about a hero and not a professional soldier undertaking his duties, and notably not a man that many military readers had known and served with, made the myth less popular with the British army in the immediate aftermath of the 'Rebellion'.

Military periodicals, even long after the event, stuck much more to the facts than many mainstream publications, and engaged less with the hero or martyr narratives. They often mentioned Havelock only in terms of the military actions he was involved with, yet made no reference to his religion or his 'Christian' death. Frequently he was not the central topic of discussion in such articles, which tended instead to focus on the exploits and bravery of the regiments and men under Havelock's command rather than on Havelock himself, and on the campaign more generally.[946] A few of the more 'popular' commercial military publications did feature articles on Havelock that embraced elements of the myth. For example, *The Regiment* included him in their series on 'Famous Soldiers' in February 1897[947], but even here there was more fact than hagiography. Crucially, such articles only began to appear towards the end of the century, when enough time had passed for Havelock to become a memory for the readers of military periodicals, and when elements of ideologies built upon 'Muscular Christianity' and 'Social Darwinism' had more thoroughly filtered into the military through the public school system.[948]

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[944] Holmes, *Sahib,* p. 460.
[945] Hendrickson, *Making Saints,* pp. 94-106.
[946] See for example '78th Highlanders', Sheldrake's *Aldershot & Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 828, 12th June 1875, p. 3; '40th Regiment', Sheldrake's *Aldershot & Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 446, 8th February 1868; and 'The Lucknow Survivors', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXXV, no. 1810, 29th September 1894, p. 803.
[947] 'Famous Soldiers. – No. 17.', *The Regiment,* vol. 2, no. 46, 13th February 1897, p. 283.
[948] Mangan, 'Social Darwinism and Upper-Class Education in late Victorian and Edwardian England', p. 141 and Newsome, *Godliness and Good Learning* pp. 216-227.

Havelock as a 'Soldier Saint' was more fully embraced by those few religious military periodicals that were mentioned earlier. *Our Soldiers' Magazine* included an account of his actions during the Indian Rebellion in their series 'Short Sketches of Great Lives', and particularly, as a Christian magazine, focussed on the religious aspects of his life.[949] He was also regularly mentioned and quoted by *On the March,* the periodical of the Army Temperance Association, who saw him as an important figurehead for their movement.[950]

The coverage of 'Soldier Saints' in the military press was, therefore, much more limited than in wider society. As Snape suggests, these stories were popular with civilians and useful for the army's public image, but while the men who would gain that status had a local impact on those around them, in general 'soldier-saints' did not exert a significant practical influence on the army as a whole.[951]

Religion and professionalism

One of the clearest things that military periodicals illustrate about religion in the British army was just how diverse experiences of it were. Some soldiers were pious and others engaged in religion only as far as was required by regulations; some felt their religion was a professional benefit, while other felt persecuted for their beliefs. Many found support and solace in the pages of the specialised periodicals produced with their religious needs in mind, and others found space to discuss their ideas in the correspondence sections of the general military press.

The periodicals, alongside recent scholarship on the subject, also dispute any claims about an explosion of religious feeling within the British army in the

[949] 'Short sketches of great lives: no. 4. – Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.', *Our Soldiers' Magazine,* no. 4, October-December 1887, pp. 91-93.
[950] See for example: Pilling, Sam. 'Warriors and Drink', *On the March*, vol. 2, no. 7, July 1898, p. 10.
[951] Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion*, p. 131.

middle of the nineteenth century. Religion was just more conspicuously practiced, a pattern that was reflected across British society.[952] Religious soldiers were also more visible as their stories were taken up by the press in the aftermath of the Crimean War, so as Snape argues 'the development of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain involved a measure of civilian recognition for the army's existing constituency of pious soldiers.'[953] The big change came not in the religious practices of soldiers, but in the public perception of them, and perhaps most importantly, in the authorities relationship with that religiosity. Likewise, the model of the 'Soldier Saint' was an outward projection, useful for improving public perception of the military, but it was far from a central building block for professional military identity.

The amount of material concerned with the subject that appeared in both general and specialised military periodicals speaks of religion as a common but not dominant element within professional military identity. The real changes in the experience of religious soldiers came slowly, as Hanham explains, with the recognition by the military authorities of the pluralism of British society, acknowledging that soldiers were capable of balancing their loyalties between god and country, and that outside links to religious communities did not undermine esprit de corps or discipline.[954] This was the point when the specialist religious publications began to flourish.

The 'Imperial Adventurer'

The final model of military masculinity that this chapter will examine, the 'Imperial Adventurer', became dominant at the end of the century, made popular by the adventure fiction of writers such as George Henty (1832-1902), H Rider Haggard (1856-1925) and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894). John R. Reed suggests that this rise in fiction featuring hyper-masculine figures, who were often explorers or soldiers, was 'a reaction against both mid-century

[952] Anderson, 'The Growth of Christian Militarism in mid-Victorian Britain', p. 64.
[953] Snape, *The Redcoat and Religion,* p. 119.
[954] Hanham, 'Religion and Nationality in the Mid-Victorian Army, p.174.

"feminized" realism and late-century aestheticism.'[955] Wee challenges this by arguing that such writing naturally evolved out of 'Muscular Christianity', with Kingsley's writing in particular giving 'impetus to the rise of late-Victorian Neo Imperialism.'[956]

Dawson clearly outlines how this type of masculinity was connected to the military, explaining that:

> during the growth of popular imperialism in the mid-to-late nineteenth century, heroic masculinity became fused in an especially potent configuration with representations of British imperial identity. This linked together the new imperialist patriotism, the virtues of manhood, and war as its ultimate test and opportunity. A 'real man' would henceforth be defined and recognized as one who was prepared to fight (and, if necessary, to sacrifice his life) for Queen, Country and Empire.[957]

While a few explorers such as David Livingstone (1813-1873), Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904) and Alfred Russell Wallace (1823-1913) embodied this masculine ideal, soldiers, and particularly officers, were the focus around which much of this construction was built. This is unsurprising; as shown in all of the previous chapters, the British army was spread across the empire, and its men and officers spent large proportions of their time overseas. The army also made up much of the British population in empire, and as the *Military Magazine* (1846-1847) argued, the British army was the dominant source of material relating to empire that appeared in the general British press.[958]

What will be explored here is how closely the ideal of the 'imperial adventurer' related to the reality of imperial service, and what role military periodicals played in constructing or challenging such a model of military professionalism. This section will also look at whether attitudes to empire and imperial service changed over time, and whether military periodicals can be used to chart those changes.

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[955] Reed, 'The Victorians and War', p. 136.
[956] Wee, 'Christian manliness and national identity', p. 66.
[957] Dawson, *Soldier Heroes,* p. 1.
[958] 'Preliminary Observations', *The Military Magazine,* no. I, vol. I, October 1846, p. 4

Periodicals aimed at the 'Imperial Adventurer'

There were very few periodicals aimed solely at the imperial military, and the majority of those that did exist were produced in the empire, generally in India, rather than at home. An early example was the *East Indian Service Journal and Military Magazine* (1833-1837), which was launched in Calcutta, and was written and edited by Joachim Haywood Stocqueler, future editor of the *United Service Gazette.* In the opening preface, Stocqueler presented a strongly worded critique of the neglect of imperial, and particularly Indian subjects in the rest of the military press of the time, stating that:

> The British Army has found material for a press of its own – and, in conjunction with the navy, at this moment supports a copious monthly, and two voluminous weekly publications devoted almost entire to the consideration of military matters… Gentlemen, the organ of the British Army is not your organ. Your interests are not only habitually neglected in the English UNITED SERVICE JOURNAL, but too often opposed from motives of unworthy and unmerited partiality. Your appeals for redress find no echo there – your reputation is neither supported nor enhanced by honourable statements of your present condition, nor details of your past glories.[959]

While Stocqueler, as a commercial publisher, was undoubtedly stoking resentments in an attempt to win readers, he was only able to do so because such feelings did genuinely exist. The popularity of his publication saw it increase its frequency from quarterly to monthly after July 1833. However it did not prove to be a sustainable financial undertaking, and also struggled to obtain enough new content from contributors, and therefore closed in April 1839.[960] Another attempt to launch a journal for the military based in India, the *East India Magazine and Military Review* (1853) failed for similar reasons after just one volume.

Often, officers and those interested in the imperial military had to turn to local imperial and 'settler' newspapers such as the *Madras Herald* (1833-1842), the

[959] 'Address: To the Officers of the Indian Army', *East Indian Service Journal and Military Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1833, p. ii.
[960] Moreman, 'The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98', p. 216.

Bombay Gazette (1790-1914), the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* (1803-1842), the *Royal Gazette and Newfoundland Advertiser* ((1807-1924) and the *South African Commercial Advertiser* (1824-1869). These publications, while not aimed at the military in particular, covered all aspects of settler life, and, as the British army often formed a large proportion of the settlement, their interests and experiences made up part of their content.[961]

Later in the century, a number of titles produced by and aimed at the military stationed in empire began to emerge. More successful than their early counterparts, these publications often continued to run long after their territories gained independence. The first of these, the *Proceedings of the United Service Institute of India* (1871-) was a monthly journal styled after its British counterpart, but initially on a much more modest scale, and with a greater focus on subjects relating to India. Articles in the first volume included 'On the Dress of the Army of India'[962], 'On Training of the Staff in India'[963], and 'Remarks on Organization of Native Infantry'[964]. Like those British examples discussed in Chapter Three, this institutional journal focussed exclusively on professional subjects. The publication gives little sense of adventure, heroism, or the individual empire builder; rather it is imbued with a deep sense of professionalism, and the contributions present thoughtful reflections on both technical learning and field experience, as well as considered analysis of the Indian Army more generally. It is interesting to note that Lord Roberts, one of the figureheads of the imperial adventurer model of military identity, was an early contributor to the *Journal of the United Service Institute of India*[965]*,*

[961] See Tusan, 'Empire and the Periodical Press', pp. 155-157.
[962] 'On the Dress of the Army in India', *Journal of the United Service Institution of India,* vol. 1, no. 1, May 1871, pp. 1-16.
[963] Morgan, Lieutenant J. R. 'On training of the Staff in India', *Journal of the United Service Institution of India,* vol. 1, no. 4, August 1871, pp. 33-40.
[964] Rice, Captain H.C.P. 'Remarks on organization of Native Infantry', *Journal of the United Service Institution of India,* vol. 1, no. 6, October 1871, pp. 29-32.
[965] See for example Roberts, Lieut.-Col F.S. 'Rough notes of formation, equipment, and dispatch of a force from India for service in China, Egypt, or elsewhere beyond the sea, *Journal of the United Service Institution of India,* vol. 1, no. 1, May 1871, pp. 17-34.

winning the journal's inaugural essay prize in 1872[966]. In 1883, the periodical changed its name to the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India,* and continues to be produced under that title today. Similar publications sprang up across empire, including the *Canadian Militia Gazette* (1885-1892), and the *Journal and Proceedings of the United Service Institution of New South Wales (1890*-1920). Unsurprisingly, these periodicals appeared only where settled military communities existed, and not in the more precarious areas of empire.

As demonstrated, there was not a large number of publications produced specifically for the British army in empire. What will be explored next is how well these soldiers were served by content in the more general military press.

Content in other periodicals aimed at the imperial soldier

Content in early military periodicals made few mentions of empire at all, with the focus primarily on the European theatre and ongoing conflicts there. With the launch of the second wave of publications in the 1820s, imperial subjects began to feature more frequently, and coverage continued to grow as the empire and imperial engagements expanded. However, considering the number of soldiers serving in the empire at any time, and the strategic importance of imperial holdings, the coverage of subjects relating to the imperial experiences are suprisingly small, with European history and strategic thought dominating the publications throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

For example, despite its central place in Britain's imperial and economic policies, India, the East India Company and their Indian armies found fairly limited coverage in miltiary periodicals in the early part of the nineteenth century. Moreman suggests that this is because of 'the generally dismissive attitude of British service officers (apart from those who had served in India) towards the EIC's Bengal, Bombay and Madras armies'.[967] He goes on to point out that most content produced regarding India was produced by officers serving on the sub-continent.[968] Coverage steadily increased, particularly after the Indian 'Rebellion' when direct Government control was taken over India, and its garrisons fell under the juristiction of the regular British army.

[966] 'Notices', *Journal of the United Service Institute of India,* p. 139.
[967] Moreman, 'The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98', p. 212.
[968] Ibid.

However, the lack of coverage was a frequent criticism, and a central reason behind the founding of specialist Indian military periodicals.

Despite the infrequent coverage, those writing on imperial subjects often went on to be particularly influential figures within the late Victorian miltiary. Lord Roberts, who frequently wrote for the *Journal of the United Service Institution of India* during his early career, is one example. Moreman also points to Charles Callwell, who, having first published on colonial warfare in the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* as one of the winners of its essay prize later became recognised as one of the subject's leading theoreticians.[969]

While imperial content did not feature proportionately to its part in British military experience, there were nonetheless a large number of articles, letters and editorials covering the subject. Wars in empire were much better covered in miltiary publications than in the general press, as explored in Chapter Four, and the type of material that touched on imperial subjects was diverse, including travel writing[970], articles on foreign religious practices[971], exotic food[972], and the history of local peoples[973].

Interestingly, much of this material challenges John Tosh's argument that imperial soldiering was a flight from domesticity. [974] Holly Furneaux, in her exploration of the Crimean War, questioned Tosh's presentation of male spaces as 'anti-domestic'[975], and much of the material about empire in military periodicals confirms this, presenting the experience as both domestic and as social. As Hew Strachan had previously argued, 'the soldier in the colonies was more than a soldier. He was also a civilizer and a settler'[976], and the portrayals of camp[977], the accounts of balls and

[969] Moreman, 'The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98', p. 214.
[970] O'B., "Letters from a Queen's Officer in Birmah", *United Service Magazine,* no. 160, March 1842, p. 318-324.
[971] '"The Return of the Six Thousand"', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XLIX, no. 2390, 9th October 1878, p. 286.
[972] 'Two Years in Uganda', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XXXVII, no. 1923, 28th November 1896. p. 996.
[973] 'Zulus and Zululand', *Sheldrake's Aldershot and Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 1027, 19th April 1879, p. 2.
[974] Tosh, *A Man's Place,* p. 177.
[975] Furneaux, *Military Men of Feeling,* p. 13.
[976] Strachan, *The Politics of the British Army,* p. 75.
[977] Correspondence from the Theatre of War in the Peninsula', *Military Panorama,* Vol. 2, August 1813, p. 468; and 'Life and Modder River Camp', *The Household Brigade Magazine,* vol. III, no. 27, March 1900, p. 181.

dinners[978], and the frequent appearance of women[979] in the accounts in military periodicals attest to this.

Despite the focus on non-military subjects and the domestic, military periodicals did also feature stories of adventurous exploits in empire. Examples included 'An Adventure with a Bear' written by a subaltern stationed in Lower Tibet[980], an account of a hunting expedition to the backwoods of New Brunswick in Canada[981] and a story about duck hunting with the Maori in New Zealand[982]. The majority of the adventures occurred while those involved were on leave - travelling, hunting or exploring their environment - suggesting that the 'imperial adventurer' was a construct that did not fit easily into professional duties.

Finally, it is interesting to note the frequent appearance of short and serialised adventures stories in military periodicals,[983] as well as the frequent adverts and reviews for adventure novels, biographies and travel writing.[984] This would suggest that despite their own places in empire, officers and men still looked to these stories for excitement and escapism, perhaps indicating how far from representing reality many of them were.

The 'Imperial Adventurer' and professionalism

The 'imperial adventurer,' as presented in both adult and juvenile fiction and the general press, was a free-spirited, independent, heroic figure. While officers such as Lord Roberts, Viscount Wolseley and General Gordon might hope to be presented as such, the real experiences of the military in empire, and their understanding of their profession in that context were quite different.

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978 'Editorial', *Green Howards' Gazette,* Vol. VI, no. 72, March 1899, p. 183.
979 See for example 'Military Matrimony in Madras', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1566, 10th January 1863, p. 6.
980 'An Adventure with a Bear', *Sheldrake's Aldershot Military Gazette,* no. 124, 7th December 1861, p. 4.
981 Pearson , R. L. O. 'Account of a hunting expedition to the backwoods of New Brunswick between 17th and 26th February 1862', *Journal of the Household Brigade for 1862* pp. 184-190.
982 Finnes Colvile, Lieutenant-General. 'Duck Shooting Among the Maoris', *43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle for 1893,* pp. 161-164.
983 See for example: Henty, G. A. 'A Garibaldian Episode', *Army and Navy Magazine,* vol. I, November 1880, pp. 11-21 ; and Ouida, 'Under Two Flags', *British Army and Navy Review,* August 1865-June 1866.
984 See for example 'Travels and Adventures of an Officer's Wife in India, China, and New Zealand', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 1619, 16th January 1854, p. 48.

As with the 'Soldier Saint', the portrayal of the British army in empire could be quite different from the lived reality.

A key reason for this was the increased stage management of careers by a new generation of media-savvy officers, many of whom earned their stripes during imperial service. Roberts and Wolseley were particularly good at manipulating their public image by controlling press access during their campaigns[985], leaking information and stories[986], and cultivating friendly correspondents.[987] And while, in general, military periodicals were less likely to publish criticism of military leaders than the general press, they were also less likely to publish exaggerated accounts of bravery or heroics, although even they sometimes bought in to these constructed narratives.[988] It is also clear from the contributions to military periodicals of men like Lord Roberts, that the persona they cultivated and projected to the public, and that which they presented to their professional network, were quite different. Roberts' image as daring hero can be contrasted with the careful and considered work he produced for the *Proceedings of the United Service Institute of India* and later the, under the pseudonym 'Paganus', the *United Service Magazine*[989], although it is important that both aspects of his identity co-existed without presenting problems for his public image or his career.

It should also be remembered that the experience of empire for many British troops was not an adventure, but a trial and a struggle. A key thread that is woven through the coverage of the imperial army in military periodicals is just how different both warfare and every day life in an imperial setting could be[990].

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[985] Wilkinson-Latham, *From our special correspondent,* p. 120.
[986] See for example 'Letter - Lord Roberts to William Blackwood, 14th June 1889,' MS 30687 C. National Library of Scotland.
[987] Heather Streets 'Military Influences in Late Victorian and Edwardian Popular Media', p. 241
[988] See for example: 'The Ashantee War', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2135, 6th December 1873, p. 4.
[989] See for example 'Sir Ian Hamilton and Compulsory Service', *United Service Magazine,* March 1911, pp. 604-614.
[990] See for example: 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 247, 21st October 1837, pp. 664-665; 'A Short Way With the Maoris', *Broad Arrow,* no. 24, 12th December 1868, pp. 657-660; 'South Lancashire Regiment', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. XLVIII, no. 2501, 28th December 1907, p. 1242.

As Moreman notes, officers needed to be able to quickly 'adapt their organization, equipment and training to suit local conditions.'[991] This difference of experience and approach was one of the key reasons why specialist military periodicals sprang up in empire, resulting from a feeling that these subjects were being neglected by the London based military press.[992]

Race was of course central to ideas of professional identity for those troops serving in empire. This is perhaps the instance where 'othering' is most clearly visible. It was often gendered, with either the British portrayed as manly and brave and the imperial subject as effeminate and weak[993], or, frequently in accounts of Africa, the imperial other was portrayed as threatening and dangerously masculine.[994] Moreman suggests that writing by officers in military periodicals, covering their experiences in India, 'formed the prototype of the theory of the martial races'[995], with European soldiers portrayed as superior 'in such key military attributes as bravery, leadership, initiative and resourcefulness.'[996] Examples from military periodicals include an article categorising of the 'races' of India[997], a series of articles on the Third Anglo-Ashanti War (1873-1874) in the *United Service Gazette* that repeatedly described the African enemy as barbarians and savages[998], and a strange account of a hunting expedition where the writer seems unconcerned by shooting his native beater.[999] This type of writing and its view of professional martial masculinity very much supports Roper and Tosh's view that 'Britain's

[991] Moreman, 'The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98', p. 210.
[992] 'Address: To the Officers of the Indian Army', *East Indian Service Journal and Military Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1833, p. ii.
[993] Chowdhury-Sengupta, 'The Effeminate and the Masculine in Bengal', p. 289 and Blunt, 'Embodying war', p. 408.
[994] See Pieterse, *White on Black*, pp. 79-80; and Magubane, *Race and the Construction of the Dispensable Other*, pp. 76-77.
[995] Moreman, 'The Army in India and the Military Periodical Press, 1830-98', p. 221.
[996] Ibid, p. 222.
[997] 'The irregular system in India', *Army and Navy Gazette,* 11th November 1865, p. 715.
[998] 'A Little War', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2100, 5th April 1873, p. 4 and Offley Martin, Francis. 'Balloons for the Ashantee War', *United Service Gazette,* no. 2127, 11th October 1873, p. 7.
[999] 'Grenadier' 'My first Mongoose', *The Green Howards' Gazette,* vol. 5, no. 51, June 1897, p.54

colonial rule was partly justified by a conception of English manhood as a civilizing force.'[1000]

As the century progressed, more and more men gained experience of imperial warfare, and increasingly, experience in the field was seen as a valid form of military training. During periods when no European War occurred, such as the second half of the nineteenth century, this experience could only be gained in empire. As Roberta J. Park suggests, the work of the British army and of Empire building 'could be accomplished best by men who had tested themselves and, having been found equal to the task, were prepared to be leaders.'[1001] More frequent articles appeared describing service in the empire, and promoting the positive experience gained and the increased chance of gaining vital experience and promotion.[1002] Not only were more positive attitudes expressed about colonial service in military periodicals, but this change of perspective was noted and discussed.[1003] Some of the difference in coverage reflected changes in public opinion, and some of it was an active form of propaganda, encouraging enlistment and service for an army that needed troops to serve in empire. Importantly, the leadership of the army was increasingly drawn from a body of officers who had gained their experience during colonial service, such as Wolseley, Roberts, Viscount Hardinge and Robert Napier. Military periodicals needed to speak to such men by reflecting their experiences; they needed to encourage their participation in reading and writing for military publications by focussing on subjects of interest to them, and they needed to show their understanding of a changing military service.

While the 'Imperial Adventurer' is often seen as a late Victorian phenomenon, figures such as Charles Napier (1782-1853) and the Duke of Wellington himself, challenge that idea. Napier's escapades featured frequently within

[1000] Roper and Tosh, 'Introduction', 13-14.
[1001] Park, 'Biological thought, athletics and the formation of a 'man of character', p. 11.
[1002] See for example: Hallet, Colonel W. Hughes. 'The British Soldier in India', *Navy and Army Illustrated,* vol. IV, no. 40, 2nd July 1897, pp. 50-51.
[1003] See for example: 'Experiments in Imperialism', *The King and His Army and Navy,* vol.17, no. 361, 2nd January 1904, p. 314.

both the general and the military press[1004], and he made a very successful career out of a number of imperial postings, most importantly in India. His ideas and achievements were promoted by his brother William, a regular contributor to military periodicals[1005], and his persona could be seen as a template on which subsequent imperial figures such as Wolseley and Roberts modelled themselves. And while the Duke of Wellington is best remembered for leading the troops in the Peninsula and for defeating Napoleon, he also cut his teeth in India in the last years of the eighteenth century.[1006] Again, the development of a professional identity based around imperial service was neither linear nor universal.

In conclusion, the 'Imperial Adventurer' like the 'Soldier Saint' served a purpose for the military authorities and was a public projection of a more complex reality. Unlike the 'Soldier Saint', the persona could be adopted while still living, and was cultivated by figures such as Lord Roberts, who used it to gain public support and to further his career. Very little of this is reflected in military periodicals, which gave a much more realistic and nuanced presentation of imperial service in their reportage, if not in their fiction.

These three sections have looked at how enduring stereotypes of military identity, while born out of reality, presented a limited and one-dimensional picture of the nineteenth century British army. Looking at military periodicals allows us a more nuanced view of the reality of military life, professionalism and identity. They show us that experiences were varied and contradictory, that links to outside communities could be both positive and problematic for military professionalisation, and that progress was neither linear nor universal. The number and diversity of periodical publications indicates that both publishers and military readers were aware of the range of viewpoints and experiences existing within the British army. Individual publications fostered

[1004] See for example: 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 541, 20th May 1843, p. 312.
[1005] Napier, William. 'Letter', *Naval and Military Gazette,* no. 553, 12th August 1843, pp. 504-505.
[1006] See Holmes, *Wellington: The Iron Duke,* p. 88.

different ideas and different approaches, with readers choosing the periodical that most closely aligned with their worldview and best served their needs. This was a microcosm of British society more generally.

The Role of the Military Periodical

This final section will focus more directly on the role that military periodicals played in fostering and disseminating professionalism within the nineteenth century military. As a beginning, it is important to stress that even by just existing military periodicals were playing a role in the creation of professional identity for the army, as with other professions.[1007] The founding of a 'professional' periodical was a crucial step in the development of a profession, and an outward expression of a unified identity, even if such unity did not actually exist. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel point to how 'professionals' increasingly 'required up-to-date knowledge of what others in the field were doing'[1008], and a periodical was the perfect format to provide such information. From their earliest incarnations military periodicals saw at least part of their function as supporting the diffusion of 'professional' expertise and knowledge, with *The Royal Military Chronicle,* for example, explicitly linking its role to professionalization as early as 1810, by speaking of itself as an attempt to 'infuse into the younger officers a professional zeal'.[1009] This aspect of the periodical's role was taken up more extensively by later publications: the *United Service Journal* claimed to be produced for its 'Professional Readers'[1010] and the *Naval and Military Gazette* described how the previous lack of a military journal was 'well known to professional men.'[1011]

[1007] Tildesley and de Waard, 'Professional journals', *DNCJ,* pp. 509-510.
[1008] Don Van and VanArsdel, 'Introduction', p. 7.
[1009] 'Dedication: First Volume', *The Royal Military Chronicle,* vol. I, November 1810 [pre-textual material].
[1010] 'Introductory material', *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine,* part 1, 1829, p. iv.
[1011] 'Editorial', *Naval and Military Gazette,* No. 1, 9th February 1833, p. 4.

This purpose did not diminish over time, and the word 'professional' was increasingly used throughout the century. By 1852 *The Military Review* was describing itself as presenting 'a distinct professional channel of useful and interesting information to the officers of all ranks''[1012] and the *Army and Navy Gazette* in 1860 suggested that:

> Without any detriment to the public service, every military and naval question can be argued in the columns of a newspaper, with advantage to the profession; every theory can be discussed; every proposition ventilated.[1013]

The act of subscribing to and collecting military periodicals was an active acknowledgement of professionalism by military personnel, and as Andrew King points out, doing so 'offered a man the chance to declare his professional identity and seriousness through the impressive displays of long runs of periodicals' in his office or chambers[1014] - although in the case of the military it might be truer that a regiment or institution could collectively indicate their professionalism by having long runs of periodicals in their library. The very existence of such publications, and their physical presence, was then in itself a beginning of the process of professionalization.

As indicated in the introduction to this chapter, masculinity was often closely linked to the professional ideal within the military. This could not be escaped, even in the introductory material of their new 'professional press', as illustrated in the opening editorial of the *United Service Gazette:*

> When we inform our friends that the "United Service Gazette" will be conducted by officers of long standing in their professions, we trust we afford a satisfactory pledge, both of the loyalty of our opinions and the manliness with which they will be declared.[1015]

[1012] Shrapnel, N. S, 'Programme', *The Military Review,* vol. 1, no. 1, 10th July 1852, p. 2.
[1013] 'The authorities and the press', *Army and Navy Gazette,* vol. 1, no. 1, 7th January 1860, p. 1.
[1014] King, '*"Army, Navy, Medicine, Law,/Church, Nobility, Nothing at all": towards the study of gender, the professions and the press in the nineteenth century',* (<38>).
[1015] 'Editorial', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1, 9th February 1833, p. 1.

Here, manliness is emphasised as a qualifying attribute for conducting a military periodical and linked with the professional credentials of those involved. This demonstrates a keen understanding of the group identity of the proposed readers by those producing the *United Service Gazette,* and a desire to link their publication with that identity. This was crucial for military periodicals throughout the period, which needed to distinguish their specific audience, and identify with it.

Periodicals played a wide range of roles for their military readership, which made them a focal point around which professional military identity could be formed, transmitted, negotiated and renegotiated. They disseminated educational material, as discussed in Chapter Three. They included targeted advertising as explored in Chapter Two, and fostered the merging of professional identity and consumerism. They encouraged esprit de corps and the formation of individual, divisional and regimental identities built upon the shared and mythologised memories of past events, as illustrated in Chapter Three, and they connected dispersed communities and allowed for communication over the vast expanses of empire.

As we have repeatedly seen too, they were not just vehicles for educational or professional content, but forums where ideas could be discussed, opposing views presented, and dialogues created. The subjects they covered were varied and diverse, including those mentioned in this chapter, but also dress and uniform[1016], facial hair[1017], pay[1018] and conditions[1019], soldiers families[1020],

[1016] 'K. C. B.' Letter 'To the Editor of the *United Service Journal*', vol. 1, no. 4, April 1829, p. 500; and 'The New Helmet', *Army News,* vol. II, no. 29, 14th October 1896, p. 10.
[1017] 'Shaving in the services', *Sword and Chatelaine,* vol. 1, no. 7, 21st May 1892, p. 6.
[1018] 'Pay of Army Officers', *Sheldrake's Aldershot & Sandhurst Military Gazette,* no. 343, 24th February 1866, p. 3; and 'Subaltern's Pay', *United Service Gazette,* no. 1594, 25th July 1863, p. 6.
[1019] 'Sanitary Conditions of Simla', *Naval and Military Gazette',* vol. XLV, no. 2292, p. 420.
[1020] "Pauperism in the Army", *Wellington Gazette*, vol. CCXXVI, 15th September 1875, p. 98.

food and drink[1021], recreation[1022] and the role and experience of retired soldiers[1023]. Some publications took a strong line on certain issues, while others were happy presenting opposing opinions alongside each other.

This variety of content provides a particularly rich source of material for historians, but it also paints a clear picture of the problematic nature of military professionalism. Subjects of 'professional' interest could include such disparate topics as geography, travel, cartography, astronomy, chemistry, history, gymnastics, tropical medicine, military law, and a huge number of others, and as discussed in Chapter Three, no one person could absorb or embody all aspect of this military knowledge. Military periodicals played a role in overcoming that problem, by acting as repositories for information, capturing and preserving discussions, allowing for the sharing of experience, and collecting together a wealth of knowledge that should be shared across distance and time. Those, such as the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, that published indexes, made this aspect of their role particularly clear.[1024]

Furthermore, it is not a moot theoretical point to claim that these periodicals were active agents within their communities, not just passive mirrors for established viewpoints or ideas. They proactively promoted discipline, with many of the 'local' military newspapers publishing accounts of disciplinary matters and punishments.[1025] They allowed for heated debates about strategic thinking and tactical developments, as illustrated by the numerous articles and letters published by Major John Mitchell (11th June 1875-9th July 1859), the published responses by a number of contributors, including William

[1021] 'Indian Military Cuisine', *The Bugle, The Bugle: A Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News,* vol. X, no. 237, 2nd February 1899, pp. 2769-2770; and 'Drinks', *The Thin Red Line,* vol. 1, no. 2, 31st August 1894, pp.116-117.
[1022] 'Why Not Retain the Soldier?', *Army and Navy Gazette,* Vol. XLVIII, no. 2501, 28th December 1907, p. 1237.
[1023] 'Civil Work for Soldiers and Sailors', *Naval and Military Gazette,* vol. XLIV, no. 2264, 10th May 1876, pp. 367-368.
[1024] See *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution: Index to Volumes IX-XX*. London: Royal United Service Institution, 1878.
[1025] See for example 'The lash at Woolwich', *Cinque Ports Pilot,* no. 3, 21st November 1860, p.1.

Napier (17th December 1875-12th February 1860)[1026], and Mitchell's subsequent rejoinders, all of which played in the *United Service Journal* in the 1830s and 1840s.[1027] The discussions covered a wide range of issues, such as the imperial defence[1028], the Purchase System[1029], and the use of the bayonet.[1030] Sometimes such discussions began and ended on the pages of the journal, but often items appeared in reaction to discussions taking place elsewhere[1031], showing the interplay between periodical and other forms of communication. Importantly, Mitchell acknowledged that the journal was not only a forum for expressing his ideas, but also the place where he could defend his views 'against every adversary that may start up against them.'[1032] Such correspondence also acted to build professional networks, with William Napier, noting, in response to Mitchell's criticism of a speech he had given, that 'Major Mitchell is a very ingenious writer, and I am flattered that he thinks me worthy of his notice, whether for praise or for censure.'[1033]

Finally, military periodicals were often a place where concerns were raised about the professionalism of the army, doing so as an internal act of reflection and a call to arms, rather than an external attack. This happened more frequently at times of crisis for the army, whether that be after a poor performance during active conflict, or during times of reductions imposed by politicians. For example, in March 1870, the *Wellington Gazette* included an

[1026] See for example: Napier, W. 'Colonel Napier's Imputed Speech at Bath, *United Service Journal*, no. 87, February 1836, p. 244.
[1027] See Strachan, *Reform of the British Army,* p. 27.
[1028] See for example: Mitchell, Major J. 'General Correspondence', *United Service Journal*, no. 68, July 1834, pp.406-408.
[1029] See for example: Mitchell, Major J. 'Promotion By Purchase', *United Service Journal*, no. 88, March 1836, pp. 297-307.
[1030] See for example: Mitchell, Major J. 'Colonel Mitchell in Reply to the Different Letters in Favour of the Bayonet', *United Service Journal*, no. 133, December 1839, pp. 531-536.
[1031] See for example: Mitchell, Major J. 'The British Troops in America', *United Service Journal*, no. 86, January 1836, p. 84, in which Mitchell indicates he is reacting to a remark made by William Napier at a public dinner.
[1032] Mitchell, Major J. 'Promotion By Purchase', *United Service Journal*, no. 88, March 1836, p. 297.
[1033] Napier, W. 'Colonel Napier's Imputed Speech at Bath, *United Service Journal*, no. 87, February 1836, p. 244.

article urging the officers of the army to 'be up and moving in their own interests.'[1034] It went on to state that:

> It is emphatically because the Officers of the Army are content to be simply wearers of red and blue coats, as the case may be, and not professionally of the profession, that the indignity of reduction is thrust upon them. We tell them boldly, however unpalatable the fact, that so long as the Service is simply used by them for the idle and unprofitable purpose of social and indolent employment, so long will they be made nine-pins of by economising Chancellors of the Exchequer.[1035]

It challenged officers to take their profession more seriously, and to consider the long term training needs for themselves and their men. Most of all it asks its readers to present themselves professionally, stressing the importance of appearing as useful members of society, and stressing the importance of civil-military relations.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the experience of professionalisation and professional identity was diverse and developed in neither a linear nor a uniform way. The close links between the professional soldier and civilian communities has, at times, been presented as problematic, with the pursuit of sports such as polo, religious piety, and long hunting leaves attracting particular ire.[1036] But it should be recognised that our opinions about the limited arena of what constitutes "professional" activity is a modern viewpoint.

The preface to the first issue of the *United Service Journal* made it abundantly clear that they saw the importance of both work and social activities to military professionalism, by saying:

> While our objects comprehend the best interests and more elevated pursuits of the professions, we are far from purposing to detach the "*dulce"* from its severer comate; linked with the "*utile,"* what combination can form to perfect a *whole*? Would that we could attain it!

[1034] 'Again!', *Wellington Gazette,* no. CLXLXXV, 15th March 1870, p. 325.
[1035] Ibid.
[1036] See for example: 'Sport and War', *Times,* no. 41183, 2nd June 1916, p. 9; and 'B.B', 'Priestcraft in the Army', *Broad Arrow,* vol. 12, no. 297, 7th March 1874, p. 305.

> In attempting, at least, to do so, we feel that an exclusive adherence to purely professional topics would prove insufficient for the general intelligence which pervades the Services, perhaps a higher degree than in most other classes. British officers are so constantly in relation with society at large; so interwoven with it by ties of blood, mutual sympathies, and common interests…alternately emerging from and relapsing to its bosom, as his country's honour or exigencies require, that a corresponding expansion of limits, comparatively circumscribed, appears expedient to meet the demand for more diffused information.[1037]

This acknowledges the argument presented in Chapter Four that the military was more than just a job - it was a lifestyle. This view was necessary for a body of men who lived and breathed their profession, who were housed in barracks, posted for long periods overseas, and who were expected to present themselves as 'officers and gentlemen' not just between nine and five, but twenty-four hours a day. This was summed up by Captain E. N. Mozley, R. E. in an article in the 1912 volume of the *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* when he said that the 'peculiarity of being always professional, shared alone by the clergy, seems to have as its Hegelian opposite the result of never being sufficiently so.'[1038] He suggested that 'professionalism essentially involves intensity of effort'[1039] and that the lack of delineation between work and personal life that existed for British soldiers did not allow them to cultivate a professional persona in the way of many other professions. This lack of separation between the public and private was clearly illustrated not only by the three military stereotypes engaged with described above, but also by the contents of the majority of military periodicals.

[1037] 'Preface', *United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine,* vol. I, 1829, p. 2
[1038] Mozley, Captain E. N. 'The Profession of Arms', *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution,* vol. LVI, July 1912, pp. 1014-1015.
[1039] Ibid. p. 1014.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided the first comprehensive overview of the development of military periodicals in the long nineteenth century. It has charted the emergence of these periodicals from their earliest incarnations in the 1790s through to what could be seen as their highpoint in the 1910s. In doing so it has exposed several distinct phases of development, including an early period of experimentation, a first flourishing in the late 1820s and early 1830s, a period of consolidation and growth from the 1850s onwards, and a heyday of the form in the 1880s and 1890s brought about by a surge in the number of regimental journals. But the thesis has gone beyond simple chronological bibliography, to explore the context in which these periodicals emerged and functioned, their intended aims and audiences, and their impact upon professional military identity.

Although I have referred to a great number of secondary sources throughout this thesis (most notably Strachan), almost no work of this kind had been undertaken previously. As mentioned in the literature review in Chapter One, few studies had engaged with military periodicals in their own right. Those that had, largely focussed on a very small number of titles and a more limited timeframe, and tended to think of such publications in relation to the military or the media, but not both as I have sought to do here. Whole sub-genres of military periodicals covered in this thesis have received no scholarly attention at all, in particular the titles produced by religious and charitable organisations, such as the *Soldier's Magazine* (1828-1861) and the *British Flag* (1856-1950); the huge archive of regimental journals, and many short-lived titles, such as the *Naval and Military Magazine* (1827-1828), the *Military Register* (1814-1821), and the *Military Review* (1852-1853).

This thesis has aimed to fill these gaps in the extant literature. While the scale of the subject matter has been daunting, exploring it in this way has provided a rich and comprehensive picture of a burgeoning specialist press attempting to meet the needs of a diverse audience. It has necessarily been broad,

looking at the big pictures and large-scale patterns, rather than the small details of individual titles, people, form or content. As described in Chapter One, the methodological approaches required for this kind of work have required a great deal of thought, burrowing in archives and tracking down bibliographies. They have, at times, been challenging but the work has provided new insights and new data. Because so little work had been done in this area before, this study contributes to scholarship in a wide range of areas. New military titles have been identified and the contributions of new figures have been highlighted. It has demonstrated how such titles fit into recognised patterns of production and distribution, and how they also challenge them. It has shown how military periodicals support what are now established ideas about how the military operated during the nineteenth century, but it has also demonstrated how they often counter stereotypes of aristocratic, amateur and uneducated military officers, soldier saints, or imperial adventures, and that they rebalance the view of a British army dominated by European warfare.

One of the important points that this thesis has been able to uncover is why military periodicals emerged when they did, and once established, how and why new formats, styles and sub-genres appeared and which audiences they were intended to reach. In doing so, this research highlights links and parallels between military periodicals and a wide range of other periodical publications. It has shown that military periodicals did not operate in isolation, but that they operated in a marketplace with other specialist publications, scholarly journals, metropolitan and provincial newspapers and general interest magazines. It has also made clear that these publications, like their civilian counterparts, had to navigate shifting political situations, work within the limits of legislation and taxation, and to adapt to changing audience requirements that were impacted by fashions, rising levels of education, and new patterns of thinking.

However, military periodicals also faced specific challenges, dealing with issues that were unique to the genre and the profession to which they catered. Their audience was particularly hierarchical, and therefore military publications had to find a way to act as a voice-piece for officers, and

occasionally the rank and file, while being aware that military authorities often also read them. They had to challenge injustices and advocate for reform, while operating within military structures, understanding military systems, and encouraging professional discipline. Military periodicals also often aimed to reach a dispersed audience, spread around the country and across empire, an audience that, while under the umbrella of the British army, was often segmented, having varying needs depending on the military unit they served in, their rank, and the location in which they were based. Some publications tried to cater to all of these diverse needs, while others developed in order to target smaller sub-sections.

Beyond that, while illustrating that at times military publishers followed the wider trends of the publishing world, or more specialist modes of production favoured by professional and trade publications, this investigation has shown that military periodicals often developed their own forms and patterns of publication. For example, the prevalence of weekly newspapers aimed at a military audience was unusual, with the majority of other professional and specialist publications favouring monthly or quarterly publishing schedules. This highlights the importance of timely news for the military. The popularity of weekly military newspapers and magazines also demonstrates that military readers were often looking for general and social news, and entertainment, as well as for professional information, illustrating how service in the British army was both a lifestyle and a profession. Similarly, provincial military periodicals developed in a unique fashion, appearing only in areas with concentrated military communities, but circulating far beyond those specific locales, at times reaching international audiences. This reflected military geographies, but was also deliberately acted upon by the proprietors and publishers of military publications.

Another key point that has become apparent in looking at these periodicals as a collection, is the variety of people that were involved with them. While many were either directly or indirectly involved with the military, there was a large number who had no connection at all. Commercial publishers saw the genre as a revenue stream waiting to be tapped, and used their pre-existing

publishing knowledge and networks to establish successful publications without needing to be specialists in the field. Likewise, several of the key editors of military publications such as John Phillipart, Joachim Haywood Stocqueler and William Howard Russell were not military men, but had gained experience of the military indirectly via political service, time spent in empire or war corresponding for other publications. They straddled the divide between military and media, and often did so successfully. And while the majority of contributors to military periodicals were serving or retired soldiers, this thesis has clearly demonstrated that civilians did contribute and interact with the military press for a wide range of reasons. Military periodicals did not police the boundaries of closed communities, therefore, but often enhanced connections between the military and civil society.

This study has also shown how vital military periodicals were to the development of professional military identity in the long nineteenth century. Simply by existing they showed a perception by publishers that there was an audience keen to read on professional subjects, and the success of such a large number of publications proves that they were correct in their assumption. The founding of institutional publications, with their scholarly and technical focuses, in particular, illustrates that the movement towards professionalism often came from within the military and that there were contributors and content to keep such publications flourishing. The frequent allusions to the wider scholarly publishing environment, also points to the way publishers and the military perceived and reacted to wider patterns of professionalisation and education in nineteenth-century society.

As argued in several of the chapters in this thesis, the diverse range of professional subjects illustrated the problems of defining professional military knowledge. But it has also demonstrated the numerous ways in which military periodicals acted to overcome this challenge, providing space to discuss the issue, acting as repositories for a wide range of information, and circulating useful content to a larger and more dispersed audience than could be reached in any other way. Military periodicals were self-conscious about playing this role, and many were founded specifically to address this problem.

One of the crucial areas that had received almost no scholarly attention prior to this project was the importance of military periodicals on a social level. While war played an important role in military life in the long nineteenth century, it was only one part of a wide and diverse range of experiences for the military in this period. Little attention had been paid to the periodicals' role in fostering esprit-de-corps, or in creating networks based on professional interest, religious affiliation or wider social activities. For the majority of military periodicals, this role was more important than any reform, strategic or doctrinal agenda. Even though it could only be gestured towards here, the vast array of social content, fiction, poetry, travel writing, and social listings, is something that had never previously been reflected upon. Publishers included this content because it was important for their readers, but they also used their publications to create interest in products, writers and subjects that were an important part of their commercial model. These publications, therefore, both reflected and created social trends, professional identities and public opinions.

This thesis has also drawn attention to the fact that, when covering war and conflict, military periodicals had to carve out their own role, as they were operating in a marketplace where other publications could provide more up-to-date news and faster accounts of events. Chapter Four provides a range of examples of how military periodicals tailored their content to their readership, providing more detailed reports, focussing on those elements of events that would have been of interest to military readers, such as tactical analysis, details of units and men involved, and accounts of the domestic and social situation that existed alongside the fighting. This illustrates the awareness that editors and publishers had of the needs of their audiences, and also provides a wealth of information about nineteenth-century wars that has largely been overlooked by scholars in the past.

In covering such a wide range of titles over such a long period of time, my focus has been broad rather than deep. Each chapter, and even many sub-sections, could have been a thesis in its own right, and the scale of the

archive of military periodicals means that no single publication or research project could ever hope to cover everything. This means that there is a wide range of future research that can come out of this project, hopefully using this thesis as a springboard.

An initial aim of this research project was to produce a complete database of military periodicals, listing all known titles, and including bibliographic information, details of publishers and printers, and location information for finding copies. Due to the high number of titles identified, the longevity of a number of the publications, the complicated publishing histories of many of them, and the challenges of locating copies, this remains a work-in-progress, although the database that I have produced is larger and more accurate than anything produced before. As indicated in Chapter One, this work has proved a vital underpinning for the rest of the research in this thesis in highlighting key figures, indicating behind the scenes changes of circumstances for publications, and showing broad patterns of development. However, it has become a larger project in its own right, and one which will sustain additional, future research projects.

Further to that, there are a number of titles, people and themes covered in the thesis that deserve scholarly focus in their own right. For example, there is scope to undertake research into several of the individuals discussed above, including Robert Scott and his interactions with both military periodicals and the law, Henry Colburn and how his military periodicals fit into his wider publishing portfolio, and William Howard Russell and how he juggled his relationships with the *Times* and the *Army and Navy Gazette.* There are also whole themes touched upon in this thesis that have yet to be fully explored. Army Temperance is an area that seems to have received almost no scholarly attention, and yet it was a significant movement within the military in the late nineteenth century. Its place within military periodicals could form a part of a wider research project on the subject. The poetry and fiction featured in military periodicals has also received scant attention, with Ouida's *Under Two*

Flags proving to be a rare exception.[1040] This could be taken in many directions, with the possibility for studies on fiction in one particular title, or analysis of poetry across publications, or a comparison between serialised fiction in military periodicals and the general press.

There is also still a great deal of work that can be done to understand military periodicals' place in the wider media environment. In particular, there is huge potential for mapping them against similar periodicals in other professional fields or the general press, to see if there are patterns to indicate why certain titles flourish and others die.

Finally, as more military periodicals are digitised, there will come more opportunities to use digital scholarship methodologies to build on much of the research within this thesis. At the start of this project there were almost no digitised military titles, and even at its end there are only a handful. However, there are numerous on-going projects continually adding to the archive of digitised newspapers and periodicals. In particular, FindMyPast, who are behind the *British Newspaper Archive*¸ have been focussing on some military titles because they regard them as useful to their family history audience. If enough material becomes available to produce a valid corpus, there will be scope to use corpus linguistics techniques to chart the use of terms such as 'professional', 'gentleman' and 'esprit-de-corps.'. Digital scholarship tools will allow for the charting of the frequency and movement of material reproduced between different military periodicals, and between the general press and military publications. There is also a great deal of scope for using network analysis to see the patterns and connections of proprietors, printers, publishers, contributors and readers of military periodicals, again looking at the relationships between military periodicals and then at the wider publishing environment.

[1040] Jane Jordan has produced important scholarship on the novel and its serialisation in the *British Army and Navy Review*. See particularly her chapter, "'Between Men': Romantic Friendship in Ouida's Early Novels' in Jane Jordan and Andrew King's *Ouida and Victorian Popular Culture*, Aldershot, Hants: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 53-69.

Because of the large number of military titles and their variety of forms and content, there is almost limitless research that could be done into and with them. It is hoped that this thesis provides solid groundwork on which to build, and that it has opened up a whole new field for future research.

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Appendix: Title List

This title list provides entries for every military periodical mentioned in the thesis, listed alphabetically. It charts the title changes of each periodical, and provides the dates of publication. The title in bold is the one used to represent the periodical within the thesis. Where there is no title change, that bold title is the only entry on the list. Where there are title changes, those are listed underneath the bold title in chronological order. The information used to produce this list has been taken from the database of military periodicals that I am producing, as an on-going project, and is accurate to the best of my current knowledge.

16th Queen's Lancers' Gazette (1891-1899)

2nd Suffolk Gazette (1890-)

2nd Suffolk Gazette: A Journal of the 2nd Battalion Suffolk Regiment (1890-1959)

Britannia and Castle: The Journal of the 1st East Anglian Regiment (Royal Norfolk and Suffolk) (1960-1964)

Britannia and Castle Newsletter (1965)

Castle: Regimental Journal of the Royal Anglian Regiment (1965-1982)

Castle: Journal of the Royal Anglian Regiment (1982-)

79th News (1891-)

79th News (1891-1960)

Queen's Own Highlander: Incorporating 'Caber Feidh' and '79th News (1961-)

Aldershot and Farnham Observer and Military Record (1872-1873)

Aldershot Camp Gazette (1879-1881)

-Incorporated into the *Hants and Surrey Times* (1880-1895)

Aldershot Camp Times, Army Advertiser and Record (1870)

Army and Navy Gazette (1860-1921)

Army and Navy Magazine (1880-1888)

Was incorporated in the *United Service Journal* (1827-1920)

Army and Navy Omnium Gatherum (1900-1903)

Army Omnium Gatherum (1900)

The Army and Navy Omnium Gatherum (1900-1903)

The Army and Navy Chronicle: With Which is Incorporated the Army and Navy Omnium Gatherum (1904-1913)

Army and Navy Register: and Woolwich (Garrison) Gazette (1840-1855)

(Monthly Edition)

Army and Navy Register: and Woolwich Gazette (1844-1845)

(Weekly Edition)

Army News for the Regulars, Militia, Yeomanry and Volunteers (1896-1897)

Army Quarterly (1920-)

Army Quarterly (1920-1957)

Army Quarterly and Defence Journal (1957-)

Black and White (1899-1903)

Black and White (1899)

Black and White Budget (1900-1903)

Borderers' Chronicle: the Regimental Paper of the 25th (King's Own Borderers) (1871-)

British Army Despatch (1848-1856)

British Army Despatch, Horse Guards, Ordnance, and East India Company's Military Service Record (1848-1853)

British Army Despatch and Royal Naval Record (1853-1854)

British Army Despatch and Nautical Standard (1854-1856)

British Flag (1856-1950)

British Flag: a Journal for Soldiers and Sailors (1856-1869)

British Flag and Christian Sentinel (1870-1938)

British Flag: To Spread the Saving Knowledge of Christ Among the Personnel Of HM Forces (1938-1950)

British Military Library, or Journal (1798-1801)

British Neptune: or Naval, Military, and Commercial Intelligencer (1803-1823)
(Subtitle varies)

British Soldier (1851-1852)
British Soldier: a Journal Devoted to the Interests of the United Services (1851-1852)

Royal Military Magazine: The British Soldier: A Journal Devoted to the Interests of the United Services (1852)

British Soldier: a Monthly Magazine of Amusement and Instruction (1852)

Broad Arrow (1868-1917)

Bugle: A Weekly Chronicle of Regimental News (1894-1902)

The Cavalry Journal (1906-1958)

The Cavalry Journal (1896-1942)

The Royal Armoured Corps Journal (1946-1958)

Cinque Ports Pilot: and Military, Naval and Mercantile Gazette for Margate, Ramsgate etc., (1860-1867)

Corps of Papers and Memoirs on Military Subjects Compiled from Contributions of the Officers of the Royal Engineers, and the East India Company's Engineers (1848-1850)

Curragh News: a Sporting, Military and General Newspaper (1891)

Daily War Telegraph (1854-1855)

Daily War Telegraph: and General Advertiser (1854-1855)

War Telegraph and General Daily Advertiser (1855)

This continued under the title *Daily Telegraph and Northern Counties Advertiser* (a non-military publication)

Devonport Standard and Plymouth United Service Gazette (1835-1836)

Devonport Standard and Plymouth United Service Gazette (1835)

West Devon Standard: and Plymouth United Service Gazette (1835-1836)

1868: East Kent Chronicle (1874-)

Dragon: East Kent Chronicle, a Paper for the Men of the Buffs (1874-1961)

Invicta: The Journal of the Queen's Own Buffs (1861-)

East India United Service Journal (1833-1837)

Green Howards' Gazette (1893-)

"Ours": The Green Howards' Gazette: A Monthly Chronicle of the Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment) (1893-1897)

The Green Howards' Gazette: A Monthly Chronicle of the Princess of Wales's Own (Yorkshire Regiment) (1897-)

Highland Light Infantry Chronicle (1893-)

Highland Light Infantry Chronicle (1893-1958)

Journal of the Royal Highland Fusiliers (1859-)

Holt's Army and Navy Despatch (1854-1855; 1887)

Illustrated Naval and Military Magazine: A Monthly Journal Devoted to all Subjects Connected with Her Majesty's Land and Sea Forces (1884-1890)

Was incorporated into the *United Service Journal* (1827-1920)

Illustrated War News (1899-1900)

Illustrated War News (1899)

Pearson's Illustrated War News (1899-1900)

Illustrated Weekly News (1900)

I'm Ninety-Five: Monthly Regimental Paper of the 95th, 2nd Battalion, The Sherwood Foresters (Derbyshire Regiment) (1884-1902)

Jackson's Woolwich Journal (1844-1901)

Jones' Woolwich Journal: and Army and Navy Gazette (1844-1853)

Jackson's Woolwich Journal: and Army and Navy Gazette (1853-1901)

Journal of the Household Brigade (1862-)

Journal of the Household Brigade for the year… (1862-1880)

Brigade of Guards Magazine (1888-1897)

Household Brigade Magazine (1898-1968)

Guards Magazine (1968-)

Journal of the Royal United Service Institution (1857-)

Journal of the United Service Institution (1857-1860)

Journal of the Royal United Service Institution (1860-1971)

RUSI Journal (1971-)

Journal of the United Service Institution of India (1871-)

Lancashire Lad (1885-)

London Weekly Gazette (1822-1823)

Directly linked to the *Military Register* (1814-1821)

May's Aldershot Camp Gazette and Divisional Army List (1886-1895)

Men of Harlech (1893-)

Men of Harlech: A Newspaper for the Men of the 2nd Battalion The Welsh Regiment (1893-1969)

Men of Harlech: The Journal of the Royal Regiment of Wales (24th/41st Foot) (1969-)

Military Magazine (1793)

Military Magazine (1811-1812)

Military Magazine (1846-1847)

Military Panorama (1812-1814)
Military Panorama (1812-1813)
Royal Military Panorama (1813-1814)

Military Register: Devoted to the Army and its various relations, and to military Literature (1814-1821)
(Subtitle varies)
Directly linked to the *London Weekly Gazette* (1822-1823)

Military Review: a Magazine and Journal of the Military and Naval Sciences (1852-1853)

Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution (1858-)
Minutes and Proceedings of the Royal Artillery Institution (1958-1905)
Journal of the Royal Artillery (1905-)

Naval and Military Gazette: and Weekly Chronicle of the united Service (1833-1886)
(Subtitle varies)
-Incorporated into the ***Broad Arrow*** (1868-1917)

Naval and Military Herald and Commercial and Marine Register (1858-1859)

Naval and Military Magazine (1897-1899)

Naval and Military Record, and Royal Dockyards Gazette (1886-1936)

Naval and Military Review: A Monthly Record of the Army and Navy Stations at Home and Abroad (1900-1902)

Naval and Military Sketch Book: and History of Adventure by Flood and Field (1845)

Navy and Army Illustrated: A Magazine Descriptive and Illustrative of Everyday Life in the Defensive Service of the British Empire (1895-1903)
Incorporated into ***The King*** (1901-1906)

Nines: A Paper for All Interested in the Wiltshire Regiment (1890-)
Nines: A Paper for All Interested in the Wiltshire Regiment (1890-1899)
Journal of the Wiltshire Regiment (Duke of Edinburgh's) (1928-1959)
Journal of the Duke of Edinburgh's Royal Regiment (1959-)

North Lincoln Sphinx: a Regimental Periodical, Complied from Original Papers, Furnished Principally by the Officers and Men of the Second Battalion of the Tenth, or North Lincolnshire Regiment of Foot (1860-1866)

Oakleaf (1895-)

Oakleaf: the monthly magazine of the 1st Battalion Cheshire Regiment (1895-1906)

Acorn: the monthly magazine of the 2nd Battalion 22nd (Cheshire) Regiment (1906-1913)

The Oak (1914-1915)

The Oak Tree (1915-)

Occasional Papers of the Royal Artillery Institution (1860)

On Guard: a Temperance Magazine (1873-1879)

Oriental Mail and War Office Gazette (1865-1869)

Our Soldiers' Magazine (1887-

Our Soldiers' Magazine: With Notes for our Bible and Prayer Union and SCA Quarterly Letter (1887-1888)

Forward: or, Our Soldiers' Magazine (1889-1935)

Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle (1892-)

43rd and 52nd Light Infantry Chronicle (1892-1894)

Oxfordshire Light Infantry Chronicle: An Annual Record of the 1st and 2nd Battalion, Formerly the 43rd and 52nd Light Infantry (1895-1908)

Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry Chronicle (1909-1957)

Chronicle of the 1st Green Jackets, 43rd and 52nd, and the Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry (1958-1965)

Royal Green Jackets' Chronicle (1966-)

Papers on Subjects Connected with the Duties of the Corps of Royal Engineers (1837-1951)

Queen's Own Gazette (1875-)

Queen's Own Gazette: A Record of the 50th Regimental Doings (1875-1961)

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Colburn's United Service Magazine (1843-1890)

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