

BRITISH SOLDIERS' LIFE HISTORIES: GLOBAL MOBILITY, ARMY REFORM,
AND BRITISH IDENTITY IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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DEDICATION

For Joe, again

ABSTRACT

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This thesis examines the memoirs of three British soldiers who served in the army during the nineteenth century, arguing that through their mobility around the world, their discussion of needs for army reform, and their deep identification as British soldiers, they served as agents of change that cultivated, nuanced, and strengthened the British empire. Scotsmen Joseph Donaldson, serving in the Peninsular War, William Douglas, participating in the Crimean War, and John Pindar, partaking primarily in the 1863 Umbeyla Campaign in India, all contributed to the imperial transformations that took place during the century. Through the pervasive influence of their published recollections, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar effected change, impacting the character of Britain. Donaldson instigated incipient shifts through his strong denunciations of army weakness and in his personal contrasts with the “other” in Spain. Douglas, while fully espousing his own uniqueness as a Scot, also layered English and Indian identities resulting from his travels throughout the east and embraced a proud British legacy as a Crimean War veteran. Pindar most thoroughly embodied the imperial soldier as he engaged in a broad-based journey throughout the British empire, cementing the empire’s multidimensional character, even as he challenged some late-century reforms. Spanning the century, these soldiers’ experiences combined to foster the transformation of empire geographically, in a reformed imperial army, and in the multicultural nature of both Britain at home and in the empire abroad during the nineteenth century.

KEY WORDS: British soldiers, Memoir, Global mobility, Army reform, British identity, Nineteenth century, Empire.

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~ Nadia J. Arensdorf

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CHAPTER I

The British Army: Mobility, Reform, Identity

The Napoleonic wars early in the nineteenth century, the Crimean War mid-century, and conflicts in India in the 1850s and '60s mark distinct watershed moments throughout the century in which the British army participated in military engagements. From this involvement, Britain's place in the world grew, shifted, and deepened as she advanced as an empire. Indeed, the conflicts that transpired during the nineteenth century can shed light on a number of significant military and cultural issues related to empire. For example, given the various wars Britain was involved in, soldiers were required to travel to the distant lands where these conflicts took place. What was travel like for these soldiers? Which means of transportation were they required to take—and what did they observe as they engaged with new cultures and societies so far from their own? Additionally, how did soldiers respond to military requirements expected of them as soldiers? Given the wide-ranging social reform going on in Britain, did this age of reform also demand changes over time within the British army? If so, what kinds? Finally, as British soldiers encountered many nations and peoples in their military exploits, how did they react to this multicultural environment? Did they reflect on their own sense of identity as British subjects? How did they perceive the “Other”—that class of people that Edward W. Said referred to as “the strange”?¹ Indeed, while the debate about the seemingly elusive nature of what it meant to be British had occupied Britain at least since the Act of Union of 1707 and then even more after the American Revolution, the

¹ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 43.

deliberation would continue into the nineteenth century as British soldiers went to war.² Answers to these questions can emerge out of a deep analysis of life histories written by soldiers in the British army during the nineteenth century. Indeed, the personal responses of British enlistees provide a rich abundance of private perspectives that highlight historical trends and cultural experiences. These individualized contributions also serve as guides for travel and, given soldiers' unique role as members of the British army, unrivaled sources for discussions of army reform in the nineteenth century and insight into their views of themselves within their respective cultures. Examining the autobiographical memoirs of Joseph Donaldson, William Douglas, and John Pindar, three British soldiers who crossed the globe on behalf of the British army, offers a picture of Britain's robust global mobility that brought soldiers to far-off lands, changes to the British army in the form of military reform, and a deepening sense of "Britishness" that emerged from their multicultural adventures. Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, as rank and file soldiers, served as catalysts towards a more intricate and expansive British empire.

The British Army and the Soldier

While the nineteenth century British army did not experience the respect and prestige of its illustrious counterpart the British navy, through fits and starts it nevertheless sought to fortify and grow its military might during the pre- and mid-Victorian eras, creating an important foundation for strengthening the empire. A crucial element inherent to the army's military culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

² Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), cf. 17, 145.

and that affected its growth as an institution is that the established army leadership maintained the conviction that military officers must come from the upper crust of British society.³ This meant officers were gentlemen of property—the landed class—whose families had a history of wealth and well-known recognition. The so-called “purchase system,” which allowed men to “purchase” a higher rank as they entered the army, fed this elitist mentality, further cementing this perspective. Indeed, established leaders valued what they called “character” over “professionalism.”⁴ Character was attributed to those gentlemen who had received a classical education, in contrast with a more diverse system providing instruction on subjects such as reading, writing, mathematics, history, grammar, and science—subjects perceived as vocational training not designed for the university, the haven of the military elite.⁵ This ideological battle in the army between traditional, character-driven requirements for leadership and the growing demand for professionalism was representative of what was occurring in the broader nineteenth-century culture: a middle class was rising up that needed training itself for the explosion of occupations developing as a result of industrialization, and that training was more skills-based; comparatively speaking, it was a more extensive knowledge base than the classics that were normally taught to officers in the military.⁶ Indeed, the established army leadership looked down on those officers who had a professional education, equating them with the middle class, thus making them suspect.

³ David Gates, “The Transformation of the Army 1783-1915,” in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, ed. David Chandler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 141, 142.

⁴ Gwyn Harries-Jenkins, *The Army in Victorian Society* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 103.

⁵ Harries-Jenkins, *Army in Victorian Society*, 110, 112.

⁶ Harries-Jenkins, *Army in Victorian Society*, 112.

This deep-seated traditionalism contributed to the suppression of desperately needed reforms that pervaded the army. Parliament and the general public disliked a large standing army, instead valuing the navy due to the British Isles's unique geography as an island, and this perspective contributed to the difficulties of maintaining a strong military. Instead of a permanent fighting force, the army sought manpower through volunteers who committed to limited service, local militias that recruited by ballot for five years, and army reservists.⁷ Indeed, recruitment methods also left much to be desired. Often seen as a group of drunkards, enlistees bore the shame of this perception in society, and therefore the army had a difficult time drawing good men in to its regiments. Soldiers, for example, served as local policemen, an unpopular role.⁸ Furthermore, flogging was standard practice throughout the nineteenth century and highly controversial.⁹ Many felt flogging was not only inhumane but ineffective in the army's goal of disciplining its soldiers to train them to be better fighting men. In addition, soldiers were paid a pittance compared to other workers. The typical pay for soldiers was just over seven shillings per week, while dockyard workers were paid four times as much.¹⁰ Because the purchase system awarded rank to men who could afford it, many incompetent men became military leaders, demoralizing not only the officer class but enlistees who served under them.¹¹ At an even higher level, national leadership was divided among several departments in the

⁷ Gates, "Transformation of the Army," 133.

⁸ Peter Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army? 1815-1868," in Chandler, *The Oxford History of the British Army*, 162.

⁹ Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army?" 175; cf. J.R. Dinwiddy, "The Early Nineteenth-Century Campaign against Flogging in the Army," *The English Historical Review* 97, no. 383 (1982): 310.

¹⁰ Gates, "Transformation of the Army," 137.

¹¹ Gates, "Transformation of the Army," 143.

government, creating a confusing and inefficient workflow. For example, the army's Commander-in-Chief held that role only during wartime, and even then, he shared responsibilities with officials in the War Office, Colonial Office, Home Office, the Treasury, Horse Guards, and the Board of Ordnance.¹² Any effort to strengthen the army was hampered by this "cumbersome, hydra-headed system" of military organization, as Peter Burroughs described it.¹³ It wasn't until mid-century after the Crimean War, then during the late-century Cardwell Reforms, and then even later at the fin de siècle under the Esher Committee, that the army's leadership structure began to truly become tightened, pruned, and reformed.¹⁴

Although inefficiencies existed in the military command structure, the British army did navigate the globe, whether to fight in the Peninsular War from 1808 to 1814, the Crimean conflict from 1853 to 1856, or in India to protect the empire's own interests. Indeed, the British empire sprawled across the world, and it especially grew during the nineteenth century, influencing opportunities for the common soldier. For example, in 1815, Britain remained in North America, specifically in Canada; in the Caribbean and northern coast of South America; and in Gibraltar on the southern Iberian Peninsula. The empire also maintained a presence along the Gold Coast in western Africa and at the continent's southern tip in South Africa. In Asia, Britain strategically situated itself in eastern India, along with nearby Ceylon; in other parts of southeast Asia, including on the Malay Peninsula; and in eastern Australia, particularly in New South Wales. Over the

¹² Gates, "Transformation of the Army," 146; Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army?" 170.

¹³ Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army?" 170.

¹⁴ Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army?" 184; Edward Spiers, "The Late Victorian Army 1868-1914," in Chandler, *The Oxford History of the British Army*, 187, 202.

next one hundred years, the British empire expanded ever deeper into these same locations and added a presence in Egypt and eastern Africa, as well as in islands across the Atlantic, such as the Falklands; in the Indian Ocean, such as Diego Garcia; and off the coast of Australia, including New Zealand.¹⁵ In short, the British empire encircled the globe, and the army successfully traveled across it to engage in war and manage the empire. Furthermore, soldiers not only participated in military conflicts, but they experienced the world by seeing new peoples, new land masses, cultural anomalies they had never heard of—and many of them wrote about these experiences, highlighting the things that fascinated them. Furthermore, their travel spanned the century, across which the army experienced the great effects of the growth of industry that pervaded the time, demonstrating the power of British might and its influence all across the world.

In contrast with the army's relatively privileged officers, British soldiers came from the working class of Britain. Laborers, miners, and other workers often joined the army without fully understanding their commitment, including how long they would serve and how much of their own expenses would be required, although mid-century, Parliament passed laws that required recruiters to communicate these terms carefully.¹⁶ The army provided the soldier's initial uniform and supplies upon enlistment, but it incurred charges—called “stoppages”—out of the soldier's pay for daily rations, laundry, haircuts, and medical needs.¹⁷ Housing was unique to the location at which a regiment

¹⁵ Andrew Porter, Introduction: Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth Century, in *The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Porter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2-3.

¹⁶ Derek J. Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier: The Anatomy of a Nineteenth-Century Army Family,” *Journal of Family History* 25, no. 1 (2000): 40; Richard L. Blanco, “Army Recruiting Reforms—1861-1867,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 46, no. 188 (1968): 224.

¹⁷ Blanco, “Army Recruiting Reforms,” 220; Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier,” 40.

was stationed and generally overcrowded. Regiments used forts, monasteries, or castles, as in the case of Edinburgh, and living conditions were difficult. For example, infantry stationed in the West Indies in 1827 were afforded only twenty-three inches breadth of sleeping space, and, compared to British prisons' 600 cubic feet of air per man, space in Chatham included only 300 cubic feet. Until mid-century, soldiers utilized unsanitary washing fixtures to maintain their hygiene, often near sewage.¹⁸ At times soldiers were billeted in licensed homes in towns when barrack facilities were unavailable, and innkeepers furnished their food. In Edinburgh, one landlady provided bread and milk for breakfast; potatoes, salt herring, and beer as an early afternoon supper; and a soup called "kale" for dinner. Often funds paid to innkeepers were inadequate, and this lack contributed to local attitudes towards the men. Sometimes soldiers sold their food to obtain alcohol, further ostracizing themselves from the local population.¹⁹ When the army marched during conflict, soldiers lived off the land, foraging through the local territory, whether that land belonged to friend or foe.²⁰ While men were discouraged from marrying, the regiment offered rudimentary conditions to the married couple, often in the form of an isolated "corner" within the barracks, an officially recognized station, that served as their personal area. Still, in spite of the lack of preference to wives, the presence of women "check[ed] the profanity" of the men and generally uplifted the barracks environment.²¹ Above all, soldiers were expected to obey their officers, remain

¹⁸ Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army?" 172.

¹⁹ H. De Watteville, *The British Soldier: His Daily Life from Tudor to Modern Times* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1955), 101-02.

²⁰ Richard Glover, *Peninsular Preparation: The Reform of the British Army, 1795-1809* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 258.

²¹ De Watteville, *British Soldier*, 184-85.

clean and squared away, and not desert. Promotion could be achieved through literacy, but this was rare.²² Finally, the army soldier experienced little of the “hero’s mythology” that sailors in the navy enjoyed, with the notable exception of immediately after the Indian Mutiny of 1857 when the public began to see the rank and file as courageous, which in turn helped transform the perception of the army to a more positive light.²³ Generally, when a soldier left service, much of his power and stature was lost.²⁴ In short, the soldier of the nineteenth century endured excruciatingly difficult physical and social demands and reaped little from it. Still, as Derek J. Oddy argued, some soldiers found stability in this way of life, even as they journeyed throughout the globe to Britain’s wars and to the farthest-reaching lands of the British empire.²⁵

Three Soldiers, Their Memoirs, and Their Conflicts

Joseph Donaldson, William Douglas, and John Pindar each communicated their military life histories through individual memoirs which reflect their personal reactions to the conflicts in which they were engaged, as well as the experiences the army offered them. The Peninsular War of 1808-1814, the Crimean War from 1853-1856, and the Umbeyla Campaign of 1863 in India provide the general scope of time associated with each soldier to examine the significant themes of global mobility, military reform, and British identity that emerge from their experiences. Indeed, each soldier demonstrated a marked ability to convey his sentiments regarding these experiences, substantiating what

²² Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier,” 41.

²³ Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier,” 39; Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 185.

²⁴ Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier,” 41.

²⁵ Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier,” 52.

Matilda Grieg argued, that soldiers who published “war memoirs” often “wanted to make their voices publicly heard.” While Grieg analyzed personal recollections of those who fought at the time of the Peninsular War, she asserted that a “watershed” moment in the publication of memoirs after the war “paved the way for later war writing” throughout the century.²⁶ Gavin Daly confirmed this sentiment, claiming that the time of the Napoleonic wars offered a “large and rich corpus of soldiers’ letters, diaries, journals and memoirs,” at a “transformative moment in the history of personal war narratives,” which served an expanding reading audience as print culture was increasing.²⁷ While memoirs of the officer class tended to be ubiquitous, those of the rank and file, such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, developed as a result of a growing literacy among the lower classes, technological changes in publishing, and the repeal of the so-called “taxes on knowledge,” including the Stamp Act.²⁸ This decrease of cost augmented the boom in the periodical and publishing culture, and each of these men contributed to this thriving network of publication, not only as authors of autobiographical texts, but in periodicals and newspapers. Each man offered his own unique response to both the cultural movement in publishing and his experiences in war.

Joseph Donaldson, a Scot born in Glasgow, is the subject of Chapter Two and lived earliest in the century, publishing his complete, three-volume memoir initially in

²⁶ Matilda Grieg, “Accidental Authors? Soldiers’ Tales of the Peninsular War and the Secrets of Publishing Process,” *History Workshop Journal* no. 86 (2018): 228, 241.

²⁷ Gavin Daly, “‘Barbarity more suited to Savages’: British Soldiers’ Views of Spanish and Portuguese Violence during the Peninsular War, 1808-1814,” *War and Society* 35, no. 4 (2016): 244.

²⁸ Grieg, “Accidental Authors?” 241; Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), 354, cf. 321.

1838.²⁹ With subsequent editions emerging over the following twenty years, the primary source for this thesis was published in 1859, whose vivid recollections contributed greatly to conceptions of the early nineteenth century empire.³⁰ Donaldson was a “frequent anonymous contributor to the press” after his service in the army, and he exhibited a passion for edifying emotion and sensibility in his writing.³¹ As a post-Enlightenment soldier, Donaldson answered a need in his culture for keen insight into human response to experience. His perspective emerged from the military situation swirling around him in the Peninsular War—part of the Napoleonic wars—and Donaldson fought in Spain and Portugal. As Napoleon expanded his vision to include the Iberian Peninsula, he strategically targeted British interests by imposing his “Continental System,” an embargo on British exports that successfully limited the nation’s products in Europe but which was not embraced in Portugal or much in Spain. Portugal resisted Napoleon’s system because of the potential repercussions from Britain regarding its colonial interests in South America. Secretly, Napoleon signed the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain, deciding to partition the unsuspecting Portugal.³² What Spain didn’t realize, however, is that France intended to overtake Spain after winning Portugal: this France did

²⁹ Grieg, “Accidental Authors?” 229.

³⁰ Donaldson’s initial published volume, entitled *Recollections of an Eventful Life, Chiefly Passed in the Army*, included only the first third of the final, three-volume 1859 text that serves as the primary source of this thesis. Published in Glasgow, the 1824 *Chiefly Passed* also contains slight variations from the final text. For example, Donaldson’s observation of an “exposed, naked and dead” child in Portugal was edited out in future editions. Another aspect removed from the three-volume edition is the casual reference to Donaldson as “Jem,” which was replaced by “Joe.” Donaldson’s full name is Joseph James Donaldson, and in the original edition, Donaldson’s father refers to his son as “James.” The 1859 text is similarly titled, *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier*.

³¹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006), s.v. “Donaldson, Joseph.”

³² Andrew Rawson, *The Peninsular War: A Battlefield Guide* (Havertown: Pen and Sword, 2009), 13-15.

in 1808, and Spain's request for help drew Britain into the conflict.³³ The British army pushed first against France in Portugal, then in Spain, and then in France, resulting eventually in the end of the war.³⁴ Donaldson's army career was hallmarked by his involvement in this war, serving from 1809 until 1814, and his personal memoir thoroughly recounted what he experienced while he was in Portugal, Spain, and France.

While the war is crucial to Donaldson's life adventures, it is only a starting point to understanding the dramatic global mobility the British army offered him. As a young man, Donaldson yearned to see foreign countries, and, unhappy at home, he ran away and joined the 94th regiment.³⁵ Marching from Glasgow to Aberdeen to Jersey in the Channel Islands, Donaldson finally posted to Lisbon, Portugal, and then Cadiz, Spain, where he and his regiment participated in the "desperate defence of Fort Matagorda," eventually an unsuccessful attempt.³⁶ After following the path of war north to France where the conflict ended, Donaldson was stationed in Wexford, Ireland, north of Cork.³⁷ Later in his life, Donaldson lived in London and Paris.³⁸ Through these travels, Donaldson journeyed over the many places he anticipated as a young man.

Based on his experiences in the army, Donaldson was also concerned with areas of reform that could benefit the army, including the frequently arbitrary nature of army

³³ Rawson, *Peninsular War*, 16; Charles Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 88.

³⁴ Esdaile, *Peninsular War*, 96, 145, 455.

³⁵ Joseph Donaldson, *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier* (London: Richard Griffin, 1859), 5, 31. Unless otherwise noted, references to "Donaldson" are for this 1859 edition of his memoir.

³⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006), s.v. "Donaldson, Joseph."

³⁷ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 220.

³⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, vi.

leadership and recruiting practices. He felt that when men “lodged out of barracks,” their behavior did not improve because, while there, their “principal employment” off duty was “drinking, and associating with common women”—and these actions contributed to the negative perception the public had of the British soldier. Donaldson felt this problem stemmed from a soldier’s commanding officer teaching him to “believe he is a mere piece of machinery in the hands of his superiors.” Indeed, Donaldson felt strongly that soldiers could and should be taught that “they have a character to uphold” and that changes could help develop the army into a more “honourable” profession.³⁹

As Donaldson spent time in the army, he encountered a wide variety of peoples in the lands he visited, including fellow Britons, Portuguese, Spanish, and the French. In Portugal at the convent at St. Domingo where his regiment lodged, for example, Donaldson was struck with the countless monks and friars who were begging and “walking in procession with the sacrament” towards the sick in the streets, and he especially noticed how the local people bowed as the spiritual leaders approached.⁴⁰ Near a nunnery, Donaldson encountered a child, “exposed, naked and dead” which he viewed with disgust and which increased his disrespect for Lisbon.⁴¹ By contrast, Donaldson found Cadiz to be much more picturesque and clean compared to the Portuguese capital.⁴² The French, although opponents of the war, Donaldson found to be like-minded with the Britons, in contrast with the Iberians. Encounters such as these left a mark on

³⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 42, 43.

⁴⁰ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 53.

⁴¹ [Joseph Donaldson], *Recollections of an Eventful Life, Chiefly Passed in the Army* (Glasgow: W. R. McPhun, 1824), 115.

⁴² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 55.

Donaldson, and it could not help but influence his view not only of the world he was seeing but of his own feelings about being British and being part of a greater empire.

William Douglas, the subject of Chapter Three, published his memoir in 1865, having served in the British army at the height of dramatic changes in technology that directly affected the British soldier and his impact on the empire. As a mid-century soldier, Douglas also published elements of his memoir in periodicals such as *All the Year Round* and the *United Service Magazine*, communicating his adventures to a public fascinated by soldiers' experiences in foreign lands.⁴³ Indeed, the growth of reading culture that hallmarked the nineteenth century allowed Douglas's writings to inform and educate, a key desire of mid-Victorian Britain.⁴⁴ From Edinburgh, Scotland, Douglas primarily participated in the Crimean War, the mid-1850s conflict that resulted from European concerns over the Ottoman Empire. Winfried Baumgart defined this "Eastern Question" as "the aggregate of all the problems connected with the . . . rollback of the Ottoman Empire from the areas which it had conquered since 1354 in Europe, Africa and Asia." In the nineteenth century, this question was the overarching worry of Europe, with each power anxiously concerned about the Ottoman state. For example, Russia continually sought more of the empire's territory since the eighteenth century, focusing on the Balkans. France had a special claim on the Ottoman state dating back to the sixteenth century, which granted the European nation privileges in Ottoman lands. Prussia also demonstrated interest, along with Russia and France, in the critical, religious Holy Places in Jerusalem and greater Palestine. These places had become more orthodox,

⁴³ William Douglas, *Soldiering in Sunshine and Shadow* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1865), vi.

⁴⁴ Richard D. Altick, *Victorian People and Ideas* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 63.

and this led to Russia's direct influence over the people living there. Austria remained neutral but carefully watched the actions of the other players. Finally, Great Britain developed an intense interest in the Ottoman Empire due to its strategic location, the public's fear of Russian aggression, and commercial enterprises associated with British-Ottoman relations. For example, the industrialization of shipping reinvigorated sea and land routes through the Ottoman Levant to the Far East, making trade significantly easier compared to the routes around the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa.⁴⁵ Furthermore, British public opinion asserted itself against Russia, led on by the press.⁴⁶ Arguably most important, the Ottoman Empire had developed fully into a strong market for British goods, and Russia, by refusing to dredge the lower Danube River, prevented Britain from transporting grain out of the area. As a result, antagonism developed between Britain and Russia, further impeding Britain's desire to control central Asia in its quest to protect India.⁴⁷ The complicated Crimean War involved all of these entities and issues, some of which pulled Britain into the drama.

Douglas engaged in the Crimean War after having spent "upwards of eight years" in India, and his travels demonstrate the dramatic global mobility the British army experienced. Anticipating the opportunity to head to Crimea with the 10th Hussars, he and his regiment marched towards the Euxine—the Black Sea—in the Crimea on December 28, 1854.⁴⁸ Traveling a long and circuitous journey through India, through the

⁴⁵ Winfried Baumgart, *The Crimean War: 1853-1856* (London: Oxford University Press, 1999), see 4-7.

⁴⁶ Baumgart, *Crimean War*, 15.

⁴⁷ Baumgart, *Crimean War*, 6-7.

⁴⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 1, 20.

Arabian Sea by steam, to the Suez—pre-canal—and on to Balaklava after refreshing its horses in Egypt, the regiment finally arrived at its station on the Black Sea. After months of conflict, Douglas’s squadron sailed home for England on June 5, 1856. After stopping in Gibraltar, it passed Trafalgar Bay off the Iberian coast, where Douglas and his fellow soldiers “could [not] help thinking of [Admiral] Nelson” and “his last victory, his glorious death, and all that he had done for his country.” Anchoring in Portsmouth Harbor, they headed to Birmingham by train and “re-commence[d] soldiering at home.”⁴⁹ Douglas’s most significant travel involved Crimea, but his adventures included a stay in Cairo and other locales as well.

Douglas also gave attention to reform that benefitted the life of the soldier in his memoir, including a recognition of the need for good training. For example, while in Balaklava on the first anniversary of the town’s famous battle, Douglas critiqued the government’s selection of commissariat clerks who had been chosen “without reference as to their capabilities or fitness” to do the job. These clerks could read and write, but they needed more—to be able to run a busy, public business office, including paying for and securing supplies for the army. The government clerks had been chosen “through interest,” that is, by connections, and this criteria failed to successfully support the commissariat.⁵⁰ Douglas also argued that “it was a notorious fact” that paymasters’ accounts had “never been balanced” during the Crimean War and that the financial system was “rotten[.]”⁵¹ Unlike most commentators, Douglas pushed back on charges of

⁴⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 300, 301-02.

⁵⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 251.

⁵¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 296.

drunkenness in the army in the Crimea, arguing that, rumor aside, this vice in the Crimea was “not one-third” as prevalent as in England.⁵² Douglas felt strongly about these weaknesses in the British army, particularly desiring stronger practical instruction.

Douglas encountered a diversity of communities in his travels, including Britons, Europeans, Indians, Egyptians, Turks, and Russians. He noted that, especially in India, kindhearted feelings sprang up between Europeans more often abroad than at home, attributing this camaraderie to thoughts of home. More specifically, however, Douglas observed that fellow English, Irish, and Scotch were much more alike: “John Bull is an honest and hearty fellow”; “Paddy will share his bit or his sup with all”; and “Sawney is happy to see any one whose skin is of the same shade as his own.”⁵³ He also appreciated his association with the Indian culture, claiming a sense of Anglo-Indian identity and called himself an “English soldier.”⁵⁴ His presence in the Middle East, both in Egypt and the Crimea among Turks, affected him as well, though these connections cemented him more carefully to his own British character. As a mid-century soldier, experiencing India, its imperial manifestations, and a deeper identity as a Scot in the British army, Douglas took on layers of identity that combined to formulate his multidimensional character as a British subject.

Finally, John Pindar, the focus of Chapter Four, published his autobiography in 1877, while he was stationed at Malta after having been stationed at several locations in the British empire, experiencing first-hand its multicultural nature. Pindar, using a pen-

⁵² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 104-05.

⁵³ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 18, 19.

⁵⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 191.

name that replaced his birth name Peter Leslie, was also a poet and included much of his own verse in his memoir. During his time in the military, he published in his native region of Scotland in the *Lochgelly Times*.⁵⁵ Achieving a bit of renown as a local author, Pindar positioned his writings into a flourishing newspaper culture that reflected a growing infrastructure connected by railroads and a respect for soldiers as “exemplars” of imperial culture.⁵⁶ As the epitome of the British imperial soldier, Pindar developed his love of soldiering in his wide travel as a British enlistee and participation in several military situations: the 1863 Umbeyla Campaign in India following the famous Indian Mutiny of 1857;⁵⁷ the Fenian revolt in Ireland in 1867; and in the Mediterranean, both in Gibraltar and on Malta from 1868 to 1877. Joining the Scottish Highland Light Infantry regiment in India, Pindar marched 1100 miles from Calcutta across India to the Punjab, where, in 1863, his regiment battled the “Mulka,” a “stronghold of certain Hindoostanee fanatics,” who, according to Pindar, “infested our frontiers” and “incessantly attack[ed] the villages in our territory.”⁵⁸ Although the Indian Mutiny of 1857 had passed, some of the Yusufzai tribe had continued to persist in fighting. Mubarak Shak, a militant Muslim,

⁵⁵ Jim Stark, “Pindar—The Complete Works Launches This Week,” *Central Fife Times and Advertiser* (July 27, 2016), <https://www.centrafifetimes.com/news/14644838.pindar-the-complete-works-launches-this-week/>; Jim Stark, “From Pit to Poet,” *Central Fife Times and Advertiser* (August 1, 2016), <https://www.centrafifetimes.com/news/14654797.from-pit-to-a-poet/>.

⁵⁶ Stark, “From Pit to Poet”; Catriona M. M. MacDonald, “Newspapers: 1. To 1900,” in *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History*, ed. Michael Lynch (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Douglas M. Peers, “‘Those Noble Exemplars of the True Military Tradition’: Constructions of the Indian Army in the Mid-Victorian Press,” *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 1 (1997): 110.

⁵⁷ The Umbeyla Campaign of 1863 is variously known as the “Ambela,” “Ambala,” “Umbeylah,” or “Umbala” Campaign. See, for example, H. L. Nevill, *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier* (London: John Murray, 1912), 50 (“Ambela”). See John Pindar, *Autobiography of a Private Soldier* (CuparFife, 1977), where he uses both “Umbeylah” (25) and “Umbeyla” (111).

⁵⁸ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 20, 25. Pindar used “Mulka” in his memoir, though other writers have used “Malka.” See, for example, Nevill, *Campaigns*, 50.

led a mix of native infantrymen and other local fighters in a jihad against the British, which the army repulsed in what came to be known as the Umbeyla Campaign of 1863.⁵⁹ After an intense three months from October 20th to Christmas, Pindar and his regiment successfully engaged the native infantrymen and later received a delayed formal recognition for it.⁶⁰ Pindar's time in India concluded in 1864, and after spending a summer in Edinburgh, he headed to Ireland in November of 1866, where the Fenian Rising of 1867 occurred, centered in Dublin and resulting from a growing middle class stepping into a new sense of nationalism. Tradesmen, shop assistants, and artisans not only began to gain literacy, but they grew in debate skills, self-improvement, and confidence, strengthening their image in society.⁶¹ While groups' beliefs varied, most Fenians wanted Ireland independent from England and encouraged the use of force to accomplish it.⁶² Having completed its stay in Ireland, Pindar's regiment next posted to Gibraltar, where Pindar saw its multicultural aspect: Jews, Greeks, Turks, Armenians, Arabs, French, and Spaniards all flanked the streets of the city.⁶³ When his service in Gibraltar ended, Pindar and his regiment went to Malta. Pindar's rich and varied life of travel and soldiery took him to places all across the globe.

As an observer of and participant in the nineteenth century British army, Pindar emphasized the need for reform strongly. Above all, Pindar discussed soldier's pay and

⁵⁹ Tim Willasey-Wilsey, "The Place of Slaughter: Umbeyla 1863," Victorian Web (2014), <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/empire/india/66.html>.

⁶⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 25-27, cf. 111.

⁶¹ Seán Bagnall, "The Fenian Rising in Dublin 1867," *Dublin Historical Record* 70, no. 2 (2017): 214-15.

⁶² D. George Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1991), 176.

⁶³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 94.

argued that the goal of the Cardwell Reforms of the 1870s could go much further. While the soldier of 1877 fared better than the soldier of 1858—the year Pindar entered the service—there was a “somewhat dark[er]” side to things still, although he acknowledged that recent legislation sought to address some of these concerns.⁶⁴ He also asserted that the law should be harsh on soldiers who took advantage of alcohol too freely, but he felt the British soldier had more time than most to educate his mind, as books and libraries were available in every regiment.⁶⁵ While Pindar recognized the strength of some reform and appreciated the benefits the army offered, he yearned for more forceful and effective change to more significantly support the British soldier’s life.

Pindar’s deep identification as a Presbyterian Scotsman also materialized during his stay in these many locales, and he was an eyewitness to the power of British identity throughout the empire. Seeing so many fellow soldiers who were Scotch, he explained that “old recollections came floating fast through my mind” while hearing “the constant sounds of my own native tongue.”⁶⁶ Often during his marches he “long[ed] for a wander once more through the green fields and lanes of bonnie Scotland,” and when he saw the “Scotch Church” in Gibraltar, for example, he knew it would awaken “pleasant recollections in the breasts of Scotland’s wandering sons.”⁶⁷ In his Mediterranean experience, he recognized the inherent British pervasiveness, particularly through the strength exhibited in Gibraltar and the love for British royalty on Malta. This deep

⁶⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 161.

⁶⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 15, 22-23.

⁶⁶ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 21.

⁶⁷ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 20, 96.

association with all things British highlighted the experience Pindar had as he traversed the globe.

Secondary Scholarship

The life-histories of these British soldiers who traveled all over the world over much of the century naturally produced many related themes, particularly during such a robust and transformational century as the nineteenth in the United Kingdom. The development of the world of publishing; the extensive global mobility of soldiers due to the expansion of the British empire; the aristocratic nature of the British army and its need for military reform; the patriotism and national identity soldiers gained as part of being in the army; and the recognition of the British empire's role in the world—all these themes are a part of the memoirs of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar and impact their personal experiences in the world. Scholars have written a vast array of secondary research regarding these significant themes, although they have only touched on them in light of the transformative effect of the one-on-one experiences of the common British soldier.

Publishing

The publishing culture of the nineteenth century grew into a flourishing environment, and Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar contributed to this growth through the publication of their memoirs. Daly, who has written most extensively on the British soldier in the Peninsular War, including on subjects such as soldiers' reactions to other people groups, addressed the British storming of Badajoz, specifically looking at the conflict through memoirs and letters, arguing that the event demonstrated deeply personal emotions from soldiers who participated and who wrote about them afterwards.

Furthermore, Daly argued that a careful examination of the sieges, especially seen through the eyes of the British soldier, demonstrated significant shifts in law, war, and culture.⁶⁸ Daly developed his findings more thoroughly in a 2013 book connecting British soldiers with what they saw during their travels and experiences in the Peninsular War, also highlighting their memoirs and reactions.⁶⁹ Indeed, as Grieg demonstrated, the time of the Peninsular War birthed a dramatic increase in both officers' and rank and file soldiers' personal recollections, creating an environment for soldiers such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar to publish both in periodicals and book form.⁷⁰ At the time of the Crimean conflict, a shift in journalism took place towards editors publishing British soldiers' experiences more directly in the press. Stefanie Markovits demonstrated that the power of special correspondents, particularly William Howard Russell of *The Times*, as well as poignant letters from men who experienced battles such as that of Inkermann, could bring a much-desired knowledge about the war to a breathlessly awaiting public. These individual perspectives created a true public sphere in which the public responded to the latest news frequently through letters-to-the-editor—a marked difference from the time it took to simply receive news from wars such as the Peninsular earlier in the century.⁷¹ Douglas contributed to this public sphere mid-century, offering his reaction to Balaklava, for example, and Pindar, after his experiences in India in the Umbeyla

⁶⁸ Gavin Daly, "'The sacking of a town is an abomination': Siege, Sack, and Violence to Civilians in British Officers' Writings on the Peninsular War—the Case of Badajoz," *Historical Research* 92, no. 255 (2019): 160, 163.

⁶⁹ Gavin Daly, *The British Soldier in the Peninsular War: Encounters with Spain and Portugal, 1808-1814* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 2.

⁷⁰ Grieg, "Accidental Authors?" cf. 227, 241.

⁷¹ Stefanie Markovits, "Rushing into Print: 'Participatory Journalism' During the Crimean War," *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 4 (2008): 561, 562.

Campaign of 1863, continued this tradition begun during the Crimean War by describing his reactions to this conflict. As H. Moyse-Bartlett commented in his 1967 historiography of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, “Nothing . . . can excel in freshness the narratives of those who took part and promptly committed their experiences to paper.” Titles he mentioned regarding the Mutiny indicate the autobiographical nature of these accounts: *Personal Adventures*, *Letters Written*, *Chaplain’s Narrative*, and *My Escape from the Mutinies* each emphasized authors’ first-hand perspectives, validating the experiences of the soldier. Moyse-Bartlett also argued that a public “outbreak of recrimination” such as what occurred from the Crimean War did not occur with the Mutiny: “Anxiety, horror, and distress were too real and too recent in 1858,” and the public was not looking for “handsome” volumes glorifying the battles or even reports from commissions, but it did want narratives from those who had been there.⁷² However, Douglas M. Peers more recently argued that because such personal military perspectives traversed the pages of British periodicals, soldiers’ memoirs created powerful perceptions of India which colored the British public’s view.⁷³ While Pindar told the story of the well-known Umbeyla Campaign about fourteen years after it transpired, he nevertheless communicated an intense image of those northwestern frontier tribes against whom he fought, sharing his experiences with the British public in the manner Peers discussed. Still, the public appreciated such face to face accounts because they gave the populace an overall picture of how India and any conflicts there fit into the British experience. More broadly, Aeron Hunt used veterans’ memoirs to demonstrate how soldiers’ life stories

⁷² H. Moyse-Bartlett, “Military Historiography 1850-1860,” *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 45, no. 184 (1967): 208, 207.

⁷³ Peers, ““Those Noble Exemplars,”” 109.

developed into full-bodied pictures of their work, service, sacrifice, communities, and growth in nationalistic sentiment—and not just an image of war.⁷⁴ Finally, analyzing published fiction and satire to determine the public perception of volunteer militia groups in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Mark Bennett concluded that popular culture viewed the army as “fundamentally outdated and incapable of change.”⁷⁵ These images and cultural shifts of publishing interests are reflected in the memoirs of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, and these soldiers’ accounts create a depiction of historical events, impacting British imperial society.

Global Mobility

A major theme emerging from the memoirs of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar is the worldwide mobility afforded the British army. Greatly aided by the technological revolution taking place in the nineteenth century, these soldiers experienced a multitude of distinctive landscapes, unique local features, and innovative inventions that contributed to their wide-ranging adventures. Furthermore, the memoirs of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar each serve as travel records that describe the multitude of locations they visited and fought in, in addition to personal journals that communicate their responses to these experiences. Indeed, William Douglas explained that he “endeavored to give a true” but “rambling description of the travels and experiences” of his regiment.⁷⁶ Travel writing flourished in the nineteenth century, providing important

⁷⁴ Aeron Hunt, “Ordinary Claims: War, Work Service, and the Victorian Veteran,” *Victorian Studies* 61, no. 3 (2019): 397.

⁷⁵ Mark Bennett, “Portrayals of the British Militia, 1852-1916,” *Historical Research* 91, no. 252 (2018): 351, 335.

⁷⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, v.

influential commentary and information on the societies soldiers encountered, and goes hand-in-hand with the dramatic rise in publishing throughout the century. Moreover, these soldiers' recollections fit squarely into secondary research dealing with travel writing, although scholars emphasize cultural and personal response and bypass military and soldierly issues. Editors Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs's offering analyzed many parts of the globe, particularly the Middle East, India, the British Isles, and Africa. More specifically, they highlighted mass tourism, trade and commercialism, missionary activity, and the Grand Tour—that aristocratic phenomenon designed to educate young men in gentlemanly ways—which all contributed to the growing imperial expansion of which British soldiers such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar were such an integral part.⁷⁷ Emphasizing the ease and fluidity of travel writing, editors Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs argued that travel writing is innately diverse and often comments on an author's own cultural mores.⁷⁸ Indeed, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar often discussed important emotional, spiritual, and British values that shed light on their own perspectives of themselves. Furthermore, these perceptions of soldiers' identity often emerged in emotional moments of reflection, such as when Donaldson viewed the great north African coast, Douglas observed the craggy mountains of the Crimea, or Pindar admired the beauty of a Catholic church. James Duncan and Derek Gregory edited a collection that emphasized such “connections between power, desire, and place” that are seen through “imaginative geographies”—authorial creations in response to their

⁷⁷ Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 38.

⁷⁸ David Seed, Review of *Perspectives on Travel Writing*, ed. Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs, *Modern Language Review* 101, no. 4 (2006): 1075-76.

environments.⁷⁹ Mehmet Mert Sunar tackled the writings of the British traveler, including soldiers, who journeyed throughout the Ottoman Empire during the Victorian era, considering whether those writings contained “irrelevant signifiers that only reflect Western norms and assumptions” regarding the east.⁸⁰ Finally, taking a unique approach, Halford Lancaster Hoskins expounded key pathways that soldiers and others traveled to India, including overland and steam routes through the Levant and the Suez Canal. Beginning contextually with how Britain came to be interested in the east, Hoskins undergirded his descriptions of routes with historical content and data demonstrating the ebb and flow of British-Eastern relations.⁸¹ Donaldson’s, Douglas’s, and Pindar’s recollections signify many of these mobility-focused themes and accentuate their crucial role in marking out imperial territory.

Army Reform

A key impact on the rank and file soldier such as Donaldson, Douglas, or Pindar was the aristocratic nature of the British army, of which a significant body of secondary scholarship exists. While the officer class appreciated prestige as the upper crust of British society, the public viewed the average soldier with disdain and even disrespect. Scholars generally recognize the need for a more balanced treatment of the soldier and the influence that class division had on him. As the century progressed, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar demonstrate key concerns of treatment that needed mitigation.

⁷⁹ Donna Houston, Review of *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel Writing*, by James Duncan and Derek Gregory, *National Identities* 3, no. 1 (2001): 92.

⁸⁰ Mehmet Mert Sunar, “Imperial Discourse and the Orient: The Ottoman Empire in British Travel Accounts of the Victorian Era,” *Journal of International Social Research* 9, no. 43 (2016): 940.

⁸¹ Halford Lancaster Hoskins, *British Routes to India* (New York: Octagon Books, 1966), see vii-xii.

Richard L. Blanco has written widely on the subject of reforms during the early nineteenth century, emphasizing the great divide between the officer and enlistee ranks. For example, in 1965, he argued that an inherent distrust of the laboring class by the gentry also influenced officers' perspectives on the enlisted soldier. According to Blanco, the aristocratic and royal nature of certain segments of the army, such as the Horse Guards, who were under the responsibility of the Crown, further alienated officers from soldiers.⁸² Regarding recruiting practices, in 1968 Blanco highlighted the important role of pensioners who enlisted from the lowest socioeconomic strata of British society, offering them inducements such as alcohol and bounty money to sign up.⁸³ Indeed, Donaldson especially emphasized the rampant alcohol among his fellow soldiers, which contributed to the public perception that the lower class enlistee deserved scorn. Additionally, Burroughs contended that Parliamentary economics, as well as a deeply-rooted traditionalism that permeated the army institution, influenced delays in reform. He asserted that with the outbreak of the Crimean War, it became clear that the military was ill-prepared, both in terms of its own leadership organization and its manpower. Post-Crimea, however, included more officer training, but the pace of change was still slow.⁸⁴ Hew Strachan further asserted that several early reformers sought to institute changes, but with resistance from aging leadership, including the Duke of Wellington, they did not have quite enough time to take effect before Crimea.⁸⁵ However, after the death of

⁸² Richard L. Blanco, "Reform and Wellington's Post Waterloo Army, 1815-1854," *Military Affairs* 29, no. 3 (1965): 128, 124.

⁸³ Blanco, "Army Recruiting Reforms," 218.

⁸⁴ Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army?" 163, 171, 178.

⁸⁵ Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy: The Reform of the British Army, 1830-54* (Dover: Manchester University Press, 1984), cf. 14, 35.

Wellington, some reformers successfully instituted changes, most notably in the Cardwell Reforms, which Pindar experienced during his army tenure. The aristocracy directly influenced soldiers' experiences in the army, but subtle shifts took place as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar served.

Divisions of class also affected the training and educational environment in the army, especially in response to a growing demand for professionalism. Pindar asserted that "every British regiment in India is possessed of a good library"—a major "blessing" to the private soldier, and Sharon Murphy considered this availability in light of the British soldier and his approach to the available libraries and educational institutions available to him in India. This access to knowledge helped produce a soldier who was of a "new class"—one who was more educated and who appreciated free libraries.⁸⁶ Not everyone wanted enlistees to gain literacy, however, because army leadership feared privates would become dissatisfied in their roles and seek to become officers, promoting them beyond their prescribed station in life, as Strachan asserted.⁸⁷ Furthermore, throughout the century, few texts were available for training, especially limited because of an aristocratic tendency to disdain professional education. Gwyn Harries-Jenkins stated, for example, "[T]he army continually emphasized the importance of character as a criterion of recruitment, to the exclusion of intellect," the latter of which would lead to more professionalism in the army but that was also seen as impractical and despised, in contrast to "character," a euphemism for the qualities of the landed gentry.⁸⁸ Jay Luvaas,

⁸⁶ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 22; Edmund G. C. King, Review of *The British Soldier and His Libraries*, c. 1822-1901, by Sharon Murphy, *Library and Information History* 33, no. 4 (2017): 279.

⁸⁷ Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 89.

⁸⁸ Harries-Jenkins, *Army in Victorian Society*, 103.

in his series of biographical sketches of key figures on educational reform among the officer class, stated, “[The British army] must . . . accumulate professional knowledge because British soldiers could expect to be sent against any enemy, ‘in any quarter of the globe,’ at any time.”⁸⁹ Luvaas highlighted French instruction as a definitive model for training, especially because few books in English existed to prepare men for war.

According to Luvaas, men like Sir William Napier wrote about strategy from French generals, such as Soult and Jomini; and Sir Patrick MacDougall recognized that the French staff organization was much more unified during the Crimean conflict and that the French “Minié rifle” transformed tactics.⁹⁰ However, Anthony Dawson emphasized the relatively skewed perception of French training that the press presented, explaining, “The influence of this often naïve positive perception of the French army in the Crimea and the contrast it presented with the British system gave added impetus to the pre-existing British army reform debate.”⁹¹ Still, both Donaldson and Douglas admired French tactics in Iberia and Crimea, respectively.

In spite of aristocratic disdain for the common soldier, gradual but much-needed educational reform developed for the rank and file in fits and starts, as some scholars have demonstrated. In 1966, Blanco noted that schoolmasters attempted educational reform until after the Crimean War when the army took responsibility for training and

⁸⁹ Jay Luvaas, *The Education of an Army: British Military Thought, 1815-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), 57.

⁹⁰ Luvaas, *Education of an Army*, 12, 103.

⁹¹ Anthony Dawson, “The French Army and the British Army Crimean War Reforms,” 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, no. 20 (2015): 20.

when it required literacy for promotion to the rank of corporal.⁹² Indeed, Pindar mentioned his promotion to the rank of corporal in 1867, which reflects his academic ability.⁹³ In her two articles, E.A. Smith examined a wealth of data regarding schools in the nineteenth century all over the British empire, demonstrating the power of the commandant of a particular regiment and his authority over soldiers' schooling, as well as the intermediate means of qualifying soldiers through certification criteria.⁹⁴ Smith concluded that military authorities remained conservative in their perspective on the value of education for the soldier, reflecting British society's parallel perspective of cautious academic goals for the working class.⁹⁵ However, Douglas described the training that he and his regiment received at Woolmer Forest, and, while he quibbled over its weakness, his discussion demonstrates the army's working towards strengthening this important aspect of army fitness, and strengthening academic requirements also resulted in the rank and file soldier becoming more respected in British society.

Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar also shone a bright light on practical reforms army leadership needed to implement that would invigorate the daily life of the soldier. Leaders at the time of the Peninsular War especially ignored soldiers' needs, and the chaotic command structure contributed to seemingly arbitrary decisions, as Donaldson discussed. Richard Glover addressed the many departments and leadership of the pre-

⁹² Richard L. Blanco, "Education Reforms for the Enlisted Man in the Army of Victorian England," *History of Education Quarterly* 6, no. 2 (1966): 69, 67, 70.

⁹³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 66.

⁹⁴ E. A. Smith, "Educating the Soldier in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 65, no. 264 (1987): 201; E. A. Smith, "Educating the Soldier in the Nineteenth Century (Continued)," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 66, no. 265 (1988): 40-41.

⁹⁵ Smith, "Educating the Soldier . . . (Continued)," 45.

Peninsular War period, arguing that reform was needed to develop the reputation and regeneration of the British army in order to secure its growth as an institution.⁹⁶ Flogging especially was controversial, and Donaldson related several instances of seemingly arbitrary use of this punishment. J. R. Dinwiddy discussed this treatment, arguing that it directly and negatively influenced recruitment. As the century passed, flogging was decreased and then finally abolished in 1881, but the groundwork for its removal began in the first few decades of the century.⁹⁷ Desertions were also relatively common during the Napoleonic wars, and Kevin Linch stated that soldiers left the army because they struggled to adapt to military life, they felt disconnected to the service, and they found opportunities outside of serving in the army. According to Linch, these circumstances led soldiers to feel they had rights as British citizens.⁹⁸ Ian Fletcher reconsidered the British cavalry in the Peninsular War, arguing that the traditional view that they were only “‘brainless gallopers’” misrepresents them and that their successes in the war, such as in patrol, intelligence gathering, escort work, and foraging, should be emphasized instead.⁹⁹ Linch and Patricia Morton demonstrated the effective means of garnering troops with the volunteer movement during French invasion fears, particularly at the time of the Peninsular War and later in the Victorian era, respectively.¹⁰⁰ Crimea served as a

⁹⁶ Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 12.

⁹⁷ Dinwiddy, “Early Nineteenth-Century Campaign,” 310, 308.

⁹⁸ Kevin Linch, “Desertion from the British Army from the Napoleonic Wars,” *Journal of Social History* 49 no. 4 (2016): 808, 822.

⁹⁹ Ian Fletcher, *Galloping at Everything: The British Cavalry in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo 1808-15: A Reappraisal* (Mechanicsburg: Stackpole Books, 1999), xvi.

¹⁰⁰ Linch, Kevin. “‘A Citizen and Not a Soldier’: The British Volunteer Movement and the War against Napoleon,” in *Soldiers, Citizens, and Civilians: Experiences and Perceptions of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, 1790-1820*, eds. Alan Forrest, Karen Hagemann, and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke,

watershed date in reform history, with strategic changes taking place. For example, Alan Ramsay Skelley emphasized the effect that reforms such as those in the areas of health, education, and soldierly discipline had on recruiting practices after Crimea.¹⁰¹ Scholars have minimally addressed garrison life for the soldier on Gibraltar and Malta, those strategic Mediterranean access points of the British empire. Janet Padiak discussed the decline of mortality of the British soldier in Gibraltar during the nineteenth century. Padiak considered factors influencing soldiers health and well-being, such as food intake and living conditions, and concluded that effective medical changes occurred there that positively influenced the mortality rate by the middle of the century.¹⁰² Indeed, Pindar commented that his regiment was “exceedingly healthy” during its time in Gibraltar and explained that only twelve deaths had occurred in four and a half years, validating Padiak’s conclusions.¹⁰³ Padiak also addressed the lives of soldiers, their wives, and their children, demonstrating that garrison life offered an “empire-wide network, almost worldwide in scope” that became a natural part of family life.¹⁰⁴ While neither Donaldson, Douglas, nor Pindar was married, each experienced varied scenarios of family life as they navigated the empire. For example, Donaldson described the lottery that allowed only a small group of wives to travel with husbands, and Pindar remembered

England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 206; Patricia Morton, “A Military Irony: The Victorian Volunteer Movement,” *RUSI Journal* 131, no. 3 (Sept. 1, 1986): 63-64.

¹⁰¹ See Alan Ramsay Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home: The Recruitment and Terms and Conditions of the British Regular, 1859-1899* (London: Croom-Helm, 1977), 302.

¹⁰² Janet Padiak, “The Role of Morbidity in the Mortality Decline of the Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Military Population at Gibraltar, 1818-1899,” *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 60, no. 1 (2005): 95.

¹⁰³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 131.

¹⁰⁴ Janet Padiak, “The Serious Evil of Marching Regiments: The Families of the British Garrison of Gibraltar,” *History of the Family* 10, no. 2 (2005): 150.

emotional farewells before traveling to India. These soldiers reflected Padiak's conclusions regarding network connections through their shared experiences across the century. Finally, focusing on the late-century Cardwell Reforms, Brian Bond surveyed the effects of these changes, which became a high point in reform during the century.¹⁰⁵ Much more research can be done to not only address the soldier's lifestyle, particularly at Gibraltar and Malta, but also the role of family life and its impact on the soldier.

British Identity

Underpinning much of Donaldson's, Douglas's, and Pindar's responses to their global adventures was their deeply held Scottish heritage, proudly seeing their experiences through the Scottish lens. Scholars have vigorously considered Scotland and its cultural traditions. For example, Robert Anderson focused on the "mythical" image of the "lad o' pairts"—that talented young man who would become educated and socially mobile, including a soldier such as Donaldson, Douglas, or Pindar.¹⁰⁶ J. E. Cookson portrayed the Scottish soldier in his local, civilian world, focusing on Edinburgh. He argued that although local regiments had their own intrinsic identities, Edinburgh's soldiers increasingly sought out national regiments, particularly after the Napoleonic wars.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, Douglas grew up in Edinburgh, and, while Donaldson was from Glasgow and Pindar from Fife, each of these men identified strongly with their Scottish regiments. Strachan explored Scottish national identity through its association with the

¹⁰⁵ Brian Bond, "The Effect of the Cardwell Reforms in Army Organization, 1874-1904," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 105 (November 1, 1960): 515.

¹⁰⁶ Robert Anderson, "In Search of the 'Lad of Parts': The Mythical History of Scottish Education," *History Workshop* no. 19 (Spring, 1985): 97, 84.

¹⁰⁷ J. E. Cookson, "Britain's Domestication of the Soldiery, 1750-1850: The Edinburgh Manifestations," *War and Society* 28, no. 1 (2009): 22, 26.

“Bruce” and the warrior ethic. He argued that in spite of the perception of Scotland as fierce warriors, its modern military prowess actually originated in the Union with England, as seen, for example, in the large numbers of soldiers in local armies in India in the late-eighteenth century.¹⁰⁸ Taking a different approach, Diana M. Henderson emphasized that in the early nineteenth century, the perception of the Scottish soldier shifted romantically, in contrast with his previously being viewed as “repressive.”¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, Oddy told the story of a Scottish soldier whose family developed into a multi-generational British army family, in spite of the negative perception the public held of the soldier. While enlistment into the army often meant time away from extended families in distant lands, it also provided stability and even status for those who successfully remained committed.¹¹⁰ Indeed, the influence of faraway locales often augmented the soldier’s experiences. Nigel Leask, for example, commented on the powerful role landscape played in Scottish identity, emphasizing its familiarity and patriotic reflection of home.¹¹¹ Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar each responded to this sense of place in their travels, frequently connecting captivating environments to home. However, Onni Gust demonstrated a different perspective through the life of Sir James Mackintosh, a Whig intellectual from the Scottish Highlands, arguing that his “erasure”

¹⁰⁸ Hew Strachan, “Scotland’s Military Identity,” *Scottish Historical Review* 85.2, no. 220 (2006): 315-16, 323.

¹⁰⁹ Qtd. in Eugene L. Rasor, Review of *Highland Soldier: A Social Study of the Highland Regiments, 1820-1920*, by Diana M. Henderson, *American Historical Review* 95, no. 5 (1990): 1550.

¹¹⁰ Oddy, “Gone for a Soldier,” 39, 52.

¹¹¹ Nigel Leask, “Romanticism and the Wider World: Poetry, Travel Literature, and Empire,” in *The Cambridge History of English Romantic Literature*, edited by James Chandler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), cf. 290, 292.

of Scottish identity bound him uniquely to empire.¹¹² Still, Donaldson's, Douglas's, and Pindar's adventures served to move them closer to the Scottish community. Indeed, editors John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine tackled the complicated relationship between the Scot and the British. Addressing various aspects of society, MacKenzie and Devine particularly placed the Scottish soldier as part of the British empire, emphasizing Scottish identity as warriors and noting the powerful influence of the Scottish regiment within the British army.¹¹³ Scottish identity shines through both in these soldiers' memoirs and the secondary scholarship.

Ireland is also represented in the memoirs of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, whether through associations within their regiments or having served, in the case of Donaldson and Pindar, among the local population. However, Ireland is narrowly represented in scholarship, as Ian F.W. Beckett argued.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, David Murphy raised questions of identity as Irishmen served in great numbers throughout the British empire during the nineteenth century.¹¹⁵ Paul Huddie argued that Irish soldiers' wives in Ireland emerged from the Crimean War with a "tenacious resolve" to survive it, in spite of the extreme poverty and dire conditions they often experienced. Wives who were "on the strength"—that is, whose marriage was given consent by a soldier's commanding officer—were afforded a more stable situation, but even then, barracks and

¹¹² Onni Gust, "Remembering and Forgetting the Scottish Highlanders: Sir James Mackintosh and the Forging of a British Imperial Identity," *Journal of British Studies* 52, no. 3 (July 2013): 616.

¹¹³ John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 1, 188.

¹¹⁴ Ian F. W. Beckett, "Review Article: War, Identity and Memory in Ireland," *Irish Economic and Social History* 36 (2009): 78.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Badsey, Review of *Ireland and the Crimean War*, by David Murphy, *Journal of Military History* 67, no. 1 (2003): 238.

responsibilities in the life of a regiment were difficult.¹¹⁶ Finally, the Irish soldier has also been considered in light of India, with Alexander Bubb arguing that the Irish persona in India developed both in the media and the regiment, even as the Irishman connected to an “imperial destiny” that bound him together ideologically even more to his Irish roots.¹¹⁷ Other topics such as living situations of soldiers among the Irish, Catholicism, and Irish nationalism also found a place in these soldiers’ memoirs.

The major conflicts in which Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar participated brought these soldiers face to face with people all over the world who varied from Britain in their cultural and religious values, and these encounters greatly catalyzed public perceptions as a result. During the Peninsular War, for example, Donaldson interacted with the Portuguese, Spanish, and French, with mixed reactions to their mores and religious traditions. Daly addressed these responses in his scholarship, for example, in his 2016 focus on soldiers’ views of the violence that Spanish and Portuguese perpetrated against the French. Claiming that the Britons identified more amicably with their mutual enemies, the French, Daly asserted that the British viewed this violent treatment as “symptomatic of a deeper Iberian culture of violence” that set it apart from other nations, particularly in terms of how the Iberians waged war—savagely—in contrast to the ways of the British—in a civilized manner.¹¹⁸ Daly also discussed in his 2009 article how the soldiers’ perspective of Iberia was also reflected in their view of the “dirty, indolent” city

¹¹⁶ Paul Huddie, “Victims or Survivors: Army Wives in Ireland during the Crimean War, 1854-56,” *Women’s History Review* 26, no. 4 (2017): 541, 545.

¹¹⁷ Alexander Bubb, “The Life of the Irish Soldier in India: Representations and Self-Representations, 1857-1922,” *Modern Asian Studies* 46, no. 4 (2012): 786, 797.

¹¹⁸ Daly, “Barbarity,” 242, 243, 258.

of Lisbon. As soldiers traveled through this allied town, their reaction impressed upon them a deeper sense of British identity and connection with their native land.¹¹⁹

Donaldson observed similar behavior in Portugal and connected it intrinsically to Iberian Catholicism. However, his reaction to the French was more measured, notwithstanding their Catholic faith. Linda Colley highlighted the unifying force of Protestantism in her book, *Britons*, in contrast to the religion of France, but Donaldson responded well to the French.¹²⁰ Furthermore, Douglas respected French military methods, the value of which Luvaas emphasized in his discussion of the British army unevenly learning strategies and tactics from French generals.¹²¹ Additionally, in Sunar's discussion of the British traveler, he highlighted British travelers' perceptions of eastern peoples and demonstrated that literature such as Warburton's popular book *The Crescent and the Cross* influenced both imperial and English identity.¹²² The powerful impact of ethnic differences on the soldier was significant, and Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar experienced these challenges even as they carefully negotiated their responses.

These encounters with other people groups around the world involving soldiers such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar bring up the important consideration of British identity that further impacted Britain's empire in the nineteenth century. A large body of work discusses the multiplicity of characteristics that embodied this Britishness. For example, in *Britons*, Colley thoroughly covered many cultural elements such as royal

¹¹⁹ Gavin Daly, "A Dirty, Indolent, Priest-Ridden City: British Soldiers in Lisbon during the Peninsular War, 1808-1813," *History* 94, no. 316 (2009): 461, 463.

¹²⁰ See Colley, *Britons*.

¹²¹ Luvaas, *Education of an Army*, 12, 103.

¹²² Sunar, "Imperial Discourse," 940, 942.

power and trade that influenced a deepening of the nationalism that pervaded early nineteenth century Britain.¹²³ She especially highlighted the driving influence of Britain's Protestant heritage, particularly in contrast to French Catholic tradition, and she also discussed this in her 1992 article centering on "otherness," asserting that this religious significance further advanced Britain's expanding empire.¹²⁴ Colley also focused on the development in Britain of a national identity and considered the British government's reluctance to nurture this new perception, particularly due to the popular nature of it, which might encourage the lower class to rise up politically.¹²⁵ Building on Colley's argument, Colin Kidd analyzed unique facets of the Anglo-Saxon heritage in relation to nineteenth century Britain, arguing that while Europeans and Britons claimed a common descent, Britain's "unique national freedoms" emerged from historical experiences.¹²⁶ Keith Robbins, furthermore, emphasized the mixture of English and Scottish character to create a complete British identity, and MacKenzie and Devine placed the Scottish soldier as part of the British empire, emphasizing the Scottish regiment as a crucial element within the British army.¹²⁷ Gibraltar and Malta, as British territories, retained characteristics of British culture, as well, including perceptions of power and royalty, but scholars have given these concepts a small amount of focus. In her consideration of

¹²³ Colley, *Britons*, see 5-6.

¹²⁴ Colley, "Britishness and Otherness: An Argument," *Journal of British Studies* 31, no. 4 (1992): 327, cf. 316-17; Colley, *Britons*, 54.

¹²⁵ Colley, "Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830," *Past and Present* no. 113 (1986): 108.

¹²⁶ Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 211-12.

¹²⁷ Keith Robbins, *Nineteenth-Century Britain: Integration and Diversity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 5; MacKenzie and Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire*, 188.

garrison life at Gibraltar, Padiak demonstrated that soldiers and their families were part of a wide-reaching network that helped to strengthen the British empire.¹²⁸ Indeed, this network typified the essence of empire, with soldiers often taking on markers of identity, as in the case of Douglas, who embraced a layer of character from India after his eight years stationed there. As Alison Blunt asserted, Anglo-Indian identity often emerged from such deep connections.¹²⁹ Furthermore, editors Hooper and Youngs argued that travel writing allows an author to develop a deeper understanding of self, as Hulme and Youngs also asserted in their edited collection.¹³⁰ Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, through their worldwide interactions, created powerful global connections that grew into a more complete Britishness that pervaded the empire.

Imperialism

As Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar crossed the globe, their experiences and responses helped define the British empire. Scholarship regarding imperialism includes many aspects of British culture, and a voluminous amount of literature exists on its broad themes—although less exists that is directly connected to the British soldier and his significant impact. Edward W. Said's classic text, *Orientalism*, has been crucial in stimulating the new modern perspective of occidental power structures over colonials and serves as the standard for understanding imperial perspectives of today.¹³¹ Andrew Porter edited a collection focused on empire, including discussions regarding the expansion of

¹²⁸ Padiak, "Serious Evil," 150.

¹²⁹ See Alison Blunt, "'Land of Our Mothers': Home, Identity, and Nationality for Anglo-Indians in British India, 1919-1947," *History Workshop Journal* no. 54 (Autumn 2002): 50.

¹³⁰ Seed, Review, 1075; Hulme and Youngs, *Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 6.

¹³¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 40.

the empire, international relations, British colonial rule, and economic wealth. For example, Robert Kubicek described the wide-ranging technological advances that benefited the growth of empire, such as steam and the telegraph, claiming that, as a combined force, these technologies allowed Britain to expand and dominate.¹³²

Complementing Kubicek's discussion of technology, Robert A. Stafford discussed British scientific exploration around the world and argued that this urge for geographical knowledge served as a means of imperial expansion, including in Africa, Australia, Canada, and India.¹³³ Indeed, these technological advances were crucial especially to Douglas and Pindar as they traveled through Crimea, India, and the Mediterranean. Burroughs focused on defense, asserting that Britain's wide-reaching imperial locales, domestic political debates, and the need to manage communication and travel routes served as "intractable problems and agonizing choices" that deterred a unity of approaches for solving these problems, although the latter part of the century offered stronger connections between Britain and its colonies, fortifying Britain's defenses.¹³⁴ Burroughs also discussed the political and economic institutions in support of the empire, arguing that the empire sought power, promoted economic prosperity, and embodied paternalism as the British government utilized indirect means of managing the empire.¹³⁵ Complementing Burroughs in her own analysis of the ostensible "Pax Britannica," Muriel C. Chamberlain argued that during the nineteenth century, Britain grappled with a

¹³² Robert Kubicek, "British Expansion, Empire, and Technological Change," in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, 248.

¹³³ Robert A. Stafford, "Scientific Exploration and Empire," in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, 318.

¹³⁴ Peter Burroughs, "Defence and Imperial Disunity," in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, 320.

¹³⁵ Peter Burroughs, "Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire," in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, 170-73.

tantamount number of foreign policy concerns, including the heightened commercial interests of India; relations with Russia, Turkey, and European countries that were focused on the Eastern Question; and domestic transformations such as the industrial revolution.¹³⁶ Indeed, as soldiers, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar were the instruments of these political deliberations in their participation in conflicts in Iberia, Crimea, and India. Marjory Harper addressed migration, demonstrating that a complex array of influences impacted the nature of empire, including its demographics and colonial identity.¹³⁷ Furthering this discussion of identity, John M. MacKenzie addressed the culture of empire and the British metropole in such arenas as entertainment, education, religion, and social activity, emphasizing their role in an expanding Britishness.¹³⁸ Focusing on Christian missionary activity, Hilary M. Carey emphasized the role Britain's churches played in dispersing religious tenets and culture around the globe, asserting that the combined effect of Christian pervasiveness developed a "powerful, shared sense of British identity that suffused the British world."¹³⁹ Indeed, in their travels, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar engaged in a variety of cultural, religious, and environmental encounters that impressed them and which they brought home in their writings. As they traveled and responded to these experiences, they in turn intensified their own sense of identity. As Steve Clark highlighted, the imperialistic nature of travel not only connected

¹³⁶ Muriel C. Chamberlain, *'Pax Britannica'?: British Foreign Policy 1789-1914* (London: Longman, 1988), 5.

¹³⁷ Marjory Harper, "British Migration," in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, cf. 76, 86.

¹³⁸ John M. MacKenzie, "Empire and Metropolitan Cultures," in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, see 273.

¹³⁹ Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, cf. 1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 3.

the adventurer to home, but it allowed cultural anomalies to be seen as extraordinary.¹⁴⁰

D. A. Washbrook highlighted India during the first half of the century, arguing that it displayed two faces—one strongly Western and one colonial, a paradox that began to shift towards deepening India’s native appearance after the Mutiny of 1857. Robin J. Moore continued this discussion with an analysis of the British Raj after the Mutiny, highlighting significant events, such as the reconstruction of the Indian Army and the Indian National Congress in 1885, which served to build on native culture.¹⁴¹ Finally, P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins discussed what they termed the “gentlemanly capitalism” of a “new imperialism” of the latter part of the nineteenth century, claiming that until mid-century, imperial expansion developed through landed interest, while the second half of the century experienced growth from the newly flourishing financial ambitions of London magnates, allowing them to maintain their wealth and prestige without giving up gentlemanly ways.¹⁴² Indeed, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar experienced all of these crucial historic influences through their service in Iberia, Crimea, and India—and in the massive technological changes that affected their mobility. Donaldson’s, Douglas’s, and Pindar’s adventures determined the depth and identity of empire.

¹⁴⁰ Samir Dayal, Review of *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, edited by Steve Clark, *Contemporary South Asia* 9, no. 1 (2000): 84.

¹⁴¹ D. A. Washbrook, “India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism,” in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, 420; Robin J. Moore, “Imperial India, 1858-1914,” in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, cf. 428, 432.

¹⁴² P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, “Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I. The Old Colonial System, 1688-1850,” *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 39, no. 4 (1986), 510; P. J. Cain and A. G. Hopkins, “Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas II: New Imperialism, 1850-1945,” *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. 40, no. 4 (1986), 1.

Thesis Organization

Examining the discrete memoirs of each soldier with the intention of understanding their perspectives on the themes of their own global mobility, the army reform they sought to initiate, and their identities as British subjects offers a unique opportunity to chronologically observe characteristics, variations, and effects of the transformations that took place during the nineteenth century. As literate soldiers who communicated their experiences to the British public, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar spoke strikingly towards these significant themes. Chapter One introduces the wars, themes, scholarship, and three men who lived the British army life in the nineteenth century. Chapter Two features Joseph Donaldson; Chapter Three highlights William Douglas; and John Pindar is the focus of Chapter Four. Chapter Five comparatively explores the lives of these three British soldiers, representatives of the nineteenth century British army, and how their stories demonstrate that their experiences with dynamic global mobility, transformational military reform, and a multifaceted British identity served to define the British empire.

CHAPTER II

Joseph Donaldson: Devoted Soldier, Romantic Storyteller

Joseph Donaldson centered his 1824 memoir around his life adventures that most notably took place during the Peninsular War. Much of his record includes narratives relating to the famed conflicts in which he participated. His regiment endured the Battles of Sabugal and Fuentes de Oñoro early in the war; the siege of Badajos, known for its extreme cruelty of British plundering; and the Battle of Toulouse, in effect the struggle that brought down Napoleon and which was the Duke of Wellington's last battle of the Peninsular War. Indeed, experiencing the Peninsular War allowed Donaldson the opportunity to affectively communicate his insights into a war that was fraught with "guerrilla warfare, . . .dehumanization of the enemy, atrocities[,] and systematic plunder."¹⁴³ But while Donaldson recorded much detail on these battles, he was especially perceptive as a storyteller. In light of the Napoleonic wars, Donaldson articulated the stories of people such as his great friend Dennis, the Irishman whose friendship he "never had reason to repent"; or Frank, who dressed "in his elder sister's clothes" in order to desert; or even the family of Eugene McCarthy, whose mother taught her children extensively from her own knowledge and whose sister Donaldson eventually married.¹⁴⁴ From a young age Donaldson loved books, enjoyed all things literary, and imagined life from a romantic perspective. *Robinson Crusoe* inspired Donaldson to remark that he "would willingly have suffered shipwreck, to be cast on an island like this," and he took advantage of the circulating library that was available to him as a

¹⁴³ Daly, "Barbarity," 243.

¹⁴⁴ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 38, 308, iv.

soldier.¹⁴⁵ When he successfully convinced his parents to apprentice him out as a shepherd, he imagined outdoor living in “glowing” colors but instead was disappointed:

[T]here were no sylvan groves, no purling streams, no shepherds piping in the dale,—nothing but peat-bog was to be seen for miles around; . . . the shepherds had none of the appendages attributed to them in poetry or romance, they had neither pipe nor crook, and shepherdesses there were none.¹⁴⁶

A man of his time, Donaldson embodied the “man of feeling” that Daly highlighted in his discussion of British officers’ responses to the sack and suffering of Badajoz. Daly emphasized this “culture of sensibility” that had developed in eighteenth century Britain and that permeated the time of the Peninsular War, arguing that soldiers “began to mediate their wartime experiences” through the “prevailing . . . sentimentalism” that was current.¹⁴⁷ Donaldson’s ability to both communicate the richness of peoples’ lives and narrate events imaginatively allowed him to highlight aspects of his experiences beyond Britain, comment on the budding army reform taking place, and convey his own identity as a British soldier, creating an incipient connection between Britain and its empire that would deepen as the century advanced.

Historical Context

Born in 1793, Donaldson emerged as a soldier into a post-Enlightenment world in which a subtle transition out of the monarchical world of absolutism was taking place in

¹⁴⁵ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 1-2, 39.

¹⁴⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 3.

¹⁴⁷ Daly, ““The sacking of a town,”” 173.

both European and British societies.¹⁴⁸ While Britain retained its monarch, parliamentary power grew during this time and later even more during the reign of Victoria. Indeed,

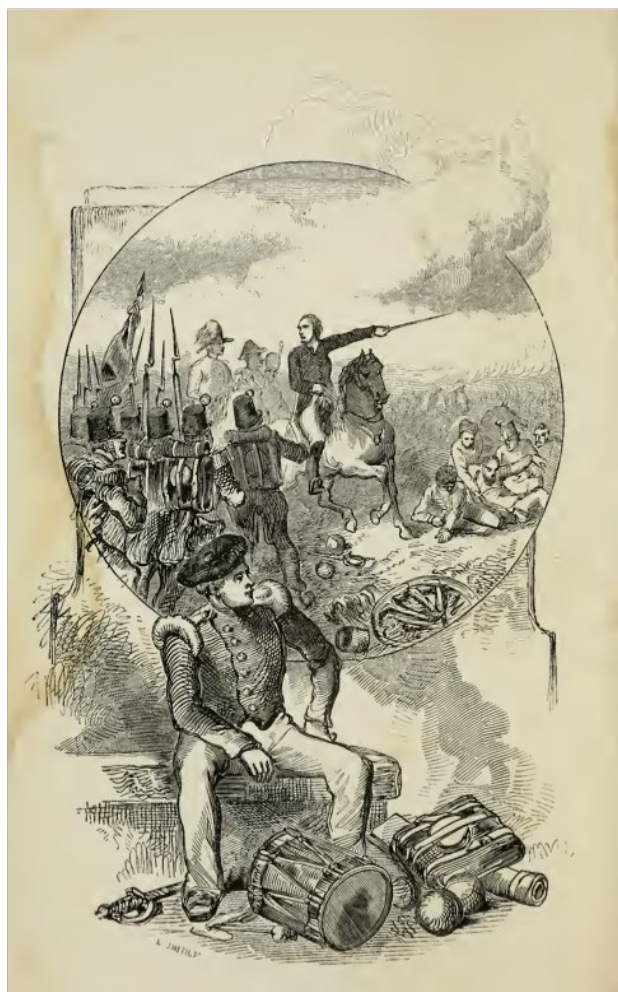


Figure 1. *The Peninsular War*. Representing Donaldson's experiences in the war, this frontispiece, taken from Donaldson's *Recollections*, demonstrates the heat of war he experienced. Donaldson served in the 94th Scots Brigade for six years. Joseph Donaldson, *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier* (London: Richard Griffin, 1859).

Muriel E. Chamberlain argued that early leaders of the nineteenth century, such as William Pitt and Lord Aberdeen, maintained an eighteenth-century character which valued reason, stability, and order, providing a solidifying influence over constitutional

¹⁴⁸ Richard M. Brace, *The Making of the Modern World: From the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: Rinehart, 1955), 357.

government.¹⁴⁹ This urge for order encouraged a thoughtful reconsideration of mankind and its weaknesses while balancing “the vices of rulers and the virtues of republics.”¹⁵⁰ While this stability shook in the early years of the nineteenth century, particularly in response to Napoleon’s challenge to European constancy, Donaldson responded to war with language that reflected both these cultural shifts and the prevailing demands of liberalism upon a society that embraced the unsteadiness of the times. Such scrutiny advanced a passion for improving society’s circumstances in the time of Donaldson, with reformers arising to demand modifications in the British army as well as political concerns, such as elections, the press, and governmental intervention.¹⁵¹ Even as the monarchy and legislative action lived side by side in Britain, Donaldson experienced incipient transformation in his culture.

Arguably the apex of this desire for change was seen in the great religious contrast in Britain between the Protestant influence dominant in the culture and Catholic potency, and this divergence was matched by similar controversies throughout Europe in Donaldson’s time. Emerging from the eighteenth century’s settling in of prevailing Anglican religiosity, the British public at the turn of the nineteenth century still retained strong feeling regarding Catholics. While John Wolffe argued that the Enlightenment’s emphasis on “toleration, deism, and skepticism” did not lessen hostility towards Catholics, he also emphasized that important trends, such as a softened approach to Catholics after the Gordon Riots of 1780, minimized political and public oppression of

¹⁴⁹ Chamberlain, ‘*Pax Britannica*’? 11-13.

¹⁵⁰ Howard Mumford Jones, *Revolution and Romanticism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 58.

¹⁵¹ Brace, *Making of the Modern World*, 463-64.

Catholics.¹⁵² Nevertheless, politically the Catholic question was wrapped up in public discourse that privileged the British constitution as inherently Protestant.¹⁵³ As Colley argued, being a Catholic was simply “unBritish.” France in particular remained Britain’s “most dangerous and obvious enemy” because it was “a Catholic state,” and the animosity Britons felt towards France caused Britons to fear occupation “not just from a foreign army but a Catholic army.”¹⁵⁴ In Iberia during the Peninsular War, Catholicism reached heights beyond that of the rest of Europe. According to Stanley G. Payne, “Spanish religiosity . . . was thoroughly enmeshed in the psychology, values, and social structure” of the culture, matched only by the Portuguese. During the war, religious leaders in Spain “revived the traditional Spanish ideology” and “call[ed] upon the faithful to reaffirm Spain’s divine calling.” Monks and priests led guerrilla revolts, unheard of anywhere else in the Napoleonic wars. Indeed, the Peninsular War “immediately became a veritable holy war in the fullest sense of the term,” according to Payne, because of the direct resistance of the Spanish clergy to the French invasion.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, many British soldiers lay the blame for the “impoverished and backward state” of Iberia at the feet of the Catholic church and its wealth.¹⁵⁶ The dramatic interplay of conflict among Protestants and Catholics in Britain, France, and the Iberian Peninsula materialized in

¹⁵² John Wolfe, *The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 11-13, cf. Colley, *Britons*, 325.

¹⁵³ Wolfe, *Protestant Crusade*, 22.

¹⁵⁴ Colley, *Britons*, 19, 24-25.

¹⁵⁵ Stanley G. Payne, *Spanish Catholicism: An Historical Overview* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984), 61, 72.

¹⁵⁶ Daly, *British Soldier*, 164.

various forms at the time of Donaldson, allowing him to serve as a window into war and political interactions in the early nineteenth century.

Iberian Adventure and Imaginings

Enlisting in the British army in January of 1809, Donaldson joined at a time when Britain had just entered the Peninsular War and which allowed him the opportunity to both satisfy his “restless disposition” in leaving his hometown and employ his romantic leanings as he recorded his experiences in his memoir.¹⁵⁷ First stationed at Paisley, then Dunbar, and then Aberdeen, Scotland, Donaldson transferred to Jersey in the Channel Islands, from which he and his 94th Scottish regiment proceeded to Portugal. Finally settling in Cadiz, Spain, Donaldson noticed the “picturesque” view of the city’s unique geographic situation near the southwestern cusp of the European continent and just miles from the tip of Gibraltar:

From the ramparts on the Atlantic side of the town, the view was very fine; to the left, we could see the African shore, with its mountains stretching out until their outline was lost in the distance. . . . On the side of the town next the bay, the Rota, Bay of Bulls, with the town of Port St Mary’s, Porto Real, Isla, Checuelina, and the Cape Trafalgar, brought the eye round to where it set out.¹⁵⁸

Later Donaldson would be stationed at Isla, and he highlighted Trafalgar, the famed location in which Admiral Nelson and his navy fleet had defeated the combined French and Spanish, sealing the acknowledged power of the British navy. Donaldson recognized the mixed emotions the Spanish would have over the English now arriving in

¹⁵⁷ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 30.

¹⁵⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 55.

Cadiz, given that Nelson's defeat was only four years previous and because the "shattered remains" of Spanish vessels were "still lying in the bay."¹⁵⁹

Wherever Donaldson lodged, he described not only the environs around him, but the outlook and views of the people he met. Using inspirational language to pinpoint the strategic location of his regiment's station, Donaldson perceptively communicated the unique position he was in. Days from home and a world away, he highlighted the dramatic differences he experienced as he viewed the African coast, the Atlantic from a novel location, and a new culture. As a soldier-traveler, Donaldson was ahead of his time in communicating map-like visions for his readers. The age of travel was in its inchoate state, so highlighting these exotic images of Spain, Africa, and even the powerful representation of British naval glory of Cape Trafalgar advanced the romantic perceptions of this unknown realm. As Daly argued, in one sense, Donaldson was part of a generation of soldiers that was "Britain's first wave of mass tourists."¹⁶⁰ James Buzard also argued this sentiment, asserting that the "Grand Tour" of elite Britons that prepared them to emerge into society shifted towards travel that allowed those who were not part of the upper class to venture forth in an early form of tourism, one that especially experienced the picturesque, as Donaldson did.¹⁶¹ Donaldson's powerful language of observation enabled him to not only depict the dramatic mobility afforded by Britain's ability to sail the seas, but to creatively capture the sense of fresh cultural newness he experienced.

¹⁵⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 55.

¹⁶⁰ Daly, "Dirty, Indolent, Priest-Ridden City," 462.

¹⁶¹ James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After (1660-1840)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, eds. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 42-43.

Although he was in the midst of military operations, Donaldson continued to write about noteworthy cultural observations, particularly his regiment's unique living arrangements after it returned to Lisbon, Portugal, from Cadiz. In preparation for joining General Thomas Picton's third division, Donaldson's regiment marched to Alcobaco, Portugal, a "beautiful little village," according to Donaldson, which housed a large monastery—Donaldson called it a "convent"—managed by Bernardine monks, "one of the richest orders" in Portugal and where the regiment was quartered. Donaldson described this aged Gothic complex with extensive gardens: "[The convent] was built by Alphonso the First, to fulfil a vow made by him after the taking of Santarem from the Moors," and the king "endowed [the convent] with all the land within view of [Santarem's] walls."¹⁶² It was in this huge sacred complex that a whole division of the army, "not less than five thousand men," lodged in the galleries alone, "without filling them." The kitchen had a "sense of plenty" and was about a hundred feet long, with a thirty-by-twelve foot fireplace "raised on cast-iron pillars" in the center of the space. Water streamed through the kitchen, not only to clean the floor, but to supply the tanks in which the monks kept live fish. Wine, fruit, vegetables, and plants "of every description" flourished at this monastery and provided a bounty. In addition, according to Donaldson, there was a "spacious chapel," decorated in a "superb style," with valuable paintings and a "magnificent organ." Uniquely impressive to Donaldson, the complex contained a library, filled with "many thousand volumes" and "philosophical apparatus," that is, scientific instruments. Donaldson highlighted a particular section of the "Gothic mausoleum" attached to the church, describing "two magnificent sepulchers of white

¹⁶² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 84-85.

marble” that housed the “remains of Don Pedro the First of Portugal” and “Dona Ignés de Castro,” whose “tragical death forms a beautiful episode in the third book of the *Luciad*.”¹⁶³ Donaldson carefully described the key features of this monastery, highlighting important details that impressed him.

Donaldson’s discussion of the Gothic architecture and symbolism he encountered highlighted key differences between his perception of Iberian culture and his own experiences as a British subject. While Gothic interpretations of culture include elements of literary quality, a more foundational frame of reference arises out of a deeper view of historical discourse. Kidd, for example, argued for a far-reaching and pervasive European Gothic ethnicity that included both Britain and Spain, particularly seen from a nineteenth century perspective. However, Kidd demonstrated that in spite of the “common descent” of the various “Gothic nations of Europe”—including the “Anglo-Saxons and Franks”—Britain experienced “unique national freedoms” that contrasted with the “deformed and corrupted version of the hardy libertarian Goth” that characterized the rest of Catholic Europe; and this discrepancy diverged through “historical processes,” not “aboriginal ethnic characteristics.”¹⁶⁴ Colley took this historicity further. She not only argued for a British Protestant essence that crystalized as a result of Britain’s disharmony and opposition to a Catholic France but claimed that the British populace regarded itself as “richer in every sense” compared to other peoples, especially Catholics. This sense of superiority came from Britons’ recognition that their society was more stable due to such successes as an absence of famine in Britain, commerce and the movement of people

¹⁶³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 85-86.

¹⁶⁴ Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism*, 211-12.

flourishing in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and, arguably most important, Britons' view that their direct access to the scriptures marked them as "peculiarly privileged" as a Protestant people, compared to Catholics, whom they perceived as being denied access.¹⁶⁵

As Donaldson experienced this deep Iberian Catholicism, he had mixed feelings regarding the religiosity that was evident. For example, Donaldson emphasized the "bounty" he saw in the monastery in Spain, commenting that "if [the monks] lived as well every day as they seemed to do while we were there, they could not boast much of fasting; for, in their larders, and kitchen, there was a profusion of every delicacy which could be thought of."¹⁶⁶ Donaldson's reaction, according to Daly, was typical of many soldiers. They believed "the church's wealth lay at the heart of the relatively impoverished and backward state" of the Iberian Peninsula. Daly claimed that most British soldiers were "staggered by the sheer wealth" of the church, and the "monumental scale" of monasteries impressed them, though with both "awe and anger."¹⁶⁷ But although Donaldson saw this affluence, he also recognized the value inherent to one of Portugal's most important literary works, the epic poem *The Lusiads*.¹⁶⁸ While he decried the vast riches of the Catholic church in the Spanish monastery, he affirmed Portuguese culture by naming this beloved national treasure. It is true that Donaldson found Lisbon earlier in his time in the peninsula to be dirty, smelly, and unattractive, but he validated

¹⁶⁵ Colley, *Britons*, 33, see 36-42.

¹⁶⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 85.

¹⁶⁷ Daly, *British Soldier*, 164, 163.

¹⁶⁸ *Britannica.com* (2020), s.v. "Portuguese Literature."

other elements of Portuguese society such as its literature and later even its army's growth during the war as a fighting institution.¹⁶⁹ Donaldson, even as he criticized the Catholic church's wealth, respected Portuguese culture.

Once its initial preparation ended in Portugal, Donaldson's regiment traveled through the Iberian Peninsula engaging the French in battle under Wellington. The Lines of Torres Vedras, the sieges of Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo, the battle at El Bodon and the retreat at Burgos—all were clashes in which Donaldson participated as he and his regiment made their way north through Spain. Towards the end of the war, he and his regiment spent several months in the Pyrenees, the mountainous border between Spain and France. Several battles took place here, including those of Vitoria and Nivelle, as Wellington's army pushed into France. Donaldson told two stories that took place in this border region that accentuated the important themes of death and a yearning for home that the men experienced. First, Donaldson received orders to communicate a message to General Rowland Hill, second in command of the British army under Wellington. Hill was camped in the "heights above Roncesvalles," a location six miles away from Donaldson's camp, to which he traversed on a small bypath that ran along the ridge of the Pyrenees.¹⁷⁰ He depicted this particularly isolated position with expressive language:

[M]y imagination was struck in a peculiar manner by the awful grandeur of the scenery; yet I could not help feeling horror at the death-like stillness that reigned around me. I felt myself as it were lifted out of the world—I saw nor heard not any living thing but a huge vulture, who stood upright on a rock by the road side,

¹⁶⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 53, see 209.

¹⁷⁰ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 190.

looking at me as I passed, without seeming the least disturbed at my presence—he rather seemed to eye me as an invader of his solitary domain.¹⁷¹

Donaldson's use of language illuminating death encapsulated in one environmental image the unwelcome results of the conflicts in which he participated: he saw the *awful grandeur*, the *horror*; a *death-like stillness* and *not any living thing* around him; he was *lifted out of the world*—to an otherworldly place—because of a *huge vulture*, the carrion symbol of death. This frightful predator claimed the space, not releasing its position until it was ready. Donaldson stated, “[W]hen it suited his own pleasure, [the vulture] slowly expanded his broad wings, and rising a few yards from the ground, hovered for some time immediately above my head, and then soared out of sight.”¹⁷² Especially seen in the Gothic fiction of Donaldson's time, the fusing of “pain, torture[,] and death” with “beauty and sensuality” were hallmarks of Peninsular War memoirs, demonstrating the tension involved in communicating the effects of war with emotional language.¹⁷³ The power of the silent moment Donaldson experienced remained with him until the war was over. The awe-inspiring view in the heights of Spain and the isolation of the wild creature represented a common human mortality in the war Donaldson was engaged in and underlined the awful consequences of his being there.

The second experience Donaldson encountered in the high mountains occurred above the village of Zaggaramurdi in Spain and brought thoughts of home front and center. From this part of the Pyrenees, Donaldson's regiment could see uninterrupted the

¹⁷¹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 190.

¹⁷² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 190.

¹⁷³ Daly, ““Barbarity,”” 246.

wide position of the French army on the plains of France. The French occupied a line running from the west at the seaport of St. Jean de Luz on the shores of the Bay of Biscay towards the east until the town of St. Jean Pied de Port. Donaldson stated that here the French “had formed an intrenched [*sic*] camp, and had redoubts on each hill along the whole line.” Above the same precipice, the regiment could view the bay, which led to the Celtic Sea and the English Channel and, for the soldiers, home. Donaldson wrote, “It was now three years since we beheld [the sea], during which times our hopes and wishes had often fondly turned to our native homes.” Among these “giant cliffs,” Donaldson and his friends “perch[ed]” and “[sat] gazing on the ocean and ships passing, with emotions” they could not describe. The “expansive bosom” of the ocean “seemed a magic mirror,” from which they could see their future: “a happy return from all our dangers; smiling friends, . . . loved associations of childhood and youth,” and they sang “the songs of Scotland while the tears trickled down [their] cheeks.”¹⁷⁴ As Leask asserted in his discussion of the intersection between British travel writing and romantic literature, travelers’ fresh views of exotic locales often resulted in a call for home as they incorporated those scenes into their writing. Indeed, Leask argued that travel writing of Donaldson’s period reflected a “melancholy *amor patriae*” and a newly discovered “patriotic” image of the traveler’s homeland that eclipsed his desire to represent the “foreign world.”¹⁷⁵ In other words, as Daly stated, discussing the same oceanic image of home Donaldson experienced in the Pyrenees, “There was . . . homesickness.”¹⁷⁶ Once

¹⁷⁴ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 192-93.

¹⁷⁵ Leask, “Romanticism,” see 289-90, 292.

¹⁷⁶ Daly, *British Soldier*, 212.

again, the power of the mountains and the majestic views beyond the immediate circumstances took Donaldson beyond his earthly situation. This time, however, the thoughtful camaraderie with newly-made companions, some for life, deepened through the rough and unique experiences of war but brought to mind a hopeful image of home. While death was not far off, symbolically evidenced by the vulture of Donaldson's private and isolated visit, hope for the future was also just a view away as he and his friends considered the army's next move of traversing across the border into France for more military engagement. Such movement contributed to the acceleration of the connections between Donaldson's home in Britain and the empire beyond its borders.

Desperate Need for Reform

As a British soldier of the Peninsular War, Donaldson had the opportunity to see the army at a unique time in relation to military reform early in the nineteenth century. Over the coming century, many improvements would be made, but at this point, the army was known for its desperate need for change.¹⁷⁷ Donaldson wrote a lot about these concerns. Housing, army finances, the role of women, the public perception of the army, the occurrence of suicide, desertion, and the prevalence of drunkenness among soldiers all needed to be addressed to help strengthen the army, according to Donaldson. But overall, he focused on certain aspects that seemed to weigh heaviest on his mind, even while he recognized the attempts at correction from some army leadership and suggested his own solutions to the weaknesses he experienced.

Above all, the arbitrary nature of the British army's means of punishment for alleged crimes by soldiers frustrated Donaldson. Flogging, also known as the cat o'nine

¹⁷⁷ Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 2.

tails, or “the cat,” was consistently controversial throughout the nineteenth century but also routinely used during the time of Donaldson’s service in the Peninsular War. Donaldson argued that decisions regarding this form of corporal punishment resulted from subjective choices by leaders. Five hundred lashes were common, and one thousand not unheard of—seemingly with no standards for use.¹⁷⁸ For example, Donaldson described the actions of his regiment’s temporary commanding officer, explaining that he had a “malevolent disposition” that bred “flogging for every offence,” such as delivering an order late—and that, in fact, “triangles were generally the accompaniment of every evening parade.”¹⁷⁹ “Triangles” were part of the physical layout of the field where offenders were flogged and which soldiers were forced to witness.¹⁸⁰ This commanding officer, according to Donaldson, also “invented” new and “more disgraceful and torturing modes” of inflicting punishment.¹⁸¹ Another officer, disciplining two men for going too far from their station at Wexford in order to see their “sweethearts,” “consider[ed] their crime of too heinous a nature” to let them escape with an “ordinary punishment.” Instead, these men received a litany of correction: They were tried by a “General Regimental Court Martial,” sentenced to a reduced rank of private with the appropriate pay to go with it, inflicted with five hundred lashes, “branded on the side with the letter D” for desertion, and sent to a “banished regiment.” According to Donaldson, everyone believed these punishments were “unreasonably severe,” particularly the flogging. Donaldson

¹⁷⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 300, 302; cf. Dinwiddy, “Early Nineteenth-Century Campaign,” 311.

¹⁷⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 133, 131.

¹⁸⁰ De Watteville, *British Soldier*, 112.

¹⁸¹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 131.

passionately challenged this hated ritual: “Will that disgrace to the country never be done away with? I am perfectly convinced it could be done without.”¹⁸² Still, as G. A. Steppler asserted, regimental officers retained “discretionary power” for punishment, although they did consider “custom” in their “vary[ing]” choices for correction.¹⁸³ Donaldson put it a bit more strongly: “Terror seem[ed] to be the only engine of rule in the army.”¹⁸⁴ The lack of commonly acknowledged standards for treatment towards soldiers demonstrated an inherent lack of leadership throughout the British army.

Flogging wasn’t the only custom that demonstrated the lack of baseline measurements for discipline in the army, however; other forms of discipline were unregulated. For example, one soldier, named by the abbreviated moniker “H” by Donaldson, was physically weak and daily struggled to keep up with his regiment. The doctor could not determine what ailed him and labeled him as “scheming” to remove himself from the day’s requirements. Continually failing at marching, H endured swearing from Mr. J., an officer who also threatened to turn him over to the provost to be flogged. Finally, Mr. J “ordered two men of the guard to drag him along” and another man to “go behind [H] and prick him on with his bayonet.” In the end, the regiment “[left] him behind.” Donaldson explained that “[H] crawled off the road into a field, and, tired of a world in which he had met with such cruel treatment, loaded his musket, . . . put his toe on the trigger, and blew out his brains.”¹⁸⁵ Donaldson implied that H committed

¹⁸² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 300.

¹⁸³ G. A. Steppler, “British Military Law, Discipline, and the Conduct of Regimental Courts Martial in the Later Eighteenth Century,” *English Historical Review* 102, no. 405 (1987): 865.

¹⁸⁴ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 90.

¹⁸⁵ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 227-28n.

suicide after experiencing not only the doctor's inability or unwillingness to diagnose his medical ailments, but also the rejection of his regiment and its leadership from recognizing, in modern terms, the psychological and physical needs he exhibited. H saw no hope and, "tired of the world," gave up. Deeply reflecting the British army's entrenched hierarchical leadership structure, H's punishment was unconstrained due to long-standing patterns of regimental administration. British culture at the time of the Peninsular War still maintained a respect for aristocratic tradition that replicated the eighteenth-century absolutist tendencies that had not disappeared. In H's world, leaders retained the power, and no means of recourse appeared to exist for help.

In addition to less formal means of punishment, court martials also could end with an unexpected timing for the punishment of death. When a miller would not sell a soldier some flour, the soldier stole it by force, resulting in a trial in which he was sentenced to death. He was ordered to march as a prisoner of the regiment, hoping for a reprieve, but, one day, "without any previous warning" and "while he was sitting at the fire with some of his fellow-prisoners," the provost ordered the prisoner to rise, placed the rope around his neck, and hung him on the branch of a tree a short distance up the road. Donaldson acknowledged the need for "[e]xamples," but also noted that the carrying out of this death sentence was an "awkward sort of spectacle" the morning after their "hard-fought and successful battle."¹⁸⁶ The sudden nature of this hanging especially impacted the soldier observers and further demonstrates the lack of consistent punishment for crimes. As Glover explained in his discussion of court martials for punishment, "[N]one of these

¹⁸⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 204.

elaborate provisions could help the helpless; any assistance the prisoner might receive from his prosecutor, . . . he owed to custom, not to law.”¹⁸⁷

The hierarchical structure of the British army that encouraged partisanship also contributed to a great divide between officers and soldiers, directly affecting army morale. For example, Donaldson wrote about a non-commissioned officer who had a “system of favouritism [*sic*]” in which he promoted men, whether they could read or write, taking advantage of the senior commanding officer’s “indolence [and] apathy” and presumptively assuming this power. Furthermore, this officer “abuse[d] and blackguard[ed]” the men under his command, feeling that this treatment was an essential skill for leaders. Donaldson felt that this favoritism placed into leadership men who not only were scarcely fit to lead, but that they recognized this inability themselves.¹⁸⁸ By contrast, Donaldson felt that his regiment’s leader Colonel Lloyd embodied one of the most effective officers he ever encountered. Lloyd was not only “brave, active, [and] intelligent,” but he “encourage[d]” and didn’t “terrify” his men to motivate them. More importantly to Donaldson, Lloyd’s character was one that recognized “how susceptible soldiers are of feelings of love and gratitude to those who treat them as they ought to be treated—with kindness.”¹⁸⁹ Donaldson’s maxim throughout his memoir regarding the officer-soldier relationship is summed up in his description of an Irish rector, Reverend Mr. Rowe, whom he met later in Kilkenny: He was “no respecter of persons.”¹⁹⁰ Just as

¹⁸⁷ Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 174.

¹⁸⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 312.

¹⁸⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 168, 233.

¹⁹⁰ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 310.

Reverend Rowe lived this New Testament teaching of treating others respectfully no matter their position in life, Donaldson longed for mutual respect among military men as represented by the influential Colonel Lloyd.¹⁹¹ Because the purchase system was deeply embedded in military culture, and officers of varying skill and proficiency were leaders, inconsistent treatment resulted. As Richard Blanco asserted succinctly, “[T]he enlisted man remained a victim of the Army’s rigid stratification.”¹⁹²

Underpinning many of the reform concerns were the recruiters and their methods for engaging soldiers. Donaldson had strong words against recruiting sergeants, stating that they were often men who possessed a “laxity of principle,” and a dissociation existed between the recruiter and his recruit that contributed to this principle.¹⁹³ Indeed, recruiting sergeants often were “soldiers seconded from regular and militia units” and consisted of a “large staff of army pensioners.”¹⁹⁴ Donaldson thought recruiters’ methods even more repulsive, associating them with “something mean and dishonest” and potentially illegal.¹⁹⁵ For example, a recruiting sergeant explained to Donaldson that to get someone to join up, he would pinpoint a particular chink in the character of certain types of men he encountered. For the weaver, the sergeant focused on his lack of contentment in all weather, as well as his laziness, telling him he “could breathe the pure air of heaven” or have “little or nothing to do” in his work with the army. The ploughboy needed a bit more encouragement. With him, the sergeant explained that recruits almost

¹⁹¹ See Romans 2:11.

¹⁹² Blanco, “Reform,” 127.

¹⁹³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 234.

¹⁹⁴ Skelley, *Victorian Army at Home*, 239, cf. 235.

¹⁹⁵ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 234.

immediately became officers and that wherever the “*gallant honourable* regiment” was stationed, “every thing [*sic*] may be had almost for nothing,” including “pigs and fowls lying in the street ready roasted,” just waiting for soldiers to eat. If a potential recruit became obstinate, according to Donaldson’s sergeant, he backed off from the lies he had told and arranged for a fellow soldier to perform as a phony but happy recruit. If this failed, he would get the man drunk, swear he enlisted the next morning, and push him through a successful medical examination. The recruiter handled the sentimental man differently: the sergeant claimed the recruit would be a hero and “spouted a great deal about glory, honour, laurels, drums, trumpets, applauding world, deathless fame, immortality, and all that”—and then he “had him as safe as a mouse in a trap.”

Donaldson “could not help thinking how many poor fellows were thus inveigled into a profession they did not like, and rendered miserable the remainder of their lives.”¹⁹⁶

Indeed, Burroughs stated that because the army had so much difficulty “rais[ing] sufficient numbers,” it was not concerned with the “respectability and sobriety” of its recruits.¹⁹⁷ Glover asserted that the methods the government used “were themselves an abuse rather than a cure for a weakness.”¹⁹⁸ Donaldson refused opportunities to become a recruiter while in the army, explaining that whatever the previous character of the men, they “return[ed] to their regiment much worse soldiers than when they left it.”¹⁹⁹

However, ironically, Donaldson became a recruiting sergeant himself for the East India

¹⁹⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 78-80.

¹⁹⁷ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 168.

¹⁹⁸ Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 2.

¹⁹⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 234.

Company once his military term of service ended and he was seeking employment, but, because of his “great dislike to the revolting practices” of recruitment, he transferred to “head-clerk” at the Glasgow Military District Office.²⁰⁰ Overall, the recruiting system was seen as “iniquitous and inefficient,” with “unscrupulous recruiting sergeants” using “every possible deception” to gain recruits.²⁰¹ Donaldson continued to hate the methods and responsibilities of the recruiting position for the rest of his life.

Donaldson felt strongly about these concerns, and he sprinkled solutions for some of these army weaknesses throughout his memoir. Above all, Donaldson gave ultimate credit for the changes that had taken place by the time of his writing to His Royal Highness Frederick, the Duke of York and Albany, who was Commander-in-Chief of the British army while Donaldson served. The Duke of York worked hard to institute reforms into the army that would become inherent practices, and Donaldson held this second son of George III in the highest regard. He wrote,

When we consider that, in the face of long-established usages, and coadjutors of unbending and contracted views of human nature, the commander-in-chief by his persevering exertions has almost entirely abolished those numerous vexations—when we see gentlemanly feeling and attention to the soldier’s best interests encouraged among the officers of the army, and the change wrought in the moral and military character of the soldier by these means,—is it to be wondered at that every individual in the service is attached to the Duke of York, and looks up to him in the light of a father and a friend. Few generals of whom I have ever either

²⁰⁰ Donaldson, *Recollections*, iv-v.

²⁰¹ Skelley, *Victorian Army at Home*, 239, 240.

heard or read, enjoyed the esteem and affection of the troops under their command, more than His Royal Highness.²⁰²

By all accounts, York was responsible for jumpstarting reform early in the century. Immediately after his death, for example, in a biographical memoir, John Watkins included how the House of Commons honored York and his commitment to military reform for twenty years. Special thanks went to “his royal highness the Duke of York, captain-general and commander-in-chief of the British forces” because “the army has improved in discipline and in science to an extent unknown before; and under Providence, risen to the height of military glory.”²⁰³ In his detailed look at reform during the time of the Peninsular War, Glover stated that “the period of effective reform began when the Duke of York became Commander-in-Chief in February 1795.”²⁰⁴ H. de Watteville called York a “wise commander-in-chief and capable administrator, [who] sought to better the soldier’s lot.”²⁰⁵ Finally, David Gates claimed that York “transform[ed] the British army.”²⁰⁶ York modified barracks, uniforms, food, and pay; and waged a “vigorous and successful war” on drunkenness.²⁰⁷ He offered more free commissions to boost recruiting numbers and enforced standards for promotion, including the requirement that any potential captain must have served at least two years

²⁰² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 211.

²⁰³ John Watkins, *A Biographical Memoir of His Late Royal Highness Frederick, Duke of York and Albany; Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of Great Britain, &c. &c. &c.* (London: Henry Fisher, Son, and Co., 1827), 480.

²⁰⁴ Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 12.

²⁰⁵ De Watteville, *British Soldier*, 95.

²⁰⁶ Gates, “Transformation of the Army,” 147.

²⁰⁷ De Watteville, *British Soldier*, 95; Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 41.

in the army.²⁰⁸ York sought to completely abolish the purchase system, but it was so deeply embedded that he could only modify and regulate it.²⁰⁹ Arguably most important, York recognized that formal practical training for the military man did not exist in Britain and, with help, established the “Royal Military College,” providing training for staff officers. For soldiers’ children, York created the “Royal Military Asylum,” which essentially became a school of basic education for all working-class children.²¹⁰ At times muscular, at times barely penetrating army culture, the reforms the Duke of York implemented created a sure foundation for reform in the future.

Writing early in 1827, years after he left the service, Donaldson poignantly announced the Duke’s recent death which had occurred on January 5 of that year and emphasized the dramatic legacy His Royal Highness made among soldiers:

Since the preceding portion of this volume was sent to press, the melancholy event which was then feared has taken place, and the narrow tomb now encloses that heart which, while it continued to beat, embraced the interests and well-being of thousands. . . . [W]ords can but very inadequately convey the feeling produced by his death throughout the army.”²¹¹

Indeed, according to W. H. Wilkin on the centenary anniversary of York’s death, York’s final official act, just eight days before he died, was to arrange for the “promotion

²⁰⁸ Gates, “Transformation of the Army,” 147, 153.

²⁰⁹ Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 154.

²¹⁰ Derek Winterbottom, *The Grand Old Duke of York: A Life of Prince Frederick, Duke of York and Albany, 1763-1827* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2016), 100-01.

²¹¹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 212.

of old lieutenants, who had been unable to purchase” commissions.²¹² Donaldson summed up the improvements he made: “Thanks to His Royal Highness the commander-in-chief, little is now left the soldier to complain of.”²¹³ To Donaldson, the Duke of York was, “in truth the SOLDIER’S FRIEND”—and Glover echoed this statement, calling this “nickname given him by the lowest ranks under his command” “the noblest of York’s many titles.”²¹⁴ Although Donaldson, with an eighteenth century worldview, would have instinctively adhered to a tacit respect for his sovereign, his value of York more directly resulted from the Duke’s explicit concern for the rank and file soldier. Although royal, York stood out as one who cared for the lowest class in Britain. The Duke of York was crucial to military reform and left a robust legacy for the army’s future.

Although Donaldson deeply appreciated the work of the Duke of York, he also had his own ideas to alleviate some of the army’s problems. Donaldson stated confidently that there were “thousands to whom a military life would be far preferable to what they [were] employed at,” but the underhanded means recruiters used only hurt the army because men were suspicious of the “finessing” of the recruiters.²¹⁵ Flogging especially stirred him to claim that men must be either “woefully ignorant of human nature” or their “passions obscure[d] their reason” in their support of it. He argued that commanding officers should instead behave “rationally and wisely” instead of bowing to the emotion of the moment in their judgment of crime. Donaldson also felt the army should provide

²¹² W. H. Wilkin, “H. R. H. Frederick, Duke of York,” *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* 72 (February 1, 1927): 31.

²¹³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 210.

²¹⁴ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 235; Glover, *Peninsular Preparation*, 43.

²¹⁵ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 235.

“the means”—financial resources—for men to “improve their minds,” instead of allowing them so much leisure time, which regularly led to drunkenness. He believed, for example, that spending time by the river, conversing maturely with friends, would instead successfully encourage men to “voluntarily [give] up their old [drinking] habits.” Above all, Donaldson agreed that there should be “a definite code of military laws” for the army. He called the Mutiny Act “abstruse, vague, and indefinable.” Too much was left to the “private opinion of courts martial,” he exclaimed, whose judgments were “often preposterously unequal.” He pushed this issue of a lack of standards: “What are we to make of this inconsistency? It is evident [sentences] proceeded from the temper of the individuals composing the court.”²¹⁶ Finally, Donaldson emphasized the need for officers to respect all of their men, regardless of rank. He felt that officers should “mak[e] themselves acquainted with the character and disposition of the men under their command” in order to discipline successfully.²¹⁷ He stated, “To inspire and cherish the manly, honourable spirit[,] . . . it is only necessary to treat men as if they possessed it.” What Donaldson yearned for was respect and kindness from his officers and not condescension.²¹⁸

Donaldson’s passionate concern for the welfare of the soldier in the early nineteenth century, as well as his fervent desire to see reform, demonstrates enlightenment thinking at its best, even as he responded strongly to the ambience around him. Emphasizing the need for officers to use rational judgment to lead their men instead

²¹⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 300-01, 304.

²¹⁷ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 132.

²¹⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 304, see 311.

of relying on emotional and unthinking responses highlights the important emphasis on scientific solutions to societal problems that were a hallmark of the time.²¹⁹ Donaldson's impulse to rectify the many abuses he saw and experienced accentuates the utilitarian responses of progressive reformers who sought to bring liberal regeneration to the British army. While Donaldson experienced the deep personal emotion in his response to his physical environments, he nevertheless recognized a more salubrious method of discipline. Consistently competing demands of an ingrained traditionalism against "new mental and moral values" and new "views of human nature" that emerged in British culture in practical ways also pressed against British army culture.²²⁰ Donaldson's intimate perspective of army life combined with his immersion in a culture that embraced reasoning and intellectual advancement allowed him to see the means to a stronger British army. This stronger army would in turn fortify the empire by creating a healthier environment for soldiers and their military commitments, contributing necessary change to beyond Britain's shores.

National Character

Britain's earliest nineteenth century war, the Peninsular War, involved many nations: Portugal, Spain, and France, along with Britain, including Scotland, the land of Donaldson's birth. The makeup of allied armies was complicated by Napoleon's plan to invade Spain after she helped him invade Portugal, even while both Spain and Portugal refused to cooperate fully with Napoleon's Continental Blockade against Britain, with Portugal particularly supporting Britain's free trade due to their symbiotic commercial

²¹⁹ Jones, *Revolution and Romanticism*, 57.

²²⁰ Roy Porter, *The Creation of the Modern World: The Untold Story of the British Enlightenment*, (New York: W. W. Norton, 2000), 14.

relationship in the South American colonies. Indeed, in its preparation for the Battle of Vitoria in June of 1813, according to Donaldson, the allied army consisted of over 130,000 men, of which 40,000 were British, 20,000 were Portuguese, and 70,000 were Spanish.²²¹ Donaldson had mixed emotions regarding his interactions with both the Portuguese and the Spanish. The Portuguese were superstitious in their belief that noisy cart wheels “frighten[ed] away the devil; barbarous in their stripping naked the dead and wounded Frenchmen in victory; and ignorant, whether “the blood of Braganza” flowed through their veins or they were just “plebians.”²²² On the other hand, they valued deeply the “laws of hospitality” and, above all, Donaldson reported proudly that the Portuguese army became “well-regulated and well-disciplined troops” by the end of the war.²²³ He emphasized that the British army had trained them carefully using the “English mode of discipline,” and the Portuguese became “little inferior to ourselves.” In spite of his early disgust, Donaldson grew to deeply appreciate the Portuguese by the time the war ended: “A kind of friendship had . . . arisen” between them and the British soldiers.²²⁴

By contrast, the Spanish drew little praise from Donaldson, particularly in light of their behavior in the Battle of Salamanca in July of 1812. He wrote, “During the battle, the Spanish army . . . had remained at a respectable distance” behind the British troops and “seemed perfectly contented with seeing us fighting for their country, without having a hand in it themselves.” What irritated Donaldson the most was that the Spanish joined

²²¹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 180.

²²² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 84, 102, 168.

²²³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 179, 209.

²²⁴ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 209.

in the celebration as if they had fought alongside the British: they “cheered as heartily as if they had earned the victory” themselves.²²⁵ Furthermore, one uniquely Spanish cultural activity proved inscrutable to Donaldson, even as it struck a nerve in him that reminded him of home. Bullfighting became a regular experience for the troops in Madrid after their exhausting but thrilling victory against the French under Wellington at the Battle of Salamanca. Admitted “gratis” to what Donaldson called the “great amusement of the Spaniards,” Donaldson described the dramatic entertainment:

[T]he matador . . . entered on foot without any defence but a small sword. The men on foot still continued to irritate the animal, until it was roused to the utmost pitch of madness, when the matador placing himself in its way, in the midst of one of its most furious attacks, calmly waited [the bull’s] approach. Seeing the bull close upon him, we expected that the [matador] would be gored to death—that there was no possibility of his escape. But the moment the enraged animal came within his reach, [the matador] darted the sword, quick as lightning, between the horns into the back of his neck, and [the bull] fell dead at his feet, without giving a single struggle.²²⁶

Describing a particularly gory portion of a fight with an Andalusian breed of bull,

Donaldson explained that the bull rammed both the horseman

and [the] poor horse up against the barricade, lowered his head, and bringing up his horns, tore up [the horse’s] belly in such a way, that part of his bowels protruded at the wound, and hung down to the ground. . . . [The horseman’s] right

²²⁵ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 154.

²²⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 156, 158-59.

leg [was] jammed in between the horse and the barricade. . . . [T]he man was no sooner released from his dangerous situation, than, mounting afresh the wounded animal, he endeavored to push it forward to another charge, with its bowels trailing on the ground. This action, which deserved to be execrated as a piece of wanton cruelty, was lauded to the skies, and cries of ‘Bravo! Bravo!’ resounded from every quarter. But the poor animal only moved a few steps, when it fell down dead.²²⁷

Spain’s seemingly “wanton” exhibition of the bullfight caused Donaldson to viscerally react against the sport, but it also potently brought to mind an equivalent reaction to a parallel element of his own culture. The bullfight, Donaldson claimed, “deserved to be execrated as . . . cruelty,” even as the Spaniards “lauded [it] to the skies,” but he and his fellow soldiers wondered how such a “disgusting [amusement]” could be so valued in Spain. However, Donaldson included a telling remark in his text immediately after this comment: “unless it be to serve the same purpose that we pay boxers to murder each other, namely, to keep up the national courage.”²²⁸ Donaldson recognized a fungible “amusement” in his own society: Britain’s own late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries’ fetish with boxing—and associated it with a profound admission—boxing in all its violence served to sustain a “national courage” that buoyed the British. Elliott J. Gorn, in his discussion of American prize-fighting whose history began in Britain, argued that boxing taught Englishmen “bulldog courage,” fostered a “sense of national pride,” and affirmed “masculine values such as prowess [and]

²²⁷ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 159.

²²⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 159-60.

valor.”²²⁹ More fittingly, David Higgins argued that boxing was “central to the nation’s military greatness.”²³⁰ Indeed, as E. P. Thompson demonstrated, eighteenth century crowd behavior incorporated ritual and symbolism such as what Donaldson saw both in Spain and Britain. Emotional and intense, this crowd reaction nevertheless created a united “class relationship.”²³¹ Herein lies the patriotic “national courage” Donaldson recognized when he saw the correspondence between the great Spanish sport of bullfighting and the British passion for prize-fighting: an intense national popularity, “skilled, colorful champions,” and the “thrill of a good fight,” as Gorn put it.²³² While Donaldson was being entertained in Spain, and even criticizing the bloody spectacle of the bullfight, he saw himself and his own national character reflected in Spanish culture. Donaldson was confronted with his own negative response to Spanish aggression, which challenged him to moderate his view of Spain and face his own nation’s similar aggressive behavior.

Ironically, the British experienced much tamer relations with their official enemy, the French. Encountering the French across the Douro River before the Battle of Salamanca, Donaldson and his regiment “used to swim in [the river] promiscuously” with the French, “mixing together, and at times bringing brandy and wine with them, for the purposes of treating each other.” According to Donaldson, the British and the French

²²⁹ Elliott J. Gorn, *The Manly Art: Bare-Knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 27, 26.

²³⁰ David Higgins, “Englishness, Effeminacy, and the *New Monthly Magazine*: Hazlitt’s ‘The Fight’ in Context.” *Romanticism* 10, no. 2 (2004): 175.

²³¹ E. P. Thompson, “Patrician Society, Plebeian Culture,” *Journal of Social History* 7, no. 4 (1974): 400, 402.

²³² Gorn, *Manly Art*, see 24, 26.

experienced this “friendly feeling” throughout the war, even if one or the other were taken as prisoners. This mutual respect resulted from a recognized bravery on both sides, as well as a “generosity of sentiment” that was particularly evident in the French.

Donaldson bemoaned his past view of the French that they were “pigmy, spider-shanked wretches, who fed on nothing but frogs and beef tea.” Instead, he now saw them as “stout, handsome-looking fellows, who understood the principles of good living,” in addition to being “remarkably brave soldiers.”²³³ While Colley argued that Britons developed a national pride in contrast with the Catholic French due to their Protestant heritage, the British army in the Peninsular War experienced an affinity with those same Catholic French soldiers whom Colley characterized as the “Other.”²³⁴ Daly also highlighted the “shock” and “outrage” British troops experienced at the violence the Spanish and Portuguese perpetrated against the French in the cause of war. Daly wrote, “[I]n British minds [this violence] was symptomatic of a deeper Iberian culture of violence that set the Iberian peoples apart from ‘civilized’ nations.” For Donaldson, the religious connection Spain, Portugal, and France had as fellow Catholics melted away in light of British reaction to French suffering at the hands of those who would not follow civilized rules of war and codes of honor.²³⁵ Indeed, Donaldson’s favor towards the Catholic French reflects the more charitable approach Britons tended to take that Wolffe

²³³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 151-52.

²³⁴ Colley, “Britishness and Otherness,” 316.

²³⁵ Daly, “‘Barbarity,’” 243, 246.

discussed.²³⁶ This reaction united the French and British in spite of the opposing sides in which they participated during the war.

While Donaldson's regiment enjoyed some camaraderie with the French enemy, no connection was as deep as his association with his heritage as a Scot. Indeed, Donaldson's regiment was the 94th Scots Brigade, filled with men who called Scotland their home. When General Picton disciplined the regiment, he challenged them, "*You are a disgrace to your moral country, Scotland!*" To Donaldson, these words "had more weight than all his speech": "To separate a Scotsman from his country," Donaldson explained, "is next to taking away his life."²³⁷ This passion for his native country poured out in his singing "songs of Scotland" with his fellow soldiers, as well as in his references to the poetry of his nation's beloved national poet, Robert Burns.²³⁸ Donaldson wrote nostalgically, "He who has never heard the melodies of his native land sung in a foreign country, is ignorant of a pleasure that nothing can surpass." As he and his friends sang those songs while gathered along the Pyrenees, they viewed the "ocean which encircled the land of [their] birth" and dreamed of their "future fortune" when they would return home and relive beloved childhood memories.²³⁹ Indeed, when Donaldson went home to visit his parents in Glasgow, he rejoiced in his first sight of the Craig of Ailsa, that "well known rock" off the southwestern coast of Scotland that Donaldson described as that "which the emigrant associates with the farewell of his country." This view "called forth

²³⁶ See Wolffe, *Protestant Crusade*, 13.

²³⁷ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 91.

²³⁸ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 193; see 169, 305.

²³⁹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 193, 192.

in [his] bosom a tide of recollections,” and in these pages of his memoir, Donaldson reflected on romantic reminiscences and observations he perceived as he journeyed home. He felt a “tumultuous fluttering and overflowing of the heart” that every “sensitive being” experiences at a return home; he saw places that were the “haunt of many of my childish wanderings” such as those he considered at the peak of the Pyrenees; and his “soul . . . trod as if on holy ground” as he approached his parents’ home. Upon arrival, he heard the “distant sound of bells” in his native city, which “spoke of wo, devotion, and joy” and shared these memories with his mother and father, reflecting on his gratefulness to God for arriving home safely.²⁴⁰ MacKenzie and Devine argued that Scots established “networks of kin and friendship,” and the Highlands of Scotland, in the near north of Donaldson’s hometown of Glasgow, had a history of kinship and regimental growth after the Jacobite Rebellion that tied Scottish localities together.²⁴¹ The camaraderie he experienced in the 94th regiment reflected these profound patterns of Scottish community living.

Not only was Donaldson proud of being Scottish, but his love for country reflected his view of Britain as a whole. In the Pyrenees of Spain, he recognized that the ocean he saw touched the whole “land of his birth”—not just Scotland, but all of the British Isles that made up the United Kingdom.²⁴² Leask argued that in the late-eighteenth century, British travel writing highlighted a “patriotic imperative” that

²⁴⁰ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 236-38.

²⁴¹ MacKenzie and Devine, Introduction, 12; T. M. Devine, “Soldiers of Empire, 1750-1914,” in MacKenzie and Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire*, 179.

²⁴² Donaldson, *Recollections*, 192.

supported a more unified Britain.²⁴³ The Scots were an integral part of this unified Britain and formed a significant portion of the British army.²⁴⁴ This prevalence of Scottish soldiers helped to cement an acute sense of Britishness among men like Donaldson who served in the British army. For Donaldson, being “British” meant being gallant, brave, and courageous, which was also a hallmark of his Scottish regiment. Regimental leaders expected the men to be ready to fight at a moment’s notice, but even more to “remember the honour of our country and regiment.” He told the story of the 71st regiment led by Colonel Cadogan who communicated to his soldiers that, even in retreat, “the courage of the British soldier is best called forth by associating it with his country.”²⁴⁵ While Donaldson valued his heritage as a Scot, he also claimed that he had “never seen any difference worth observing between the courage of English, Irish, or Scotch” and felt that any comparison among them regarding bravery was “artificial” at best.²⁴⁶ Seeing this common bravery among men of all parts of Britain only brought them together through their shared military experiences. Donaldson, his fellow soldiers, and his regimental leadership all demonstrated the underlying importance of honor, courage, and commitment to the land of their birth. These traits were not only emblematic of being British, but they permeated beyond Britain to the global empire as it grew during the nineteenth century.

²⁴³ Leask, “Romanticism,” 273.

²⁴⁴ Strachan, “Scotland’s Military Identity,” 320, 321.

²⁴⁵ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 112, 54.

²⁴⁶ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 261-62.

Acceptance of Empire

Donaldson unassumingly accepted the dominance of the British empire at the turn of the nineteenth century as a stable part of his worldview. As Colley asserted, the depth of knowledge regarding Britain's role among its colonies had a "psychic effect" that "became far deeper and more complex" on the broader population around the time of Donaldson's birth.²⁴⁷ Furthermore, as Leask suggested, as a travel document, Donaldson's memoir inherently served as a "practical utility in promoting British expansionism" and that official British exploration resulted in "institutionalize[d] travel writing in the service of empire."²⁴⁸ By highlighting the multi-national experience of the Peninsular War, Donaldson demonstrates his own deeper identity with his own Britain. While an imperial focus would shift east after the Napoleonic wars, Donaldson's role as an unmistakably *British* soldier foregrounded nascent perceptions of the diverse world closer to home.²⁴⁹ Marching across Scotland, then through the exotic locale of the Iberian Peninsula, and then, finally, trekking along some of the highest peaks in the world afforded him a view of cultural "otherness" that broadened his sphere of life and which he brought back to his native Scotland. The time in which he lived was also formative in terms of transformations in the army waiting on the sidelines to emerge and recast what it looked like to be a soldier. As Burroughs stated, military reform maintained an "unhurried pace along the grooves of gradual amelioration and piecemeal

²⁴⁷ Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 324.

²⁴⁸ Leask, "Romanticism," 275, 273.

²⁴⁹ Colley, "Britishness and Otherness," 324.

replacement.”²⁵⁰ As a veteran, Donaldson would have difficulty mobilizing himself beyond the soldier’s occupation, in spite of his promotion steadily towards sergeant and his “more than ordinary ability and steadiness” in the army and “testimonials of [high] character” from commanding officers.²⁵¹ Donaldson’s tenure in the military dominated his adult life, even as he pursued more education in medical practices with little success.²⁵² After leaving the army, Donaldson lamented that he felt “driven along by the current,” having learned no “worldly wisdom” to help in securing work.²⁵³ As Colley has demonstrated, Donaldson was one of those who “found it difficult to settle back into ordinary working life.”²⁵⁴ Because of this, the framework of his legacy offers a military manifestation that at once is bound in earthly substance and romantic sensibilities. Joseph Donaldson was a man of his time, but he looked toward the future.

²⁵⁰ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 183.

²⁵¹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 315.

²⁵² Donaldson, *Recollections*, iv-vi.

²⁵³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, 332.

²⁵⁴ Colley, *Britons*, 321; cf. Donaldson, *Recollections*, 332-35.

CHAPTER III

William Douglas: Journey through the East

William Douglas memorialized his global and military adventures with an eye towards his involvement in the Crimean War. Beginning his 1865 memoir at the end of his tenure in India in January of 1855, Douglas related key moments in his journey to what he called the “Euxine”—the Black Sea. The dramatic landscape of India, the sea journey through the Red Sea, exotic experiences in Cairo, and the long-awaited arrival in the Crimean Peninsula all made a mark on his narrative. Motivated by a deep desire to “share the dangers and honours of the [Crimean] campaign,” Douglas and his regiment also anticipated avenging the British army’s devastating loss at the Battle of Balaklava just two months before they sailed for Crimea.²⁵⁵ Serving in the cavalry as part of the 10th Royal Hussars, Douglas and his regiment took particular pride in their being “professional equestrians.”²⁵⁶ In the Crimea, Douglas participated in the siege of Sevastopol in 1855, particularly the battles of the Redan and Tchernaya. With a touch of irony and a bit of humor, Douglas narrated his military journey, distinguishing technology of his times and leading inexorably towards his regiment’s goal of combat. As he grew in rank and responsibilities, Douglas recognized ways to strengthen weaknesses he saw in the British army and communicated what he considered would be successful remedies. Finally, demonstrating throughout his story a deep connection with India after eight years of living in the Bombay Presidency, he also saw himself as “English,” an

²⁵⁵ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 13, cf. 228.

²⁵⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 105.

appellation he used that to a certain extent supplanted his native Scottish identification.²⁵⁷

As MacKenzie and Devine argued, “The existence of the British Empire had major effects upon the workings of the metropolitan state, not least in conditioning the relationships among its different ethnicities,” including those in India and other parts of the globe.²⁵⁸ This blend of cultures dwelt comfortably within Douglas as he lived the life of a British soldier, traveling the empire, gaining knowledge of military methods, and fulfilling the mission of his homeland. As he embraced the multifaceted cultures in which he lodged, Douglas impacted the inherent nature of the empire through his significant experiences.

Historical Context

Serving in the British army in the middle of the nineteenth century, Douglas would have grown up observing revolution taking place both on the European continent and in Britain. Indeed, the century involved dramatic political changes in nations as diverse as Switzerland, Spain, Greece, and Germany, as Howard Mumford Jones asserted. France, reeling from wars early in the century, lurched towards greater republican policies, rejecting absolutist tendencies and modeling revolutionary change with her “bourgeoisie prevail[ing] over the monarchs, the nobles, and the lower classes.”²⁵⁹ The taste of liberty was in the air in Britain as well, with middle class influence developing as a result of the flourishing industrialization taking place. Reformers fought for more suffrage and advanced social and scientific movements; and

²⁵⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 191.

²⁵⁸ MacKenzie and Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire*, 4.

²⁵⁹ Jones, *Revolution and Romanticism*, 309-10, 311.

the elevation of new technology, such as coal and telegraphy, expanded Britain's ability to communicate to her widespread population. These transformations propelled Britain into the world, where she continued to manage the empire that formed the foundation for



Figure 2. *William Douglas, 10th Royal Hussars*. Douglas spent eight years in India and six weeks in Cairo - and then participated in the Crimean War, where he experienced the one-year anniversary celebration of the Battle of Balaklava. William Douglas, *Soldiering in Sunshine and Storm* (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1865).

Britain's political interests, particularly in India. This deep involvement in India accelerated a connection between the homeland of the British Isles and the exotic culture with which Britons were fascinated, strengthening their association.

The nineteenth century also heightened both tensions and relations between Britain and the Middle East and its cultures, including the Ottoman Empire, Crimea, and even Egypt. When the Crimean War abruptly began with Russia's advance into Eastern Europe, Britain sided with the Ottomans and France to ward off any Russian incursion into India. Because thriving new technology allowed for faster communication and speedier travel, when Britain's commitment to war generated the need to move thousands of troops to the Crimea, she garnered the power of steam and transported her soldiers. Regiments in India, including that of Douglas, traveled by way of Egypt, making their way north through the waters of the Mediterranean. Britain highly valued this corridor given its strategic role in her relations with India, and, as the century advanced, Britain's interaction with Egypt became more intertwined as the Middle Eastern region developed commercially. In Gerald S. Graham's words, Egypt became the "vital hinge of the British empire," and Douglas and his regiment took advantage of the available resources that empowered them to cross the globe, assimilating their new cultural experiences into their mid-century psyche.²⁶⁰

Technology, Steamships, and the Overland Route

As a mid-century British soldier, Douglas experienced freshly new technological advances that influenced the British army's ability to travel widely, contributing to the dramatic expansion of empire that took place in the nineteenth century. Douglas traveled from India across the Arabian Sea north through the Red Sea to Egypt; continued through the Mediterranean along the western coast of Turkey and through the Gallipoli Peninsula;

²⁶⁰ Gerald S. Graham, *The Politics of Naval Supremacy: Studies in British Maritime Ascendancy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 72.

and then sailed through the Bosphorus Strait to the Black Sea and the Crimean Peninsula. Using robust transportation methods available for moving troops, such as the railroads, iron and coal-driven steamships, and the construction of roads and bridges, as well as booming communication technology, such as the telegraph, the army nimbly responded to military pressures. Douglas frequently noted industrialized inventions that were becoming commonplace while he was in the army. During the eight years he had served in India, for example, the “railway had been opened” and “[had] become of some importance,” improving “in every respect since [his regiment] first marched up country.” The telegraph also made an impact, especially as Europeans awaited news: Lighthouse keepers transmitted by telegraph the approach of a mail boat, which would in turn “set the whole town in a ferment,” because government officials, members of the press, merchants, and the armed forces eagerly anticipated communication from home. On the march towards Bombay where his regiment would board a ship that would take it on the next leg of its journey to Crimea, Douglas recognized other local changes: “[B]ridges spanned the water-courses that we had to wade through eight years before,” and the road was “greatly changed for the better.”²⁶¹ Douglas’s identification of several newly generated changes in only the eight years since his arrival in India demonstrates his presence at a key moment in the history of industrialized growth.

Allowing for even more speed for travel, the use of steamships exploded during the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁶² To travel to Egypt, Douglas and his regiment

²⁶¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 56, 11, 22.

²⁶² John Armstrong and David M. Williams, *The Impact of Technological Change: The Early Steamship in Britain* (St. John’s, Newfoundland: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2011), 6.

sailed on a steam-frigate called the *Punjaub* which was “jury-rigged” to remove the engines, allowing for more room for horses. When the regiment left Egypt, a “nearly new” Cunard steamer, the *Etna*, took them with much fanfare to the Crimea.²⁶³

According to Basil Lubbock, the *Punjaub* was a paddle wheel frigate, designed for the East India Company and built in Bombay.²⁶⁴ Constructed in 1852 from Malabar teak, the *Punjaub* combined the relatively outdated paddle wheel boxes most famously associated with Mississippi River boats with a full rig of sail and steam engines, which were removed to house the 10th Hussars’s horses.²⁶⁵ In the span of six days, stalls for two hundred and fifty horses were added to the ship, allowing for the “quickest possible despatch” for the cavalry to journey to Crimea via Egypt, alongside several other ships *en route* to the same destination. Lubbock described the ship:

On the passage to Suez the *Punjaub* first gave a taste of her sailing powers; and so superior did she prove herself to her [ship] consorts that though she put out her fires and lowered her topsails on the cap whilst they staggered along under full head of steam and press of sail, she ran them hull down in spite of the impediment of her great paddle boxes.²⁶⁶

The *Punjaub* later strategically participated in the Indian Mutiny of 1857 at Calcutta.²⁶⁷

Compared to the *Punjaub*, the 1855 Cunard *Etna*, which Douglas sailed from Egypt to the Crimea, demonstrated significantly updated technology—the “screw

²⁶³ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 18, 154.

²⁶⁴ Basil Lubbock, *The Blackwall Frigates* (Boston: Charles E. Lauriat, 1922), 212.

²⁶⁵ Armstrong and Williams, *Impact of Technological Change*, 1.

²⁶⁶ Lubbock, *Blackwall Frigates*, 215-16.

²⁶⁷ Lubbock, *Blackwall Frigates*, 222.

propeller” and an iron hull.²⁶⁸ The *Etna* also showcased a more powerful engine that was almost double the strength of the *Punjaub*.²⁶⁹ Because of its iron hull, the *Etna* could manage heavier machinery, experience greater buoyancy, and adapt well to steam. The screw propulsion engineering that was recently introduced saved money, reduced the drag on sailing vessels, and allowed more space on ships, compared to the features of the paddle wheel.²⁷⁰ As his regiment neared the Crimea, Douglas commented on the vibration that resulted from the *Etna*’s new-fashioned iron-screw engineering:

Up steam and away; some on watch, the others to sleep, and to wake up in the morning and find themselves entering in the bright sunshine the sea of Marmora, while the continuous thud thud of the screw-propeller causes a jar throughout the vessel. Still we sped on, the distance hourly decreasing[.]²⁷¹

The *Etna* continued to transport British troops around the globe after Crimea, including to Malta in the Mediterranean.²⁷²

Like Douglas’s experience in India with the railroad and the waterways over which bridges were constructed, his travel on these two types of steamships demonstrate a similar jump in technology. The *Punjaub*, originally a steam-powered ship, contained engines that were replaced to allow for better military use—and the frigate did not utilize

²⁶⁸ George Rogers Taylor, *The Transportation Revolution, 1815-1860* (New York: Harper and Row, 1951), 118; Frances E. Hyde, *Cunard and the North Atlantic 1840-1973: A History of Shipping and Financial Management* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1975), 326-27.

²⁶⁹ Hyde, *Cunard and the North Atlantic*, 326-27; cf. Lubbock, *Blackwall Frigates*, 213.

²⁷⁰ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 118.

²⁷¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 155.

²⁷² “Navy,” *The Albion: A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature (1822-1876)* 37, no. 21 (May 21, 1859): 248, *American Periodicals*.

the screw-propeller, which was one of the “most significant [technical changes] for the future” of steam.²⁷³ By contrast, later in his journey, Douglas experienced a state-of-the-art steam-powered ship in the *Etna*, which utilized the screw that the *Punjaub* lacked. Particularly noticeable, the “thud thud” of this new technology would remind the soldiers on board the *Etna* of the transformations occurring in steam technology with their sea-going vessel compared to what they had experienced with the *Punjaub*. The Cunard line, the premiere shipping company of British origins, offered a prestige to the British army that was not only visible to the Egyptian population which saw them off on their journey, but it also gave the soldiers a pride in their own association with the industrialized experience that Britain was known for. As a British cavalryman mid-century, Douglas lived in the midst of one of the most revolutionary influences of change. As John Armstrong and David M. Williams argued, the steamship “performed vital modernizing functions,” such as contributing to “personal mobility,” standardizing “modern forms of business practice,” encouraging a “wider appreciation of time” due to shipping companies’ new scheduling norms, and demonstrating the need for governments to “confront the impact of new technology.” The growth in steam “led to changes in the pattern and rhythm of activity” of daily life, a key distinction from the “pre-modern economy.”²⁷⁴ Douglas was a part of this growth and lived the massive change while it was happening.

Steamships were not the only technological change that affected the British army during the first half of the nineteenth century: Access to the east via Egypt opened up in

²⁷³ Taylor, *Transportation Revolution*, 118.

²⁷⁴ Armstrong and Williams, *Impact of Technological Change*, 180, 171.

the form of the “Overland Route.” The Overland Route was the route through Egypt that connected the Mediterranean Sea with the Red Sea, then through the Arabian Sea, and then to all points east, including India. Heading west from Suez on the northern tip of the Red Sea, travelers caravanned the seventy-five miles to Cairo, followed the Nile north, and then joined the “Mehmoudieh” Canal, which led to Alexandria. In the 1830s, as the route became developed, travel over the overland route lasted about nine days, including a few days of site-seeing in Cairo, and the passage took about the same amount of time twenty years later in Douglas’s time.²⁷⁵ Private enterprise advanced what became the “official route” to India, with a variety of entities, including “large business houses” in London and the Bombay government in India—protected by the English Consul in Egypt—paying “private messengers” to ensure mail arrived safely.²⁷⁶ Indeed, both the British government and the East India Company resisted using the new steam technology that would supplement the overland journey to strengthen communication ties, but, because of the “deplorable financial status” of the Company, the government took on the “practical assumption” of the Company’s financial responsibility, with the Company retaining some administrative control. This shakeup effectuated the Company’s attempts to place new steamers in the maritime regions between Suez and Bombay.²⁷⁷ However, neither the British government nor the East India Company wanted to risk “political complications” with the Pasha of Egypt or the Turkish government, and therefore

²⁷⁵ “The Overland Journey from India,” *Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China, and Australasia*, n.s., 14, pt. 1 (1834): 200; cf. Douglas, *Soldiering*, 132, 151.

²⁷⁶ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 227.

²⁷⁷ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 209-10, 212.

allowed the development of private enterprise of the route overland.²⁷⁸ Thomas Waghorn, a Bengal marine officer, dedicated his life to regularizing the route over Egypt, focusing first on establishing a standardized mail service in 1837 and battling bureaucratic “obstructiveness” in London, India, and with the British Admiralty. The East India Company charged Waghorn with the responsibility of ensuring that mail from India traveled successfully through Egypt, and, while ensconced there, he worked on acquiring camels to transport the valuable coal from Alexandria to Suez.²⁷⁹ The Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, encouraged the project, hoping to garner “new prominence” and “new commercial opportunities and cultural influences” for his country. While Waghorn continued to work towards increasing the ease with which travelers made the journey, two English competitors, J. R. Hill and Mr. Raven, built hotels in Cairo and Suez with the intention of accommodating those same travelers.²⁸⁰ Signal towers, posthouses, and a half-way house were also built between Suez and Cairo, allowing communication and rest for horses and travelers, although these were initially rudimentary.²⁸¹ Donkeys and camels generally provided conveyance along the Nile north to Alexandria. The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company became involved in the development of the route by not only securing the contracts for delivering mail between India and England, but also through implementing a series of modifications to strengthen the route. River steamers for the Nile and better trackboats for the canal, as well as the clearing of

²⁷⁸ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 226.

²⁷⁹ Herbert Addison, “Thomas Waghorn and the Overland Route,” *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society* 45, no. 2 (1958): 181.

²⁸⁰ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 231, 229, 227.

²⁸¹ Addison, “Thomas Waghorn,” 181.

stones and debris from the road between Cairo and Suez gradually provided a more accommodating journey.²⁸² This time-taking and labor intensive blending of services and national interests served to laboriously carve out of the Egyptian desert an efficient and speedy means for communications and access to the east. Offering an alternative to the long sea voyage south around the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa, the overland route was extremely popular, especially among businessmen who regarded the speed as more important than enduring the difficult journey.²⁸³ The Suez Canal, a monumental achievement that nevertheless included its own difficulties, was still thirty years away from the early beginnings of the overland route, and about fourteen years away from Douglas's journey, so the value of the overland route cannot be overstated.²⁸⁴

Douglas and his regiment marched through this significant passageway in their quest for Alexandria, Egypt, in 1855, and this journey served as an important milestone in Britain's appetite for faster communication and movement around the globe. In fact, it was during the Crimean War that the British army began to transport troops regularly using this route through Egypt for the purpose of war.²⁸⁵ Douglas told his readers that he refrained from delving too deeply into a description of the route because "thousands upon thousands" were as "familiar with this tract of land" as they were "with the railway from London to Dover"—either by "personal experience" or from "reading the many books which have from time to time appeared concerning the Desert, the Pyramids, and the

²⁸² Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 237.

²⁸³ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 225.

²⁸⁴ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 453.

²⁸⁵ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 398-99.

Nile.”²⁸⁶ The route was familiar to the British public at the time of Douglas’s arrival because of the consistent flow of mail to India, regular passenger voyages, and the favor of the Pasha due to the commercial benefit Egypt received.²⁸⁷ In his classic response to European colonialism, Said argued that information Europeans “culled from texts” misrepresented the Orient because that information was “myth[ical]” and not based on “empirical reality.”²⁸⁸ He also asserted that Europeans utilized this textual knowledge for their own advantage without benefit to the natives of the Orient.²⁸⁹ However, Douglas’s narrative regarding the route through Egypt that he claimed the British people knew so well confirmed what others had narrated before in such places as the *Asiatic Journal*.²⁹⁰ For example, English travelers hired Arab guides to accompany them across the Isthmus of Suez; donkeys, boats, and camels—thirty or forty per trip—to carry supplies, including water; and interpreters. Upon entering Cairo, travelers found the city to be “filled with interesting objects” and “swarming” with “human beings” who crowded the “mighty metropolis.”²⁹¹ Douglas even purchased “beautiful oranges” for sale in Suez and, in Eesbekiah, the center of Cairo, enjoyed “sherbet” with “the best of company.”²⁹² The Egyptian Pasha actively worked to bring commerce such as this to his land and deter the

²⁸⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 153.

²⁸⁷ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 398: Said Pasha.

²⁸⁸ Said, *Orientalism*, 80.

²⁸⁹ Said, *Orientalism*, 86.

²⁹⁰ “Overland Journey,” 198-200; cf. Douglas, *Soldiering*, 132-53.

²⁹¹ “Overland Journey,” 200, 202.

²⁹² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 87, 95-96.

west from developing other routes, including the one through the Euphrates valley.²⁹³

While the route benefited Britain commercially, it also benefited Egyptian merchants through the persistence of their Pasha and the relations building between Britain and Egypt that hallmarked the time.

Douglas detailed his experience through the route, naming the locales he encountered and highlighting their distinct features. Starting at the port of Boulac, near Cairo on the eastern side of the Nile, the soldiers and horses traversed a “bridge of boats” to cross to the narrow Isle of Roda and then passed over another bridge to finally span the Nile amidst a loud gala celebration. A hodge-podge of peoples—Arabs with their camels, “donkey boys, fair-haired Jews, villainous-looking Greeks, cunning Maltese, . . . sleek Armenians, . . . money-changers and usurers of Egypt,” as well as noisy bands of music, Turks, and Egyptian guards “blazing with scarlet and covered with gold embroidery”—all sent the regiment off. On the western side, near Gizeh with the massive Pyramids in the far distance, the army began its trek down the Nile toward Alexandria.²⁹⁴ Passing through many small villages, Douglas noted that in each of these, the “fair sex” was hidden, and the soldiers realized that the Pasha had ensured that the women had been concealed one day ahead of the arrival of the regiment.²⁹⁵ Few villages warranted much description; they all contained “numerous flat-roofed mud huts, with a scarcity of windows and chimneys,” according to Douglas. The regiment saw the “Barrage,” which Douglas explained was a “magnificent iron suspension bridge” spanning the Nile, on

²⁹³ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 231; cf. 166n39: Mehemet Ali Pasha.

²⁹⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 132-34.

²⁹⁵ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 142.

both sides of which “splendid stone towers forty feet high” were built in a “castellated style with miniature embrasures, bastions, and ravelins.” Here, Douglas learned, the railroad would cross, as evidenced by the long embankments in the midst of being constructed.²⁹⁶ The regiment traveled the length of a canal, where it was difficult to water their horses due to the steepness of its banks.²⁹⁷ Finally, after almost two weeks of travel, the regiment arrived at Alexandria, where they would board their steamship, the *Etna*, for Crimea. Grueling but necessary, the route overland exacted much out of the soldiers, but they saved four to six months off the trip around the Cape, precious time needed to augment the army in Crimea.²⁹⁸ The years of physical development of the land through Egypt enabled Douglas to be a witness to such dynamic shifts occurring in the Middle East.

As Douglas and his regiment traveled during the siege of Sebastopol in the Crimea, they encountered places of great beauty that inspired Douglas to recognize the attraction of the exotic locale even in the midst of war. The Woronzoff—or Vorontsov—Road was strategic to the 10th Hussars and their Turkish allies as they headed towards the important city. Douglas wrote,

Cut for many miles entirely out of the solid rock, and with a descent on one side of several hundred feet, [the road] passes among scenery not to be surpassed, I should imagine by any in Europe. On our left hand the mountain range rose abruptly but beautifully in the foliage with which it was clothed to the summit;

²⁹⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 137.

²⁹⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 139.

²⁹⁸ Hoskins, *British Routes to India*, 82, cf. 52.

while, on the right, the descent is still more grand in its awfulness. When gazing over the narrow parapet on that side of the road, you look for hundreds of feet down into an abyss, the bottom of which is hidden in the dark green grass and flowers, which also flourished on its sides[.]²⁹⁹

According to Douglas, this road was a “wonderful example of art overcoming nature” and “truly . . . magnificent” and “enchant[ing].”³⁰⁰ Douglas envisioned a “fairy-like” environment as he marched through and contemplated the “lofty hills, flowering valleys, and sparkling streams,” all “mixed harmoniously together as if by enchantment.” This memorable road led further east to the “valley of Baidar,” which “held [him] enthralled” as he “came suddenly” upon it, and he marveled at the miles of “lovely landscape” stretched before him, with its “flowery meadows like large nosegays, sprinkled with trees and groves of surpassing beauty.”³⁰¹ At times he and his fellow cavalymen traveled beyond Baidar, through a “fortified gateway away over the crest” to see a “still grander scene”: “down, far far below, was the blue heaving sea, whose billows and breakers, as they appeared from the height, were only the smallest specks.” “[T]urning from the giddy sight and looking upwards,” the men saw a sight as grand as that of the Black Sea: “crag towering above precipice, precipice over crag,” and the “clear blue sky” greeted them. One day, this sight was filled with “golden sun, rising from the sea, flood[ing] its waters with splendour,” while “cloud wreathes [came] up from the Euxine.” As Douglas experienced this Crimean panorama, he had visions of

²⁹⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 206-07.

³⁰⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 206, 207.

³⁰¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 209-10, 208.

“Genghis Khan the Terrible,” with his “hosts of armed and savage Tartars,” who “inhabited this beautiful valley.”³⁰²

Douglas’s striking reaction to this dramatic and “enchant[ing]” scenery as he approached the seat of war in Sebastopol embodied his dissonant feelings that emerged from his present-day experiences in war and the fantastical visualizations he perceived while campaigning. As Said argued, the “exotic locale” of the Orient gained a “vogue of considerable intensity” in the early nineteenth century, and this enthusiasm contained elements of “Gothic tales, pseudomedieval idylls, visions of barbaric splendor”—and even “cruelty.” As the century progressed, “[s]ensuality, promise, terror, sublimity, [and] idyllic pleasure” also permeated the “imagination” of Europeans.³⁰³ Indeed, while Douglas was “enthralled” with the beautiful landscape around him, he also recognized that his was not the first war to take place in this land. The past reality of the Mongols permeated his imaginary thoughts and stimulated him to face the actuality of where he was. But Douglas’s reaction demonstrated a martial correlation with the Mongols; he understood that Genghis Khan and his “savage Tartars” would feel “still prouder and still happier” upon returning from their “successful expeditions” to this “beautiful valley.” These combative images coalesce in Said’s words, crystallizing the intensity, the Gothic, the cruelty, the terror—even the “sublime, idyllic pleasure” that Douglas intimated in his vision of a successful Mongol hoard. Infused in the place that he called the “realm of wild reality” was a “fairy-like” existence that inspired him. Still, in the beauty of the valley of Baidar, he found its “deep silence” unnerving: Douglas yearned for “the busy

³⁰² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 209, 208.

³⁰³ Said, *Orientalism*, 118-19.

hum of human life to gladden the ear, the blue smoke curling lazily upwards from the rural chimneys to charm the eye, and the gladsome greeting of some rustic inhabitant, with his ‘Pleasant morning, sirs,’ to enliven his march.” For him, even as the scenery was “beautiful as a vision,” the lack of any “living things but ourselves” removed the “spirit” of the place, rendering it “nearly as silent as a cemetery.”³⁰⁴ Indeed, as Said also asserted, Europeans’—including Britons’--“cultural strength was fortified” through travelers’ tales such as Douglas’s, securing their perceptions “ethnocentric[ally].”³⁰⁵ While Douglas observed the chimera-like landscape around him, he yearned for a more familiar scene of “rural chimneys” and a “rustic inhabitant” who greeted him in a friendly manner. Douglas’s imagination filled the void where reality lacked, but he still saw the power of death in the silent images around him, and they cast fantasy in his mind. Mixing the language of beauty for the visible landscapes around him with the otherworldly language of imagination allowed Douglas to communicate the two sides of the coin of war. Indeed, this transformational moment for Douglas reflected the complex nature of war, with both the orient and his own experiences converging to underscore the novel environments he encountered as he served in the British army.

Reform and Her Majesty’s Army

Britain’s experience in the Crimean War famously demonstrated the pervasive weaknesses in the British army, and it was after Crimea when reform truly began to pick up steam. Still, the middle of the nineteenth century included key figures of reform who worked hard to mitigate these weaknesses and strengthen the British army’s functionality.

³⁰⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 208-09.

³⁰⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 117.

Lord Frederick FitzClarence, the illegitimate son of King William IV, found a lifetime of work from the age of fourteen as an ensign in the Coldstream Guards to Lieutenant Governor at Portsmouth, and, finally, as Commander-in-Chief in Bombay at the end of his life.³⁰⁶ Recognized as a hard worker, FitzClarence especially focused his reform energy on military education.³⁰⁷ In Portsmouth, FitzClarence established a school for training soldiers in field work, as opposed to academic learning, recognizing the need for the army to have practical training for war, but he also sought the revolutionary idea of using this training to “commission[] from the ranks,” those enlisted soldiers who were not part of the landed gentry from whom the officer corps were generally chosen. Furthermore, FitzClarence trained and tested officers and soldiers with the goal of preparing them to “handle large bodies [of the army] in the field.” The culmination of this work in Portsmouth, in many ways experimental, was the “camp of exercise” that FitzClarence later created for 10,000 men in Bombay in 1853.³⁰⁸ FitzClarence also found frustrating the lack of military manuals available and contracted for volumes that were practical and straightforward, offering at least one work himself. While FitzClarence was often impatient and harsh with both officers and the ranks, his temper softened as he began to see successful results from his reform modifications. FitzClarence died at the young age of fifty-four in India but was hailed as an important positive influence not only on regiments in India but on behalf of the British army as a whole.³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 30; John Gough Nichols, ed., “Lieut.-Gen. Lord Frederick FitzClarence, G.C.H.,” *Gentleman's Magazine* 207 (March 1855): 304; Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 33; cf. Douglas, *Soldiering*, 15.

³⁰⁷ Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 33.

³⁰⁸ Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 31.

³⁰⁹ Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 32-33.

Douglas referenced FitzClarence at key moments in his narrative, associating him with the pride he felt as a British soldier, particularly in relation to India before the regiment went to the Crimea. According to Douglas, FitzClarence established the “Central Training School” at Poonah in India, and, recalling an important review the Commander-in-Chief witnessed, Douglas explained that FitzClarence complimented his regimental colonel very highly on the “discipline and efficiency of his regiment.”³¹⁰ FitzClarence lamented the 10th Hussars’s transition to Crimea and their being out from under his command, but he was “happy” and “overjoyed” that the cavalry would soon have the opportunity of distinguishing itself in battle.³¹¹ FitzClarence told the men: “Wherever you go, my good wishes and prayers for your welfare will follow.”³¹² After the Crimean War, when Douglas trained at Woolmer Forest in 1859, he remembered the skill his regiment demonstrated for FitzClarence’s inspection of his regiment in India: the regiment “halted, took up a position on the drill ground, filed into the lines marked out on the spot, dismounted, picketed their horses, [and] took off their accoutrements and baggage”—all in eight-and-a-half minutes, a skill that the regiment could not seem to master at Woolmer.³¹³ Douglas’s association of the distinguished royal leader with the pride he felt over the skills his regiment experienced during a time of war demonstrates the respect he had for the Commander. Upon FitzClarence’s death, Douglas declared,

³¹⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 66, 15.

³¹¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 15.

³¹² Quoted in Douglas, *Soldiering*, 15.

³¹³ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 305-06.

Peace be to his memory! for he was a true soldier himself, and a soldier's true friend. In him the British army lost one of its best generals, and the troops in the Bombay Presidency a commander who looked after their interests, as a father would after the welfare of his children.³¹⁴

Strachan argued that FitzClarence was not only an “unlikely” candidate for implementing dramatic reform given his royal connection, but he was “correspondingly neglected” at being recognized for his insistence on reform.³¹⁵ Nevertheless, Douglas recognized the impact FitzClarence made and honored him in his writing. In the gradual vicissitudes of British army reform, FitzClarence became one more important chain in army transformation that was taking place in nineteenth century Britain.

Douglas not only appreciated reform efforts by army reformers such as FitzClarence, but he observed military proficiency among the French soldiers in Crimea that inspired him. Specifically, the French were clearly better at providing shelter and food on the battlefield for themselves. In contrast with the French, British soldiers would rather “sit down contentedly in the sunshine” and not “erect a temporary bivouac” to house them if the weather changed to rain, which demonstrated a lack of planning for emergencies, according to Douglas. Additionally, the British were “never taught to look after their food, or [gather] fuel to cook it with,” and they “expect[ed] everything to be brought to them”—a “bad habit to acquire.”³¹⁶ By contrast, the French were “far before our men” in foraging, and they turned this ability to forage into successful plundering,

³¹⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 15.

³¹⁵ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 29.

³¹⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 173-74.

allowing them to “live where we should starve.”³¹⁷ Douglas remembered a “great outcry” over unroasted coffee that arrived for the British, but he argued that the French would find ways to roast and grind “green coffee beans” if that were needed. Douglas felt the British reaction demonstrated a “dissatisfied feeling” bordering on ungratefulness that needed to be purged from British army culture. Indeed, Douglas called the French “almost too generous,” stressing that they would part with anything a British soldier appeared to admire. Douglas measured Britons’ ability to survive well during a campaign against the French ability to do the same and found it wanting. He felt that soldiers should be trained in the “theoretical part of foraging, bivouacking, tent-pitching, and all the other numerous peaceful duties that he has to perform in war time.”³¹⁸ He yearned for his own service to have much higher standards.

British army reformers held the French army, with its strong centralized structure, as a model for efficient and effective military organization.³¹⁹ Military justice, logistical movement, and medical services had been organized under this model since Napoleon Bonaparte, and Napoleon III mid-century enlarged the scope of this arrangement, albeit burgeoning the structure to be almost bloated.³²⁰ Nevertheless, this centralization appealed to British reformers who saw in their own army a multi-headed organization that was permeated with both civilian and military personnel that advanced the chaotic multi-departmental leadership structure.³²¹ While French officers perceived this structure

³¹⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 173, 217.

³¹⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 174, 173.

³¹⁹ Dawson, “French Army,” 2, cf. 1.

³²⁰ Dawson, “French Army,” 2, 4.

³²¹ Dawson, “French Army,” 3, 5; cf. Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 170.

of leadership as too bureaucratic, British soldiers on the field in Crimea recognized at the basic level of military action that the French were far superior.³²² Luvaas discussed the well-respected military thinker Sir John Fox Burgoyne's view that the British could in no way defend their island because of the lack of preparedness of Britain's forces and logistical needs in contrast to those of France.³²³ Even FitzClarence highlighted the French, arguing that they "*all* know their duty," which was why he "determined to make all my *superior* officers learn their work."³²⁴ Although the French and British were on the same side in Crimea, traditionally they were enemies, and this situation made this apparent success "all the more galling," according to Dawson.³²⁵ The efficiency of the French model inspired reformers' desire for a simpler structure, while Britain's aristocratic army leadership perceived French revolutionary fervor as meritocratic. Colley wrote, "[T]he prolonged success of French arms in Continental Europe" was "politically subversive, casting doubt on the belief that men of land and birth were inherently more suited to the exercise of authority than any other social group."³²⁶ Douglas's passion, however, seen from the perspective of the rank and file, was to garner the knowledge and skill of the French and incorporate it into his own beloved British army.

Douglas himself consistently saw ways to improve army methods, and he wrote such solutions into his account. For example, he declared that there was a "right as well as a wrong way" to embark and disembark horses, namely, that "men should be formed

³²² Dawson, "French Army," 6; cf. Douglas, *Soldiering*, 173.

³²³ Luvaas, *Education of an Army*, 65, 74.

³²⁴ Quoted in Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 31.

³²⁵ Dawson, "French Army," 1.

³²⁶ Colley, *Britons*, 150.

up in single rank” alongside the ship, “be ordered to dismount” their horses while officers readied the vessel, and then the soldiers should remove all the horses’ accoutrements “in precisely the same order” as the cavalry dismounted from its horses.³²⁷ To maintain security for troops using a regiment’s advanced posts, Douglas argued that soldiers assigned to listen for the enemy should be “placed as far as possible to the front,” so that “any attack in force could be met by a superior one.” Writing around the time the American Civil War was taking place in 1864, Douglas compared the lack of British advanced posts during the Battle of Inkerman on November 5, 1854, unfavorably with the recent battle “the other day in Virginia, at Spotsylvania Court-house.” In Virginia, a “division of the Federals, [crept] cautiously forward at four AM on the morning of the third day’s battle, never fired a shot until they were close upon the batteries, and then, with a shout and a rush, were in among the Confederates, and captured 4000 prisoners, several pieces of cannon, and two generals almost while at their breakfast,” successfully gaining the upper hand.³²⁸ For Douglas, the solution to training was not complicated: Soldiers should be “taken into a barrack-room one afternoon in a week,” where a “competent person” would teach them these skills and then test them. In a relatively short “six months” time, according to Douglas, “most of the men would know how to cook, construct a bivouac, throw up a bank to shelter their horses in severe weather on outpost, . . . get clear water from muddy,” and “picket their horses”—in short, learn to properly survive during warfare and in peace.³²⁹ Tackling a wide-ranging assortment of

³²⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 161-62.

³²⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 242, 243.

³²⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 174-75.

weak practices in the British army, Douglas argued for meaningful preparation for the British army.

After Crimea, Douglas had the opportunity to spend three days of training at Woolmer Forest, which the government had recently marshaled as a training center.³³⁰ Douglas, a portion of his regiment, and other units of his brigade marched twenty miles south towards Woolmer from army headquarters at Aldershot. While Douglas appreciated Woolmer more than he expected, including the “first-rate” rations of bread and meat and the “beautiful spots” he viewed in the forest, he criticized some aspects of the quality of instruction they received.³³¹ For example, Douglas expected to be taught important skills more conscientiously at Woolmer. His regiment, for example, took too much time—two hours—to picket its horses compared to the less-than fifteen minutes his regiment had taken for the same job years before in India.³³² Tools the army provided also came under Douglas’s scrutiny. He compared the Indian shackle that his regiment had used with those that were issued to the men at Woolmer: “[T]he former [were] light, strong, and useful, while the latter were . . . heavy, cumbersome, and useless.” The iron heel-pegs given to the army at Woolmer left much to be desired as well, according to Douglas. Easily dislodged from the ground and too heavy, these iron pegs should instead be light and made of wood, which would be practical for carrying, easily replaced, and offer “great[er] resistance” due to the wood’s quality of swelling underground.³³³ Finally,

³³⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 303.

³³¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 311, 320.

³³² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 305-06.

³³³ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 307-08.

Douglas related a story that demonstrated the continued arbitrary and impractical nature of training in the British army. Three weeks before, the 12th Foot regiment trained at Woolmer, and, through an unrealistically strict adherence to guidelines, the regiment was caught in a drenching downpour in the field. According to Douglas, “regimental authorities” took the command literally to not “cut up the ground” unnecessarily, so the officers would not allow the men to form a trench around the tent for protection from rain. Unexpectedly, “one of the heaviest and severest thunder-storms” came on, which had not been experienced in years. Lightning flashed, thunder pealed, and rain came down “in torrents”—and “the unfortunate 12th . . . [stood] in their tents,” where “water ran in floods.” Illogically, once the storm was over, the men were then “allowed to dig and trench round their tents”—and “no rain fell for weeks afterwards.” Having witnessed the men’s soaked appearance the day after the deluge, Douglas criticized British army training in general and officers’ decision-making in particular.³³⁴

While some mid-century reforms had taken place in the army, such as the decline of flogging as a punishment, the British army mid-century remained a haven for bureaucracy and aristocratic hierarchy that resisted professionalism and cleanly divided the officer class from the rank and file, which inhibited dedicated training to strengthen the force.³³⁵ Douglas experienced in Woolmer an introductory and meagre attempt at instruction for war, but he also served at Aldershot. The government purchased land at Aldershot to be a “permanent camp of instruction” and to provide a home for army

³³⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 312-13.

³³⁵ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 174-75.

training that also took place at Woolmer Forest.³³⁶ Limited barracks, three hospitals, and a military cemetery existed in 1856 for soldiers at Aldershot, and training on rifle and musketry use developed.³³⁷ However, Luvaas discussed the minimal availability of books on tactics at Aldershot—only one book on the topic existed in the Prince Consort’s Library in 1860—and explained that there was “practically no interest in the subject.”³³⁸ As Burroughs argued, by the early 1850s, the authorities had not “seriously considered what seemed the remote contingency of troops being called to fight a large-scale land war against a European enemy.”³³⁹ The army was geared toward home and colonial defense, but “little thought was given to concentrated action by brigades or divisions,” let alone administrative efficiency.³⁴⁰ This sporadic and weak training emerged out of a resistance to the shifting of army culture towards professional skills. As Harries-Jenkins claimed, the deeply ingrained elitism in army leadership culture suppressed an education that would demand knowledge of tactics and other practical training for war, but stressed the traditional “liberal education” of classical subjects that permeated the British public schools of the officer class which also influenced military education.³⁴¹ This perspective filtered down to the rank and file, who were the recipients of any modifications or traditionalism inherent to the army. One key event that triggered reform after the Crimean

³³⁶ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 178.

³³⁷ “Timeline History of Aldershot,” VisitorUK, 2021, <http://www.visitoruk.com/timeline.php?id=1799&f=Aldershot>; cf. Peter Simkins, “The Four Armies 1914-1918,” in Chandler, *The Oxford History of the British Army*, 246; Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 178; cf. Luvaas *Education of an Army*, 98.

³³⁸ Luvaas, *Education of an Army*, 61.

³³⁹ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 178.

³⁴⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 178.

³⁴¹ Harries-Jenkins, *Army in Victorian Society*, 103; 132; 138.

War, however, was the death of the Duke of Wellington in 1852. As the acknowledged leader from whom the army sought military advice, Wellington encouraged parliamentary control over the army and contested change over and over.³⁴² As Burroughs asserted, reform commanded “unprecedented public and parliamentary interest” mid-century, but this “flurry of agitation” produced “no coherent, detailed programme of change” in how the army was run. Indeed, the “fatal political-military divide” of leadership continued unabated, and reform would not take place until the post-Crimea era.³⁴³

While Douglas lamented these training weaknesses, a major highlight for him at Woolmer was the notable visit of Her Majesty Queen Victoria to see her soldiers in review. As the Crimean War began, Victoria became “fervently martial” in spirit and, as the war continued on, she claimed the soldiers as her own, seeing herself as the “head of the army.”³⁴⁴ She fervently sought dispatches regarding the war because she wanted to know everything about her troops and the battles in which they fought. When the troops sailed for Crimea, she watched them leave, and, as they slowly made their way home, she visited them in the hospitals.³⁴⁵ She grieved over their injuries and lamented their “fine, powerful frames laid low and prostrate with wounds and sickness on beds of suffering or maimed in the prime of life.” She spoke to each of them and demonstrated her heartfelt

³⁴² Strachan, *Wellington's Legacy*, 8, 18, 14.

³⁴³ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 183-84; cf. De Watteville, *British Soldier*, 163.

³⁴⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2012), s.v. “Victoria.”

³⁴⁵ Christopher Hibbert, *Queen Victoria: A Personal History* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 225, 223.

care and concern, offering a sentimental response that demonstrated her personal recognition of the sacrifices the soldiers made in war.³⁴⁶

Queen Victoria's arrival at Woolmer brought an enormous sense of responsibility and pride to the men, and her presence represented an overall expression of imperial pride. On this unexpected appearance of the queen, Douglas and his regiment moved fully into action to prepare for her. The camp was in a "hurly-burly" state, with troops turning tents "inside out and back again, then put square," and horses were forced to be "kept in a straight line." The excitement and hubbub of activity is apparent in Douglas's account, only to be fulfilled with the queen's arrival between five and six in the evening. The queen passed by slowly before the men, with "bands playing" and "people cheering," as "only the loyal hearts of Old England can cheer." She was given a soldier's ration of tea and bread, and, Douglas heard, she "spoke very favourably of it." Still, Douglas wished the queen could see the men in action, "in a rough state, with jackets off and shirt sleeves tucked up," either "going about their occupations" if they had work to do, or "lounging about smoking and chatting with their comrades." It was this "freedom from restraint" that Douglas loved about being in the army, and he felt the queen would have even more pride in her army if she could see them in this purest form and not in the formality of review.³⁴⁷ Indeed, in his biography of Queen Victoria, Christopher Hibbert explained that Victoria had an opportunity to visit a field day at Aldershot, which she found "*so* exciting," never having seen such a thing before.³⁴⁸ It is this typical working

³⁴⁶ Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, 223-24.

³⁴⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 315-16, 318.

³⁴⁸ Quoted in Hibbert, *Queen Victoria*, 241.

day to which Douglas alluded in his desire for his queen to see her troops in the most natural state they should be in—as soldiers. The pride the men had in her as queen and the power of her royal presence clearly impressed on them a desire to please her. In return, Victoria passionately esteemed her men, and, to show her respect after the war, she created the Victoria Cross to honor the sacrifice not only of the officer class, but also of the enlisted soldier—the first time a “gallantry award” was ever conferred regardless of rank.³⁴⁹ This sentimental love and pride Victoria exhibited towards her army translated into a broader pride in British nineteenth century culture that helped to turn the tide of popular opinion towards more respect for the British army, strengthening the army throughout the empire, allowing soldiers to more conscientiously serve Britain.³⁵⁰

British Identity: Good Men and True

Douglas embodied the mid-century soldier of the British empire in his cultural identification with many aspects of British identity. By birth Scottish, Douglas learned and retained some Indian ways, even while rejecting other eastern customs. He also placed himself in the role of “English soldier” in light of the Battle of Balaklava. Douglas’s mix of association reflected his life journey of growing up in Britain, soldiering in India, living in Egypt, and fighting in the Crimea. The evidence of Douglas’s immersion in Indian culture as a British subject emerged in his writing. For example, Douglas saturated the opening of his memoir with mentions of Indian terms,

³⁴⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2012), s.v. “Victoria”; cf. Harold E. Raugh, Jr., *The Victorians at War, 1815-1914: An Encyclopedia of British Military History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 332.

³⁵⁰ Cf. Melvin Charles Smith, *Awarded for Valour: A History of the Victoria Cross and the Evolution of British Heroism* (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 35, 41; and Lara Kriegel, “Who Blew the Balaklava Bugle?: The Charge of the Light Brigade and the Afterlife of the Crimean War,” *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 20 (2015): 6-8.

such as the *ghorrawallah* (horse-keeper), *bobagee* (cook), and the *patcherie* (married quarters), as well cultural references, such as the natives' exuberant reaction to the railroad, situating the reader into his extensive time in India.³⁵¹ Later, *en route* to Alexandria in Egypt, an Arab chief challenged the officers to a horse race. According to Douglas, the British chose an officer to race who was the "best rider of the Bombay Presidency, if not in India."³⁵² Douglas's reference point proudly aimed at India, highlighting this deep association. In his story of the dramatic downpour at Woolmer, Douglas's descriptive words also notably referenced India: "[N]othing I ever witnessed could be at all compared to it, except the opening of the south-west monsoon in India."³⁵³ Although Douglas grew up in the British Isles, with the notorious rainfall of northern Scotland, his connection point was the language of the Indian monsoons. Finally, when Douglas described the theater entertainment available to the men in Sebastopol, he explained that the female roles, particularly of the Shakespearean dramas, were played by men. But this was nothing new "to us Indians," proclaimed Douglas, because they were used to men playing women.³⁵⁴ Douglas proudly incorporated into his own internal identity his eight-year experience with Indian culture. As Blunt discussed in her focus on Anglo-Indians in early twentieth century British India, this "mixed descent" community saw itself as a "synthesis of India and Britain" and a "fusion of East and West." Blunt's accent on the underlying principle of the duality of imperial influence as embodied in

³⁵¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 8.

³⁵² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 139, 141.

³⁵³ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 313.

³⁵⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 241.

India typifies that “fusion” Douglas experienced. Furthermore, as Blunt demonstrated, India also served as “home” for those embracing a dual identity, and, with Douglas’s extended time of eight years instilling in him deeper cultural connections with India, he felt a familiar kinship with this influential imperial location.³⁵⁵ While Douglas’s Scottish birth precludes his formal inclusion into the Anglo-Indian community, his identification as an “Indian” nevertheless demonstrates a deep affection for India and his desire to embrace its strengths. He saw himself—with pride—as an “Indian,” and both obvious and subtle references filled his memoir.

While Douglas proudly perceived himself in light of India, all of the east, including India, contained elements of culture and character that vexed him. He saw the “Hindoo” Indians as simple and cunning and felt that they preferred the status quo: “[T]hey wish for no improvement, they want no change,” and they responded with resistance that it is “the custom” when encouraged to innovate. Hindus, stated Douglas, also found it difficult to envision new technology: “Common things, that are plain and feasible to us, are utterly beyond [a Hindu’s] comprehension,” such as the marvels of steam or the railways.³⁵⁶ Douglas also viewed the population in the Middle East in a negative light. He told stories he’d heard or experienced regarding the Ottomans who were “deceitful[.]” For example, to protect Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, from being found out about having stolen money from the Ottoman Sultan’s treasury, Ali’s son-in-law and one other investigator created two reports—a true one to be sent to the Sultan and a false one to be given to the Pasha, planning that the true report would arrive to the

³⁵⁵ Blunt, ““Land of Our Mothers,”” 50-51.

³⁵⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 6.

Sultan in Constantinople first.³⁵⁷ Discovering this duplicity, Ali murdered his son-in-law—and this act was later avenged by men who, in Douglas’s time, served as officials at the citadel in Cairo. These behind-the-scenes machinations occurring for years astonished Douglas, who saw this deceit as scandalous.³⁵⁸ Douglas also saw the Turks in Crimea as inordinately “cruel[] and oppressi[ve].” He compared them to the Russian enemy, the Cossacks, asserting that the Russians were “lambs in comparison with the Turks.” The Turks respected nothing, “whatever might be its value or utility,” according to Douglas, and “wherever they went, lawless desolation marked their track”: “All through the valley, wherever a house stood, the Turks visited it and carried off whatever was portable, and what could not be taken was thrown down and broken.”³⁵⁹ He shared the story of a Russian woman whose property was respected by the enemy, the British, and when the Turks arrived, she expected them to behave like their allies. Instead, when she told them she had no money or valuables, they “perceive[ed] the love she had for her infant [son]” and “murdered him before her eyes,” leaving his “mangled body bleeding on the floor.”³⁶⁰ Regardless of what side these people were on, Douglas recognized their inhumane behavior. Furthermore, Douglas commented on the dramatic differences between the Turks’ customs and the Britons’. The Turks “carelessly” left unheeded tables, chairs, and narghiles outside, calling this “unswerving [Turkish] honesty.” By contrast, the Turks could not understand the British desire to congregate together in cafes

³⁵⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 118-19.

³⁵⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 120, 122.

³⁵⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 213.

³⁶⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 214.

for the purpose of “[singing] songs with unintermittible choruses” while drinking port instead of coffee, preferring instead to converse with “gestures of nods and shrugs.” In response to some cultural habits of all easterners he encountered, including Indians, Egyptian Ottomans, and the Turks, Douglas stated, “Our customs and habits were so different [from] theirs.”³⁶¹

These varying cultural, religious, and political differences Douglas experienced as he journeyed east highlight his deeper identification with the British imperial world, embodied in India and reflecting the empire’s growing mix of culture. Douglas embraced those aspects of eastern culture that he found civilizing, resulting in the “fusion” of identity that Blunt discussed, but rejected those aspects he did not admire.³⁶² While Billie Melman stated that the European, including British, perception of the “other” “reflect[ed] an ethnocentric and hierarchical view of the world with the West as its centre and as its standard,” it was Douglas’s perusal of the easterners’ conduct that caused him to reject their worldview.³⁶³ Indeed, for Douglas, the geographical border of Egypt, combined with his experiences among Turks while in the Crimea, connected him more distinctly with a more familiar Indian culture. As Said argued, while India “never provided an indigenous threat to Europe” or to Britain, it was when the “native authority crumbled” that the land was “opened . . . to inter-European rivalry and . . . control.”³⁶⁴ Britain succeeded commercially, benefiting both Britain and India, and in this imperial and

³⁶¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 279, cf. 118, 4.

³⁶² Blunt, ““Land of Our Mothers,”” 50.

³⁶³ Billie Melman, “The Middle East / Arabia: ‘the cradle of Islam,’” in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 105.

³⁶⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 75.

global perspective Douglas lived. But instead of the “hegemony” and “direct domination” Said attributed to Europe and Britain over subjugated “non-Europeans” who embodied “Oriental backwardness,” Douglas embraced the east as much as he could and rejected those aspects that he could not.³⁶⁵ In India, he saw a people who, in his mind, were too content with the status quo, even rejecting revolutionary technological changes that the world was discovering. In the Islamic regions, while Britons had a healthy respect for Muslim and Ottoman power and often admired their warriors for their tremendous courage in battle, Douglas emphasized what he viewed as their “deceit” and “cruelty” and considered those characteristics not only destructive but undesirable.³⁶⁶ Douglas based his viewpoints on situations he saw and internalized. As Douglas experienced native conditions, customs, and language, he embraced some elements of identification, binding him more intimately to an empire expanding in its multidimensional character.

While Douglas took on an Indian layer of identity from his years in the army, he was acutely proud of being both Scottish and English simultaneously. He highlighted his Scottish associations regularly. For example, in India, preparing to leave for the Crimea, he and his Scottish regimental friends together celebrated “Hogmanay,” New Year’s Eve, an important holiday for Scots, marking the event talking about “old times, old comrades, and old scenes.”³⁶⁷ When the regiment was in Bombay, the city’s natural harbor—one of Asia’s “finest”—reminded Douglas of the Firth of Forth in Scotland. When he remembered the Bass and Cramond islands in the firth, however, the Scottish seaway

³⁶⁵ Said, *Orientalism*, 7, cf. 75.

³⁶⁶ Said, *Orientalism*, 59; see Major Fosberry, “On Some of the Mountain Tribes of the N. W. Frontier of India,” *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869-1870)* 1, no. 2 (1869): 187-88.

³⁶⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 35.

supplanted that of Bombay because Bombay's "hot wind" came "searching and seething into every hole and cranny, drying up all before it."³⁶⁸ When the Pasha of Egypt gave Douglas's regiment a "nearly waterproof" blanket made of camel's hair, Douglas found it "very useful"—but he proudly compared it to Scotland's finest workmanship: it was made "exactly like a Scotch plaid."³⁶⁹ Finally, when Douglas unexpectedly discovered Scottish engineers in Dahamanhour along the regiment's journey to Alexandria, he spent a "most comfortable evening" with them, sharing knowledge about Scotland. One man was "not only from Edinburgh," but he was "contemporaneous" with Douglas—and the two men shared "schoolboy days" and the many "'bickers'"—stone battles—"between the South Side and Carnegie Street." Douglas nostalgically reflected, "How happy do such unexpected rencontres in a foreign land make one!"³⁷⁰ Indeed, Douglas's reaction to his long-ago friends and their connection to schooling reflects the lad o'pairts element of Scottish culture that recognized that any student could succeed and develop into an outstanding citizen—and these engineers and Douglas epitomize the maturity of this Scottish quality.³⁷¹ Douglas found extreme joy and satisfaction in encountering fellow Scots, especially ones with whom he had such a deep connection. However, at the same time, Douglas called himself an "English soldier," particularly in relation to a conviction he had that the right thing to do as a soldier was to allow prisoners he was transporting in Crimea to "say a few words" to their wives when they encountered them on the road. To

³⁶⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 68.

³⁶⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 170.

³⁷⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 143-44.

³⁷¹ Christopher Bischof, "Progress and the People: Histories of Mass Education and Conceptions of Britishness, 1870-1914," *History of Education* 49, no. 2 (2020), see 176.

Douglas, being an English soldier meant displaying mercy toward both the prisoners and their “faithful[]” wives: “I should have been unworthy of [this] name,” he claimed, if he had not allowed this “simple request.” He was proud, in fact, of having the “power to be able to do this little kindness,” and he appreciated the wives’ gratefulness.³⁷² While fully identifying himself with his Scottish roots, Douglas nevertheless distinguished himself as “English,” claiming the broader identity of the British Isles in which his homeland lay. Indeed, as MacKenzie asserted, Britain was often referred to as “England,” and Scots were “crucial” to this identity.³⁷³ Furthermore, Richard J. Finlay clarified that often when a Scotchman resided in India, this residence became an “English domicile,” according to English law.³⁷⁴ This mixing of Douglas’s heritage of Scottish and English distinctiveness represented an inclusive image of being British. Gust analyzed this British blending in a discussion of Scottish Highlanders and identity. Gust demonstrated that at times Scots “forge[d] new and hybrid identities,” particularly in response to “their participation in [the] wider British imperial project.”³⁷⁵ As Robbins confirmed, “Britishness was an amalgam which transcended ‘Englishness’ and ‘Scottishness’” in the nineteenth century, and their mingling “implied a fusion of elements drawn from both peoples in creating a British identity.”³⁷⁶ Indeed, this “fusion” Robbins mentioned reflects Blunt’s similar assertion that more thoroughly intertwines the variety of influences Douglas encountered,

³⁷² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 191.

³⁷³ MacKenzie, “Empire and Metropolitan Cultures,” 274.

³⁷⁴ Richard J. Finlay, “National Identity, Union, and Empire, c.1850-1970,” in MacKenzie and Devine, *Scotland and the British Empire*, see 290n36.

³⁷⁵ Gust, “Remembering and Forgetting,” 637.

³⁷⁶ Robbins, *Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 5.

especially given his Scottish, English, and Indian cultural layers.³⁷⁷ Douglas journeyed through the east as a soldier born in Scotland, identifying with England, embracing some Indian, and recognizing his own pride in being part of the British empire.

During the Crimean War, the embodiment of British pride climaxed in the Battle of Balaklava, serving to bolster soldiers' views of themselves in light of war and their commitment to conflicts in the empire. While his regiment was in Crimea, Douglas had the opportunity to celebrate the occasion of the one-year anniversary of this climactic moment of the war. This humiliating loss struck both the British public and the soldiers of the British army as a challenge to rise up and reengage their courage. As Anna Maria Brudenell argued, Balaklava became a "byword for stubborn heroism, devotion to duty, and steadfastness in the face of overwhelming odds."³⁷⁸ The infamous battlefield itself was a powerful symbol of the war. Having arrived in Crimea six months after the battle, Douglas was struck with the appearance that the battle had just occurred a few days or weeks before: "Skeletons of horses still lay all round . . . [and] the body of one of our dragoons, the 1st Royals," as well as "the remains of a Russian," were still there. Douglas realized that the "seven hundred sabres" of Douglas's regiment, along with the "several thousands" following them, were clearly needed, as so few of the ten Balaklava regiments had survived the battle.³⁷⁹ Indeed, since India, Douglas's regiment "coveted [the] opportunity" to "avenge Balaklava," and the daily reinforcements arriving buoyed

³⁷⁷ See Blunt, "'Land of Our Mothers,'" 50.

³⁷⁸ Anna Maria Brudenell, "Lessons in Leadership: The Battle of Balaklava, 1854," *Military Review* 88, no. 2 (2008), 77.

³⁷⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 169-70.

the spirits of those already there.³⁸⁰ But Douglas declared that this “disastrous charge” was only disastrous “in its immediate results,” because it “added fresh glory to that name which the British cavalry have always retained for daring and determined courage.”³⁸¹ He saw the battlefield and, instead of feeling defeated, he donned that “fresh glory” which the British “always retained.” As Philip Warner suggested, the battle served as a “symbol of the courage which made the British Army face impossible odds and usually win through.”³⁸² The power to inspire towards a resurgence of British pride lay in the battlefield of Balaklava, and Douglas felt this conviction.

The soldiers who participated in the Battle of Balaklava, both the survivors as well as the deceased, also symbolized British pride, and the anniversary dinner highlighted the men and their heroic actions. These “good men and true” shared glories and stories pertaining to others, not elevating themselves but wanting to make others happy.³⁸³ Furthermore, they met on an equal basis: “[M]ilitary distinctions were for the time laid aside,” and the men shared mutual respect. They toasted the Queen, the royal family, the Navy, and the French, and they especially honored the men who did not return, toasting them in “solemn silence.”³⁸⁴ The conversation quickly turned towards the recognition the men felt they deserved, and one of the 17th Lancers asserted that what the service really needed was “a little justice,” of which there was a “great scarcity.” He told the story of Jack Farrel who became caught up in “heavy fire, went back and carried a

³⁸⁰ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 229, 228, 170.

³⁸¹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 244.

³⁸² Philip Warner, *The Crimean War: A Reappraisal* (New York: Taplinger, 1972), 218.

³⁸³ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 254, 253.

³⁸⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 253, 256-57.

wounded officer off the field,” while a “round shot carried Jack’s shako off his head”—and what did Jack receive for this heroic action? “[N]othing—absolutely nothing,” according to this Lancer. Stories like this were typical, according to Douglas, and one soldier from the 5th Dragoons felt that if it had “been an officer who performed these deeds, what a hero he would have become!” Douglas speculated that Jack Farrel finally received the Victoria Cross only after his story was told in the *United Service Magazine*.³⁸⁵ Indeed, William Howard Russell, the famed journalist who told the Crimean War story in the *Times*, highlighted the “rank-and-file as heroes, duty-bound until death” but the officer class as “blundering[ly] incompetent.”³⁸⁶ Although the survivors at the anniversary dinner would not realize it until later, the subsequent focus in Britain on the soldiers who gave their lives in Balaklava served to elevate those men even as the aristocratic officer class was challenged in its role and methods of leadership. According to Warner, “The great achievement of the war was the rapid and miraculous transformation of an obsolete system,” which included a new respect for the British soldier.³⁸⁷ For Douglas, one of the few who attended the anniversary dinner who had not participated in the battle, the celebration in itself was an honor because “the company [he] should meet there”—the survivors of the battle—were inspiring.³⁸⁸

The Balaklava anniversary celebration included Alfred, Lord Tennyson’s now-famous poem, “The Charge of the Light Brigade,” which especially glorified the men

³⁸⁵ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 260, 263-64.

³⁸⁶ Kriegel, “Who Blew,” 6.

³⁸⁷ Warner, *Crimean War*, 218; cf. Kriegel, “Who Blew,” 6.

³⁸⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 252.

who participated in the great battle and which symbolized the pride of Britain. Sergeant Reardon of the Royals recited “in splendid style” what Douglas called the “Charge of the Six Hundred,” the moniker which immortalized in the first stanza the number of cavalry warriors who fought: “‘Forward, the Light Brigade! / Charge for the guns!’ he said. / Into the valley of Death / Rode the six hundred.”³⁸⁹ Tennyson placed primary emphasis on those “six hundred,” and, according to Markovits, “avoid[ed] . . . armchair commentary” by promoting a “remote awe” that distanced the reader from the action and respected the soldiers’ personal knowledge of the historic battle.³⁹⁰ The final lines brought to a head the beliefs Britain held regarding those men: “When can their glory fade? / O the wild charge they made! / All the world wondered. / Honor the charge they made! / Honor the Light Brigade, / Noble six hundred!”³⁹¹ “[N]oble” was, as Markovits pointed out, the only descriptive word Tennyson included, besides “Light,” the titular attribution to the brigade, further cementing Tennyson’s emphasis on the character of the men.³⁹² As national poet, Tennyson claimed a certain authority with which he cast the British soul into his writings, and this iconic poem “confer[red] everlasting honour on the men of the participating regiments, ensuring that their ‘fame’ would ‘never die.’”³⁹³ According to Douglas, because this momentous occasion was the first time each of the approximately

³⁸⁹ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 276; Alfred Lord Tennyson, “The Charge of the Light Brigade,” in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*, edited by Stephen Greenblatt, Vol. E (New York: W. W. Norton, 2012), 1235.

³⁹⁰ Stefanie Markovits, “Giving Voice to the Crimean War: Tennyson’s ‘Charge’ and Maud’s Battle-Song,” *Victorian Poetry* 47, no. 3 (2009): 484.

³⁹¹ Tennyson, “Charge of the Light Brigade,” 1236.

³⁹² Markovits, “Giving Voice,” 484.

³⁹³ Kriegel, “Who Blew,” 6.

forty survivors and their guests had heard the poem for the first time, “it was vociferously encored.”³⁹⁴ Tennyson’s poetic tribute compelled the British people to shift their ambivalent views of the army towards a fresh pride in its accomplishments.³⁹⁵ By epitomizing the strength and duty of the men, Tennyson touched the lifeblood of the British army and in turn memorialized the battle as a watershed moment in British history.

Multicultural Empire

Douglas was a mid-century man who lived through the new and dynamic industry taking over Britain and the world and contributed to the expansion of the British empire as it assimilated new cultures and experiences into its identity. Through his core, Douglas embodied the British essence of its imperial nature through his mix of Indian, Scottish, and English identity, summed up in the term “imperial Britain.” His Indian military roots, where he cut his teeth in the army, began the slow but profound deepening of his own identity towards British distinctiveness. Eight years in India cemented a linguistic and mental perspective that highlighted Britain’s strong worldwide identity. Douglas’s time in the Middle East and the Crimea broadened his view even more, contrasting his own sense of Britishness with the identity of peoples whose “Eastern manners and customs” seemed “strange” to him.³⁹⁶ The power of what Crimea meant symbolically to Douglas came to a head in his interaction with the environs of Balaklava and the men whose lives were changed as a result of Britain’s involvement in the Crimean War. Through a

³⁹⁴ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 276.

³⁹⁵ Kriegel, “Who Blew,” 6; cf. Devine, “Soldiers of Empire,” 188.

³⁹⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 118.

camaraderie that only a mutual experience of war can accomplish, Douglas identified even stronger with his Scottish and British roots as he encountered the pride that he and his fellow soldiers shared. Ultimately identifying as “English,” Douglas associated his fulfilled identity with the British empire, proudly accepting the mantle placed upon the British soldier who belonged to and served Her Majesty’s army around the world. This authority Douglas embraced and accepted as his due. As he and his regiment sailed for home, they passed by Trafalgar Bay off the coast of Spain. Douglas wrote of the pride he felt as a British subject: “[N]one could help thinking of Nelson—his last victory, his glorious death, and all that he had done for his country.” For Douglas, the connection included home: “The word ‘Home’ was spoken to us by every breath of wind that fanned our cheeks, and by every swelling wave that tossed our vessel towards it,” and, finally, the regiment once more gazed upon “the green shores of Old England—‘Home, sweet home!’”³⁹⁷ As Douglas explained in describing the soldier’s life, “Year after year is spent going from town to town, from country to country, from one quarter of the globe to another,” all the time giving him a “sort of vagabondism,” a yearning to wander, simultaneously taking in the character of those locales in which he had traveled.³⁹⁸ In the midst of dramatic industrial change, Douglas also took on a new nature himself, as evidenced by his multicultural mix of Indian, Scottish and English identities which embodied a dynamic British empire.

³⁹⁷ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 300, 301.

³⁹⁸ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 319.

CHAPTER IV

John Pindar: Soldier of Empire

John Pindar celebrated his life as a British soldier in his 1877 memoir, encapsulating his empire-wide perspective as he served Britain in several locales around the globe. Devoting comparable time to his stations in India, the United Kingdom, including Scotland and Ireland, Gibraltar, and, finally, Malta, where he wrote his narrative, Pindar experienced military combat most notably in the Umbeyla Campaign of 1863, just six years after the infamous Indian Mutiny of 1857. Enlisting in 1858, Pindar, in his words, “took the shilling”—referencing the standard pledge to the British soldier at recruitment—and served “[his] Queen and country” in the British army.³⁹⁹ Initially signing up for the Fusiliers, who were “at the time bravely defending their country’s honour and glory before the gates of Lucknow” in the mutiny, upon arrival in India, Pindar discovered the Fusiliers were heading home to England and decided to volunteer for the 71st Highland Light Infantry regiment.⁴⁰⁰ Pindar loved being a soldier—two of the first skills he learned were the “goose step” marching pace formation and how to use a rifle—and, even after several years of serving, his experiences did not “cool[] [his] martial spirit” but in fact his appreciation of the “soul-stirring strife of modern warfare” continued.⁴⁰¹ Taking advantage of “travelling in foreign climes” that the army offered, Pindar highlighted unique adventures during his military tour of the empire.⁴⁰² He also

³⁹⁹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 5.

⁴⁰⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 7; 18-19, cf. 30.

⁴⁰¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 8; Edward S. Farrow, *A Dictionary of Military Terms*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1918), 266, <https://archive.org/details/adictionarymili00farrgoog>; Pindar, *Autobiography*, 34, 35.

⁴⁰² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 23.

served during a strategic time in the course of the nineteenth century when burgeoning reform took place in the form of the Cardwell Reforms of 1870. Finally, Pindar not only identified as a British imperial soldier but deeply as a Presbyterian Scot. With an expansive view of the world through his extensive global travel, a personal perspective of transformation that culminated at a pivotal moment of army reform, and a sacred pride in being a soldier of the British empire, Pindar uniquely advanced the wide-reaching scope of Britain's force around the world.

Historical Context

Born in 1836, Pindar came of age mid-century in the midst of massive industrial change and a British empire that would soon gain a second breath, strengthening as the century advanced.⁴⁰³ Spanning the entire globe, the British empire stretched from the United Kingdom to South Africa, to India, Australia, North America, and even to the Mediterranean. The great gemstone of India was Britain's pride and joy, with emigrants and visitors from the home island converging on India's shores to create a life filled with exotic new experiences—and wealth.⁴⁰⁴ Providing easier access to the world, the revolutions of industry transformed Britain into an economic powerhouse in the early part of the century. Sea power in the form of steam-propelled ships, such as the *Algiers*, which took Pindar to India, made a journey around the Cape of Good Horn, for example, a speedier occurrence than earlier ship technologies.⁴⁰⁵ A post-Enlightenment perspective

⁴⁰³ [Pindar, John], "John Pindar, *Autobiography of a Private Soldier* (Cupar, Fife: Fife News, 1877), PP. 49, 68-9," in *Women, Families, and the British Army 1700-1880*, eds. Jennine Hurl-Eamon and Lynn MacKay (Abingdon, England: Routledge, 2020), 397; cf. Pindar, *Autobiography*, 2, 4.

⁴⁰⁴ Porter, Introduction, in Porter, *The Nineteenth Century*, 19; cf. Harper, "British Migration," 85.

⁴⁰⁵ "HMS *Algiers*," The Victorian Royal Navy, <https://www.pdavis.nl/ShowShip.php?id=12>; cf. Armstrong and Williams, *Impact of Technological Change*, 120.

flourished with the belief in the beneficial uses of science and industry as they permeated the culture and advanced thinking that would transform terra firma into a strategic thoroughway—the Suez Canal—that relegated other means of transport immediately



Figure 3. *John Pindar*. Pindar fought in the 1863 Umbeyla Campaign in India, then served all over the empire, including Scotland, Ireland, Gibraltar, and Malta. John Pindar, *Autobiography of a Private Soldier* (CuparFife, 1877).

outdated.⁴⁰⁶ This burgeoning worldview also came to fruition in a more established commitment to salubrious modifications in British culture, infusing even the army.

⁴⁰⁶ See Zachary Karabell, *Parting the Desert: The Creation of the Suez Canal* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 26.

Indeed, as the army grew into a more respected institution, it served as a crucial protector of British interests, particularly in the continually conflicted regions of northwest India, through which the British government feared Russian invasion.⁴⁰⁷ In the middle ground of the Mediterranean, Britain incrementally strengthened its hold on key spots in waters that connected southern Europe, northern Africa, and the Middle East contiguously. From Gibraltar to Malta to Port Said at the northern mouth of the Canal, Pindar experienced the iron chain of fortification at such a critical earthly juncture, with the island of Cyprus just one year after the publication of Pindar's memoir joining these positions as strongholds for British imperial power.⁴⁰⁸ As a mid-century man, Pindar experienced in its full flower the worldwide British empire.

Soldiering around the Empire

Pindar's love of being a British soldier played out as he traversed the globe on behalf of the British army, discovering exotic locales about which he communicated in his writings. Initially spending an impatient fifteen months in Colchester, England, before preparing to sail for India on the transport *Algiers*, Pindar described the "scene of commotion and confusion" he experienced on September 12, 1859, as "500 soldiers, women, and children" headed to the "different corps" then in India. The women looked "wistfully out at the shore of their native land, perhaps never more to be beheld," and "a few half tipsy soldiers" shook hands with "old comrades" as they said good-by, while "in every corner baggage" lay about, interfering with the order that sailors attempted to create. Pindar was struck with a "touching episode" in which a "handsome English girl,"

⁴⁰⁷ Burroughs, "Defence and Imperial Disunity," 341; cf. Washbrook, "India," 401.

⁴⁰⁸ Ernle Bradford, *Gibraltar: The History of a Fortress*, (New York: Open Road Integrated Media, 2014), 179; cf. Brace, *Making of the Modern World*, 587.

her “young husband,” and their two-year-old little boy experienced in a “heartrending” farewell. Pindar five months later saw the father of that little boy laid “by the banks of the yellow Ganges,” and he realized that that parting had been “the last on earth” they would see each other.⁴⁰⁹ In the commotion of this embarkation, Pindar set out for India not knowing that his experience there would be the first of many locations in which he would serve as a British soldier.

Pindar’s ship, *Algiers*, headed south, sailing around the Cape of Good Hope off the tip of southern Africa, and this “long, weary voyage”—a four-month journey—became what Pindar called a “little home” with a culture of its own.⁴¹⁰ Indeed, traveling by the Cape both to and from India, Pindar experienced a unique environment which relatively few had the opportunity to experience: a ship-board, familial atmosphere with singular maritime occurrences. For example, the “energetic” Irishman Paddy M’Cann dramatically provided “amateur theatre” and “beautiful song[s]” for the men “whenever languor seemed to oppress [them],” lessening the “*ennui*” Pindar and his fellow soldiers experienced.⁴¹¹ Sea life was also prevalent: Two sharks were captured by the men, one of which was fifteen feet long and “wallop[ed] the deck” with its “mighty tail”; and, a common sight for Cape-travelers, “Mother Carey’s chickens”—storm petrels—appeared, superstitiously providing a “friendly warning of approaching storms.”⁴¹² Four men died

⁴⁰⁹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 8-9.

⁴¹⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 10; cf. 9, 17; 34.

⁴¹¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 10, 16.

⁴¹² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 16; cf. Pascal Tréguer, “Meaning and Origin of ‘Mother Carey’s Chickens,’” Word Histories, <https://wordhistories.net/2017/08/13/mother-careys-chicken-origin/>.

while aboard ship: one *en route* to India and three on the way home.⁴¹³ Pindar found the funeral for the first man “impressive[]”: “The corpse,” he stated, “sewed up in its canvas coffin, with the shot attached, is stretched upon the sloping plank, and when the chaplain comes to the words, ‘We therefore commit his body to the deep,’ one heavy plunge and we see our comrade no more, until ‘The sea shall give up its dead.’” He asserted that only for a while this caused a “solemnity to reign over us” but soon “cheerfulness resumes”—though he recognized that “lamentation and wailing” would ensue “in the south of Ould Ireland” when that man’s family heard the melancholy news of the Irishman’s death.⁴¹⁴ On board, the men even published a newspaper. A “talented young fellow,” Pindar explained, named Edington, became editor, and soldiers and sailors contributed to the journal, which was read every Saturday evening. On the way back to Britain, the ship experienced “a few stormy days” before arriving at Cape Town, and soldiers went ashore after anchoring at Table Bay on the Atlantic coast for four days. Uninspired by this most southern town on the tip of Africa, Pindar nevertheless enjoyed the local “cape smoke” whiskey before returning to his ship.⁴¹⁵ This unique voyage for the men who sailed around the Cape created a family atmosphere which brought about a “tinge of sadness” upon arrival at their destination, especially in India, when the men “scattered far and wide,” possibly never meeting again “this side of the grave.”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹³ Cf. Pindar, *Autobiography*, 16, 34.

⁴¹⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 16.

⁴¹⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 33-34.

⁴¹⁶ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 18.

When Pindar's ship arrived at the mouth of the Ganges River on January 20, 1860, the *Algiers* sailed to Fort William, at the city of Calcutta, which he called the "City of Palaces," on the eastern edge of India.⁴¹⁷ While a variety of means of transportation were open to the British army, often soldiers used what was an inherent part of military life: their feet. Marching was a hallmark of Pindar's experience in India, and he marched through a dizzying array of cities in eastern India and in what is today Pakistan. Railroads, he explained, were "by no means so common in India" as compared to home. His new 71st regimental headquarters was in Sealkote, 1100 miles away on the edge of the northwest frontier in the Punjab, and he began his trek in Calcutta.⁴¹⁸ The soldiers marched through the "holy [city]" of Benares, through Allahabad, then through the prominent city of Cawnpore. Here he gazed with "reverent and tearful" eyes on the "bloody well" into which "mangled bodies" of women and children had been thrown during the mutiny.⁴¹⁹ He moved on to Delhi, where his regiment had its "New Year's dinner on the plains where, but a few years previous, the deadly cannon were spreading death and destruction amongst the mutinous inhabitants of the city." After Delhi, Pindar marched to Lahore, from which his regiment traveled the final seventy-five miles to Sealkote.⁴²⁰ Pindar spent much time in relatively unknown places of India, such as on the Ihulum River, Chennah River at Goojerat—which was "three miles broad there"—Umritsur, a "large and important town of 128,000," and Lodiana, on the banks of the

⁴¹⁷ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 17.

⁴¹⁸ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 20, 19.

⁴¹⁹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 20; cf. Christopher Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny: India 1857* (New York: Viking, 1978), 209.

⁴²⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 33, 20.

Sutlej, where the American Church had a mission.⁴²¹ As Pindar marched throughout the land of India, he had the opportunity of seeing significant locales that had inspired him to become a soldier particularly in response to the Mutiny.

Pindar's obligation to march across India due to the sporadic availability of railroads foregrounds the critical role a robust train system technology could provide the British army in its quest to expand the empire. Railroads were not only rare when Pindar first arrived in India, but "the speed of the locomotives" did not "bear [any] comparison to those at home."⁴²² Since 1830, the Liverpool and Manchester Railway had first carried soldiers on active service within Britain, saving soldiers two days of marching. As the years passed, soldiers traveling by train became more common, and some private railroad companies developed what Edward M. Spiers called a "corporate culture" that assisted the British military.⁴²³ Indeed, such development of an industrial identity reflects the growing capitalistic nature of British society, as Cain and Hopkins articulated, and served to strengthen and advance Britain's ability to defend itself.⁴²⁴ Companies hired veteran officers who worked as secretaries and general managers, and the inherent hierarchical structure of the army translated readily into the railroad industry.⁴²⁵ However, the Mutiny of 1857 in India shed light on the need for the development of a rail system that would more quickly bring troops to disaffected areas. Railroads became both a boon under

⁴²¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 32.

⁴²² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 33.

⁴²³ Edward M. Spiers, *Engines for Empire: The Victorian Army and Its Use of Railways* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 6-7.

⁴²⁴ Cain and Hopkins, "Gentlemanly Capitalism and British Expansion Overseas I," 515.

⁴²⁵ Spiers, *Engines for Empire*, 7.

favorable circumstances, such as with the need to export soldiers quickly, but also a hindrance in that trains were limited to terrain that was accessible.⁴²⁶ In 1857 in India, three short-distance systems existed: one near the west coast out of Bombay; one in the southern region near Madras; and one in the east—the East Indian Railway—a relatively short 120-mile route from Calcutta to Raniganj near where Pindar and his regiment began their journey in 1860. While the British government desired an extension of the existing railroad system in India, consistent attacks by local northwestern tribesmen deterred construction.⁴²⁷ By the time Pindar left India, however, a 750-mile extension had been built, allowing him and his regiment to travel “by rail” from Delhi to Calcutta.⁴²⁸ Indeed, as John Hurd and Ian J. Kerr attest, the 1850s to the 1870s were the “pioneering decades of railway building and operation in India.” Hurd and Kerr emphasize British influence over construction: British machinery and British personnel, including engineers, managers, and skilled workmen, completed the work.⁴²⁹ Pindar’s timely presence in India, both before and after the significant transition of India’s rail network in the demanding eastern province, highlights the transformative effect of the mid-century boom in technology.

Pindar’s military experiences also took him to the Mediterranean, where his regiment served at the military garrison at Gibraltar and then on the island of Malta. To Pindar, Gibraltar was dramatic in its beauty and striking in its physical layout. The 71st

⁴²⁶ Spiers, *Engines for Empire*, 37.

⁴²⁷ Spiers, *Engines for Empire*, 44-45.

⁴²⁸ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 31.

⁴²⁹ John Hurd and Ian J. Kerr, *India’s Railway History: A Research Handbook* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 11-12.

regiment spent more than four years on the “Rock,” named after the large promontory famously guarding the straits leading from the Atlantic Ocean into the Mediterranean Sea. Upon arrival, Pindar immediately noted that the “good view” showed that the Spanish and African coasts were “very bleak, rocky, and dangerous,” and that Tangiers was clearly visible opposite Gibraltar.⁴³⁰ The sunset he experienced was extraordinary: “a beautiful crescent moon [shone] brilliantly,” the “huge mass of rock” sloped towards him “from the west,” and the town lay at the bottom of the north-west corner.” As the men transported their baggage “up-hill and down-dale,” they discovered the town of Gibraltar was difficult to maneuver, but they “encamped in double tents,” with eight soldiers per tent on the North Front. In the town, Pindar noticed an iron-foundry, boat-building sheds, a washhouse for cleaning military laundry, slaughter-houses, the garrison and Jewish cemeteries, and ball-firing ranges. The town was filled with inhabitants from many nations, including Jews, Turks, and Spaniards, and this “motley group” reminded Pindar of the “streets of Calcutta.”⁴³¹ The main road from Spain was in a “perfect turmoil of traffic from morning gun-fire till retreat,” with mules and donkeys laden with all kinds of merchandise. Pindar could view “the hills of Spain” to the north in the distance, across which only non-commissioned officers could visit in order to indulge in the famed Spanish bull fights. Indeed, Pindar heard that “no [British] private soldier” had been permitted the privilege of seeing the bull fights since the Crimean War because “some militia regiment . . . disgrace[ed] themselves and their country” and the privilege was

⁴³⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 94, 90.

⁴³¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 91-92, 94.

removed.⁴³² At the port, twice a day a steam ship would arrive to either deliver or take on coal or cargo, and Pindar observed that “sailing vessels [were] gradually being superseded by steamers.”⁴³³ This dramatic and ageless promontory, chaotic municipality, and strategic body of water greeted Pindar and his regiment as it had done to other British soldiers for over a hundred and fifty years.⁴³⁴

Gibraltar also served to inspire Pindar to think carefully about life and human nature as he considered the Rock’s beauty. On his final Sunday in Gibraltar, Pindar first attended “Divine service” and then climbed to “the highest peak of the Rock” for his “last view” before traveling with his regiment to Malta. The beautiful day overtook him, and he described the scene in poetic terms: the sun shone in “refulgent glory” on the “brow” of the “old grey hill”; the town lay in peaceful slumber and “quietness at the bottom” of the Rock; and the voices of children “playing down the slope” thrilled his heart with “cordial delight and pleasure.” The “magnificent view” of Spain and the “cool pure breeze” that “wandered over earth and ocean” also impressed him. In response to this beauty, he wished for goodness: “Oh! what a glorious world we would have if that tyrannical spirit which delights in the oppression of poor humanity was only banished from amongst the sons of men.” Pindar recognized that human nature tends to transgress, but if that trait were extinguished, joy and glory would be produced. Pindar lamented his need to leave Gibraltar, claiming that with the kind people, “we [soldiers] had almost become a part of themselves.” As he left Gibraltar behind for the next leg of his journey,

⁴³² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 92-93.

⁴³³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 126, 129.

⁴³⁴ Cf. Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 46, 180.

he penned a few lines: “[D]ear old Rock, I leave thee now. / Yet I shall cast a look behind, / And think on days enjoyed here; . . . / I give you all I have—a tear.”⁴³⁵ As Ernle Bradford stated in his discussion of Gibraltar’s appeal to Britons, “[I]n its long history, Gibraltar exercised its peculiar fascination over the minds of men.”⁴³⁶

While Gibraltar left its impact on Pindar, it was in Malta that he ascertained the consequential impact of the newly constructed Suez Canal in 1869, just four years after he arrived. Having reached Malta in April of 1873, fifteen years after joining the army in 1858, he was stationed there for at least four years.⁴³⁷ While there, he observed that the harbors of Malta were “the great feature of the island” and could accommodate “20 or 30 steamers”—because the shipping traffic was now “much greater since the Suez Canal route was opened.” Significantly, on his way out to India in 1860, thirteen years before, he explained that his regiment traveled via the Cape of Good Hope because “we had no Suez Canal then.”⁴³⁸ But in the 1860s, with investments and encouragement from France, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the French diplomat, with a vision and will to complete the project, spearheaded the Suez Canal construction, and he was joined by Said Pasha, the Egyptian leader who hoped to restore Egypt’s prominence in the region.⁴³⁹ By the end of 1863, when Pindar was in the midst of the Umbeyla Campaign, work on the canal had begun; at the end of 1867, just prior to his leaving India, almost half of the excavation had been completed; and, while Pindar was stationed at Gibraltar, the Suez Canal opened

⁴³⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 130, 132.

⁴³⁶ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 59.

⁴³⁷ Pindar, *Autobiography*, cf. 133, 161.

⁴³⁸ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 141, 16.

⁴³⁹ Karabell, *Parting the Desert*, 5, 9.

on November 16, 1869, amidst great fanfare and festivities.⁴⁴⁰ Dozens of international vessels poised at Port Said on the northern end of the canal on the Mediterranean, preparing to traverse the brand new creation.⁴⁴¹ In 1875, just two years before Pindar published his memoir, Britain would deftly counter a French offer to buy the bulk of the Canal Company's shares and win what Zachary Karabell called a "game of global chess," thereby gaining the "strategic, political, and economic advantages" of the canal.⁴⁴² But when Pindar was in India that dream was not only far off, but it was opposed by the British government.⁴⁴³ However, Malta profited from the successful completion of this monumental innovation, and Pindar observed its results: a dramatic uptick in harbor business in a busy port filled with high-tech steamers. Pindar's serving the British army around the globe in such a unique timeframe allowed him to witness the transformation of the seas and the ability to communicate between continents. Coming at the crucible of change, Pindar witnessed a key feature of both military and maritime life that transformed globalism forever.

Late-Century Advances in Reform

As the nineteenth century progressed, the British army slowly realized its need to direct reform in its organization, and this reform influenced the force in the empire. Pindar received the benefit of many of those modifications, but a consistent demand throughout the century was the need for quality recruits. When Pindar arrived in India

⁴⁴⁰ Karabell, *Parting the Desert*, 207, 233, 247.

⁴⁴¹ Karabell, *Parting the Desert*, 252-53.

⁴⁴² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 263.

⁴⁴³ Karabell, *Parting the Desert*, 194.

and discovered to his surprise that his intended regiment, the Fusiliers, planned to immediately return to Britain, he volunteered for another regiment because he “did not altogether relish the idea of returning to England so soon without seeing something of a country [he] had heard so much about.”⁴⁴⁴ Pindar’s willing reaction to and flexibility surrounding this unexpected occurrence in India spotlights a key element of British reform that transcended the span of the nineteenth century. Since the Napoleonic wars, the army had instituted formal requests for volunteers to render service, particularly against the fear of invasion by France. However, given the British public’s distaste for a large standing army, Lynch stated that the volunteer movement early in the century “allayed political sensibilities over increasing the size of the armed forces.”⁴⁴⁵ Mid-century, due to fresh fears of French invasion, the Volunteer Force program was officially authorized by the government in 1859.⁴⁴⁶ Middle class men initially made up the force, offering both their time and financial resources to participate, but as the first decade passed, workingmen joined the ranks, motivated out of a sense of patriotism and the desire to be fully prepared for any assault.⁴⁴⁷ Middle class men appreciated the chance to participate because they recognized that purchasing officer commissions was off-limits to them, while the working class contributed an unexpected loyalty that upper class peers at first could not imagine. While rifle corps were primarily created, leaders

⁴⁴⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 19.

⁴⁴⁵ Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 161; Lynch, ““Citizen,”” 207.

⁴⁴⁶ Morton, “Military Irony,” 64.

⁴⁴⁷ Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908* (Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1975), 19, 2; Morton, 64.

hoped for a growth in the “general militarisation” of the male population of Britain.⁴⁴⁸

Indeed, Pindar’s friend, Mankey Bouffe, emphasized the favorable perception and skill of these volunteers: ““We of the army”” are ““proud o’ oor gallant Volunteers,”” he proclaimed, and insisted that if ““this country ever be involved in a European war,”” the ““Volunteers, in the absence o’ the army, are weel able to defend the hearths and homes o’ oor dear native land.””⁴⁴⁹ Pindar also wrote of the “Edinburgh Volunteers,” highlighting the regional aspect of the program, and local affiliations were inherent to the various corps, with some raising up in association with professions.⁴⁵⁰ Edinburgh, in particular, “[took] pride of place” in this realm: Solicitors, accountants, bankers, merchants, members of both the Civil Service and universities all had companies of corps.⁴⁵¹ This spirit of volunteerism translated directly into the colonies, including India, as in the case of Pindar. Sometimes regiments needed to be strengthened, and men who volunteered to remain in India had the benefit of knowledge of the culture and environment and could help new arrivals gain familiarity with their new imperial station.⁴⁵² Pindar clarified that it was the “custom” for volunteers in the Bengal Presidency to draft themselves into any of the other regiments if needed.⁴⁵³ Though the British army continually required good men to serve, it only sporadically sought able

⁴⁴⁸ Morton, “Military Irony,” 64; Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 30.

⁴⁴⁹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 41-42.

⁴⁵⁰ See Pindar, *Autobiography*, 41; Cunningham, *Volunteer Force*, 18.

⁴⁵¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 18.

⁴⁵² Strachan, *Wellington’s Legacy*, 55.

⁴⁵³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 31.

soldiers in a methodical way, but Pindar served at the height of this military volunteerism.

The Cardwell Reforms of 1870-71 further impacted the culture of the British army, and Pindar had strong opinions on what has since been considered the most significant army transformations of the time. Viscount Edward Cardwell served as Secretary of State for War from 1868 through 1874, and, through a series of acts, he made strong inroads into reforming the army. Indeed, according to Bond, Cardwell's reforms were "the first in the century that amount[ed] to a root and branch reorganization" of the British army.⁴⁵⁴ With the War Office Act of 1870, Cardwell reorganized the chaotic and long-standing structure inherent to the British army into a more cohesive and streamlined arrangement. He also established his own role as the authority over the Commander-in-Chief, the Duke of Cambridge. In order to prune costs financially and use monies more efficiently, Cardwell withdrew large numbers of forces from the imperial colonies, not only fostering greater colonial self-reliance but strengthening home defense.⁴⁵⁵ An important effect of downsizing globally was the ability to shorten soldiers' service commitment from twelve years active duty to six active and six as a reservist, and the Army Enlistment Act of 1870 made this law. Reducing the time of enlistment not only saved the government pension money, but it provided for a reserve of men who were still in the prime of life, a key goal.⁴⁵⁶ Cardwell also eliminated flogging except during wartime, but it wasn't until 1881 that flogging was

⁴⁵⁴ Brian Bond, "Prelude to the Cardwell Reforms, 1856-68," *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution* vol. 106 (May 1, 1961): 236.

⁴⁵⁵ Spiers, "Late, Victorian Army," 187; cf. Raugh, *Victorians at War*, 83.

⁴⁵⁶ Spiers, "Late, Victorian Army," 188; Bond, "Effect," 515; cf. Raugh, *Victorians at War*, 82.

completely removed from the British army permanently. Finally, while Cardwell worked hard to pass the Army Regulation Bill of 1871, which primarily sought to eliminate the “anachronistic and abused” purchase system with which landed gentlemen “purchased” officer commissions, he was unsuccessful in the conservative House of Lords. Cardwell wanted promotion and commissions to be based on merit, while the conservative-leaning legislators preferred no change to the system.⁴⁵⁷ However, to resolve this major goal, Cardwell secured a Royal Warrant from Queen Victoria dated November 1, 1871, which abolished the system. While Cardwell’s reforms were significant and serve as a milestone in Victorian army reform, they did not change everything immediately.⁴⁵⁸ Indeed, as Bond stated, the Cardwell Reforms were “still in an experimental state in 1874” when Cardwell left office.⁴⁵⁹

Pindar recognized many of these much-needed solutions for reform, but he generally denounced this attempt at remodeling the army as “utterly fail[ing] in its object.” Specifically calling attention to Secretary Cardwell’s Acts of 1870 and 1871, Pindar focused on several key provisions. He acknowledged that since he had joined the army in 1858, soldiers were in a “better position” regarding “pay and allowances,” but that expenditures continued to be accrued that soldiers needed to provide, outweighing any good the legislation carried.⁴⁶⁰ Basic necessities of life, such as socks, towels, braces—suspenders—black polish, shaving brushes, razors, eating utensils, shirts, a

⁴⁵⁷ Raugh, *Victorians at War*, 83; Spiers, “Late, Victorian Army,” 188-89.

⁴⁵⁸ Spiers, “Late, Victorian Army,” 188-89.

⁴⁵⁹ Bond, “Prelude,” 230.

⁴⁶⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 161-62, cf. 165.

second pair of pants, and “summer clothing” of “white coats and cap covers” all still needed to be purchased by the soldier. The soldier also needed to cover food, such as coffee, tea, sugar, and vegetables, to supplement the army’s meagre offerings of one pound of bread and one pound of beef, which he “def[ied] any human being to live on alone.”⁴⁶¹ These significant daily needs Pindar argued should be provided by the army.

Pindar also strenuously articulated his views on recruiting. He challenged the Secretary of State for War to be fully honest with the potential recruit, criticizing the army’s tendency to glorify army experience by “sending hand-bills and circulars” throughout the land with glowing advantages such as “being better fed,” having the “benefit of libraries and savings’ banks,” and having the “opportunity of visiting foreign countries” in order to entice a recruit to enlist. He argued, “[W]ould it not be far better to show [the soldier] the financial costs up front? Pindar often “heard an intelligent recruit, who showed every appearance of making a good soldier, say that he had been enlisted under an entire misunderstanding.” Furthermore, because the law allowed soldiers to enlist for six years active duty—plus six in the reserves—Pindar felt that soldiers’ commitment expired before they had a chance to fully master rudimentary skills.⁴⁶² He also felt that sergeants, who became non-commissioned officers, were less qualified for promotion, due to this shortened expectation of service that encouraged these too-young soldiers to become “proud and haughty.” Pindar questioned whether these new non-commissioned officers would have time to “study the dispositions, feelings, and tempers of those under them”—or even to learn to command themselves. This culture of distance

⁴⁶¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 162-64.

⁴⁶² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 164-65.

among soldiers, even non-commissioned officers that soldiers sometimes knew since childhood, discouraged an environment of unity, loyalty, and devotion within a regiment and would destroy the *esprit de corps* the British regiments experienced. To Pindar, Cardwell's legislative reforms should be fully "wiped . . . from the Statute Book" because the Army "will very soon lose the character bestowed on it" when Napoleon the Great called it "the smartest in the world."⁴⁶³

Pindar's passionate response to the Cardwell Reforms demonstrates his keen interest in invigorating an institution that he loved and that served the needs of the British empire. While he took a more conservative stance in his perspective on reform—he lauded the Duke of Wellington's views on reform and disapprovingly averred that compulsory military education had "crept" into the system—as a member of the first generation of recipients of Cardwell's innovations, Pindar had limited experience with observing initial results of the changes.⁴⁶⁴ The reforms weren't "perfect," as Harold E. Raugh, Jr. asserted, and Edward Spiers called them "impressive" in theory.⁴⁶⁵ However, according to General Sir Robert Biddulph, Assistant Adjutant-General under Cardwell, the creation of a reserve force, Cardwell's most important reform goal, evidenced success when he wrote about it in 1905, thirty years after the reform had a chance to play out.⁴⁶⁶ He explained: "[T]he formation of an army reserve by means of short service enlistment must stand first and foremost" as the premier benefit of Cardwell's reforms. He argued

⁴⁶³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 167, 169.

⁴⁶⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 167, 165.

⁴⁶⁵ Raugh, *Victorians at War*, 83; Spiers, "Late, Victorian Army," 189.

⁴⁶⁶ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006), s.v. "Biddulph, Sir Robert."

that a “sure foundation was laid” for a system of reserves “where no system” had “existed before.” Cardwell’s work “fill[ed] the country in a few years with men of age for service who had been trained to arms in the regular army” and ensured that “a force could be called into action either at home or abroad.” Biddulph referenced the recent Second Boer War: the army reserve numbered more than 80,000 men, directly resulting from the Army Enlistment Act of 1870 that had shortened the length of service.⁴⁶⁷ Furthermore, according to Biddulph, Cardwell’s consolidation of the War Office over other traditional departments effected a more efficient and unifying organization. Controversial in nature, specifically because changes placed the Duke of Cambridge under the authority of the War Office, these modifications were economical.⁴⁶⁸ Cardwell cut 160 superfluous jobs, saving £56,000.⁴⁶⁹ Finally, changes to the purchase system initially had little direct effect due to the same class of gentlemen continuing to fill officer positions, but as time went on, inbred liabilities eased, such as some regimental colonels’ unwillingness or inability to prevent unqualified men from purchasing an officer’s commission, and methods of promotion began to change towards a merit-based approach.⁴⁷⁰ As the nineteenth century proceeded, the Victorian British army developed into a professional force through fits and starts, with a leadership that sought to prepare Britain throughout the empire for any eventuality as the fin de siècle approached.

⁴⁶⁷ Robert Biddulph, *Lord Cardwell at the War Office: A History of His Administration 1868-1874* (London: John Murray, 1905), 229-32, <https://archive.org/details/lordcardwellatwa0000bidd>.

⁴⁶⁸ Raugh, *Victorians at War*, 83; Spiers, “Late, Victorian Army,” 187.

⁴⁶⁹ Biddulph, *Lord Cardwell*, 105.

⁴⁷⁰ Spiers, “Late, Victorian Army,” 190; Biddulph, *Lord Cardwell*, 76; cf. Raugh, *Victorians at War*, 83.

Imperial and Sacred Identity

Pindar's military service was most notable in that he served throughout the Empire, including in his homeland of the United Kingdom, in India, the bright gem of the Victorian era, and in the Mediterranean, where he experienced the exotic prospects of Gibraltar and Malta. In India, Pindar and his new regiment fought in the Umbeyla Campaign of 1863, which took place in the northwest frontier of India, modern-day Pakistan. Pindar explained that the goal of this campaign was to "destroy Mulka," a village on the Mahaban Mountain "just beyond the English frontier"—Yusufzai country—where a "stronghold of certain Hindoostanee fanatics" lived.⁴⁷¹ Pindar described these Yusufzai combatants as a "stealthy, treacherous enemy of pure savages, to whom the laws of common humanity were unknown." Indeed, the "scenes of mutilation" that were "enacted upon the bodies of our poor comrades" were "disgusting in the extreme, and far too horrible to describe." In fact, Pindar asserted that he and his soldiers would rather die than experience "the fracture of a limb from some stray bullet." These enemies "[crept], snake-like, in overpowering numbers" and would "rush, like a storm of locusts, with wild unearthly yells upon our positions." Pindar lamented, "[N]ever till my dying day can I efface its scenes from my mind." Pindar's "baptism of fire"—his words for this "first—and as yet only" engagement in battle—was emblazoned on his mind. It was such a monumental experience that Pindar noted that "this day, in commemoration thereof, is still reckoned a jubilee day amongst us," even in 1877 at the time of his writing.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 25.

⁴⁷² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 27-29.

Pindar's visceral reaction to this experience clearly impacted his emotional well-being, but it also influenced his perspective on the enemy natives against whom he fought. He contrasted these fighters with those of previous wars Britain had been involved in—those of “civilised nations opposing each other,” who had “all the appliances of modern warfare” available to them, such as in the Peninsular War and Crimea.⁴⁷³ The conflagration Pindar lived through brought to mind a conviction that the enemy against whom he and his regiment fought was barbaric and even inhuman with its devilish conduct in war. Indeed, British perspective of the mid-century had become hardened into a settled view of native barbarism, as Peers demonstrated. Peers argued that the army played an important role in disseminating knowledge about India, its customs, and its culture, particularly through British periodicals of the early nineteenth century, such as *Blackwood's Magazine*.⁴⁷⁴ Returning soldiers offered their views on India, letters from India made it into magazines, governmental dispatches provided reports, and telegraph communications developed to bring exotic and unique information to a British public hungry for India.⁴⁷⁵ Pindar's image of the barbaric practices of his enemy was typical of other soldiers' narratives, such as the mutineers' “inhuman atrocities inflicted on British women and children” in 1857, which confirmed a generalized view of the barbarity of the Indians.⁴⁷⁶ Though the enemy was treated as

⁴⁷³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 27.

⁴⁷⁴ Peers, ““Those Noble Exemplars,”” 115.

⁴⁷⁵ Peers, ““Those Noble Exemplars,”” 119-20.

⁴⁷⁶ See Peter Van der Veer, “The Moral State: Religion, Nation, and Empire in Victorian Britain and British India,” in *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*, eds. Peter Van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 34; cf. Peers, ““Those Noble Exemplars,”” 129.

collectively brave, it was a bravery that emerged from “fanaticism” and was in direct contrast with “the cool stoicism of the British.”⁴⁷⁷ Peers stated that printed accounts presented a “strange and threatening India” amidst a British garrison that was a “tiny outpost of civilization,” thus marking British superiority over native inferiority.⁴⁷⁸

While Pindar’s reaction typifies the view perpetuated by military sources, the tensions in the northwest frontier also foregrounded the geographical significance of this mountain region. Specifically, Britain feared Russian aggression into India from Afghanistan, the western lands beyond the frontier. While Burroughs asserted that Britain’s constant battles with the northwestern tribes “reflected nagging, overblown fears of a Russian invasion,” he argued more fully that Britain’s fears lay in “internal security: to uphold the rule of the Raj by coercive power and massive bluff” against any indigenous challenge.⁴⁷⁹ It is true that the Russians exhibited a “surge” in “military activity and railway building” in Central Asia, “encroach[ing] on buffer states like Afghanistan and Persia,” and British military leaders used this information to enhance the army’s reputation among natives, fearing any incursion would diminish their respect for the army. To respond to this Russian threat, the British army recruited northwestern tribesmen, whom they perceived as a stronger, ““martial race.””⁴⁸⁰ This recruitment was a significant paradox in light of the violent interaction with these tribes during recent years

⁴⁷⁷ Peers, ““Those Noble Exemplars,”” 129.

⁴⁷⁸ Peers, ““Those Noble Exemplars,”” 127, 132-33.

⁴⁷⁹ Burroughs, “Defence and Imperial Disunity,” 322.

⁴⁸⁰ Burroughs, “Defence and Imperial Disunity,” 341.

but allowed Britain to have its way: a strong military presence in a region so crucial that she needed to protect it while maintaining control over Indians for a long time to come.

Once Pindar's time in India was completed, he and his regiment gratefully transferred home and soon traveled to Ireland, where they helped quell the uprising of the Fenians. Pindar recalled that he and his regiment were "pleasantly and happily" enjoying Fermoy until the "memorable 5th of March 1867," when the "intelligence flew like wildfire" throughout Ireland that the Fenians had risen and were "determined to free their country from the Saxon yoke."⁴⁸¹ The Fenian Rising of 1867 crystalized the desire on the part of a wide variety of Irish who yearned for a strong, independent Ireland, separate from union with Britain.⁴⁸² As they began to interact with each other in clubs and Sunday activities, a new "lower middle class"--shop assistants, tradesmen, artisans, clerks, shoemakers, tailors—gained literacy, confidence, and personal growth in social and political skills as they moved towards nationalism and anti-British feeling.⁴⁸³ Still, in spite of this passion, the Fenians cultivated uncertain and secretive means to gain that independence.⁴⁸⁴ D. George Boyce highlighted this changeability and conflicting desires: Irish reformers must "choose between" the "aspiration to unite all social classes in the cause" and the "necessity to mobilize [those] that could form a solid, homogenous, dependable backbone" for Irish autonomy.⁴⁸⁵ Furthermore, Fenians felt that they "had the

⁴⁸¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 56.

⁴⁸² Bagnall, "Fenian Rising," 176.

⁴⁸³ Bagnall, "Fenian Rising," 214-15; Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 178.

⁴⁸⁴ Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 180.

⁴⁸⁵ Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 179; cf. Bagnall, "Fenian Rising," 215.

incontestable and inviolable right” to gain this separation with violence.⁴⁸⁶ Pindar’s opinion on this rebellion was clear: “[T]his Fenian affair . . . was a silly movement. To think that a few school boys, lawyer’s clerks, and counter-loupers, were able to overthrow the British power in Ireland! The very idea was preposterous.” Pindar also named the “great promoter of sedition” as the inflammatory newspapers which were “spread in tens of thousands over the country” and in which “the most glaring falsehoods were daily circulated against the British government.” Furthermore, Pindar asserted that this “ill-starred movement” had its “rise and progress in America,” arguing that when the American Civil War had ended, “many Irishmen,” who descended from those who “left the Emerald shores for America,” found themselves without employment and carried an “undying hatred” of British rule in Ireland.⁴⁸⁷ Indeed, as Seán Bagnall clarified, American Irish soldiers who emerged out of the Civil War brought an “impuden[t]” perspective towards the “landed authority” and the “respectable” middle class and that “much of the pressure” for political action, as well as “almost all of the funding,” came from American activists within the Fenian movement.⁴⁸⁸

Pindar’s reaction against the Fenians authenticates his deep identity as a proud British subject who supports his government—especially as a soldier. In response to Fenian force, he was ready to defend Britain: “I had pictured to myself a brilliant array of armed men who were determined to try the strength of the British Lion upon an honourable field of fight.” However, when the Fenians “confined themselves to

⁴⁸⁶ Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, 176, cf. 180, 182.

⁴⁸⁷ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 57-59.

⁴⁸⁸ Bagnall, “Fenian Rising,” 215.

incendiary proceedings, to murder, and secret assassination,” Pindar stated, he felt they were not “humane patriots, but despicable rebels.” Pindar yearned for a fair fight, and the secretive nature of the Fenian methods insulted him. He also resented the intrusion of Americans as outsiders and became frustrated with the newspapers because he was convinced that the less-educated simply accepted what they read without question. Pindar felt that the British government had dealt fairly and moderately with the “rebellious fermentation” the agitators created and that the “affair” was “silly.”⁴⁸⁹ His deep-seated association as a British subject fueled his disdain and frustration with what he perceived as an inefficient and unnecessary reaction to national politics, particularly given its American influence. Tellingly, Pindar affirmed that “the name of Fenianism” would soon be “buried in oblivion” but “Ireland shall be flourishing, free, glorious, and intelligent” once the pages of history turned.⁴⁹⁰ Pindar’s reaction was not one of disrespect for the Irish or their desires but of hope in another path to freedom; his pride lay in his own role as a British subject.

After Ireland, Pindar’s regiment proceeded to the Mediterranean, in which the all-important garrisons at Gibraltar and Malta were developing into strategic links in the global chain of the British empire. To Pindar, Gibraltar in particular was “remarkable as a fortress” and was “the boast of Britain.”⁴⁹¹ It was “a place of great natural as well as artificial strength,” he argued, with guns “mounted on the different batteries surrounding”

⁴⁸⁹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 57, 59.

⁴⁹⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 58-59.

⁴⁹¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 127, 114.

the city that could “keep any fleet out of the bay.”⁴⁹² Water batteries, level with the sea, were driven into the solid rock surface; cannon, filling “galleries rising one above the other,” could be “fired with hardly any risk of being struck”; and portholes, from which gunners were protected, gave the Rock an appearance of a “warren of mammoth rabbits.” The strength of the Rock further lay in the authorities’ insistence on security: “[D]ay after day, and night after night” they expect “half-a-dozen determined men might take [the rock] by a *coup de main*,” Pindar explained. At sunset the gates were shut after a gun was fired, remaining closed until morning; anyone breaking curfew rules would be arrested.⁴⁹³ Indeed, Pindar’s own 71st regiment could not enjoy “jollification” with the 74th regiment because his was stationed “outside the gates of the fortress.”⁴⁹⁴ Although Pindar felt these measures seemed draconian, he recognized that the “[v]ast sums of money” expended “[had] not been thrown away.” The Rock’s military characteristics made it virtually “impregnable.”⁴⁹⁵

As a British possession at the time Pindar was stationed there, Gibraltar provided not only a physical stronghold, but it powerfully demonstrated the critical position Britain maintained in the Mediterranean Sea. Gibraltar served as a “control point for the strait,” and after a long history of sieges, the British finally captured it at the same time she lost her American colonies, and thus the victory “acquired in British eyes an immense significance.”⁴⁹⁶ Furthermore, to the “imperial eye,” the Rock presented “the very image

⁴⁹² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 95.

⁴⁹³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 127, 128.

⁴⁹⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 91.

⁴⁹⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 128, 127.

⁴⁹⁶ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 50, 151, 152.

of an impregnable fortress.” As Bradford stated, the town of Gibraltar was “totally dwarfed by the grandeur of the Rock itself, and the somber magnificence of its tunneled fortifications,” and it was “designed for the stern face of war.”⁴⁹⁷ Accordingly, Gibraltar had provided storage and organization historically for the army, eventually becoming an “important coaling station on the road to imperial India and the East.”⁴⁹⁸ During the Victorian period, guns were all over the Rock, and cannon could fire five miles, outdistancing the whole of Gibraltar Bay.⁴⁹⁹ While Gibraltar was not beautiful—it was too small for “the construction of splendid mansions and churches”—it nevertheless represented the “epitome of all that was steadfast and enduring” to the British. Above all, to the Victorians, Gibraltar became the “key to the Mediterranean and the East.”⁵⁰⁰

That other jewel of the Mediterranean, Malta, also served as a British colony, but, unlike Gibraltar, Malta exhibited a more friendly atmosphere. Bradford wrote that Malta was where “the aristocracy of Europe” had built some of “the most beautiful buildings in the Mediterranean” over nearly three hundred years.⁵⁰¹ It was to this island that Pindar arrived and beheld the beautiful environs and warm welcome: In the midst of Malta’s houses built of “white stone quarried from the island” and “beautiful green painted verandas,” the bands of the regiments on the island played sentimental and patriotic tunes, such as “Rule Britannia” and “Auld Lang Syne,” as the soldiers sailed to their new barracks. Furthermore, many regiments already served on Malta, including the 13th, 18th,

⁴⁹⁷ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 176, 169.

⁴⁹⁸ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 155; cf. 161, 168.

⁴⁹⁹ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 175-76.

⁵⁰⁰ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 59, 159.

⁵⁰¹ Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 169.

28th, and the 74th, most of which had been with Pindar's 71st on Gibraltar, thereby becoming a group of familiars already known to the new arrivals.⁵⁰² This deeply-felt bonhomie characterized a key element of regimental life within the British army, and the regiments' serendipitous meeting made for a camaraderie that ballooned into British patriotism.

Not only did Malta exhibit a warm-hearted environment and the solidarity of the British regiments, but royalty frequented the island, contributing to the British atmosphere that existed. Pindar proudly noted that the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, Prince Alfred, the fourth son of Queen Victoria, and his wife, Marie, Grand Duchess of Russia, had a daughter during their most recent winter sojourn on Malta while Pindar himself served there.⁵⁰³ Christened Victoria Melita, the granddaughter of Queen Victoria bore two distinct names—one the name of Britain's much-loved queen and one after the island on which she was born, Melita—the Authorized Version's biblical name for the island on which Paul the Apostle had shipwrecked eighteen-hundred years before.⁵⁰⁴ The family occupied the "famed gardens and palace of San Antonio," normally used as a summer residence for the Maltese governor and situated just miles from the maritime city center of Valletta. Pindar explained that the Maltese were "exceedingly proud" of this event, because Malta was the "first colonial possession" that had the "honour of having a member of our Royal house born within its limits." Pindar explained that the Duke and

⁵⁰² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 135-36.

⁵⁰³ John Van der Kiste, *Princess Victoria Melita* (Stroud, England: The History Press, 2011), chap. 1, <https://books.google.com>.

⁵⁰⁴ Joseph Galea, "Malta since the Time of the Knights of St. John," in *Malta*, ed. Walter Kümmerly (Berne, Switzerland: Kümmerly and Frey, 1965), 54.

Duchess were beloved because they “mingled with the inhabitants quite freely.” In addition to Prince Alfred, his brother, the Prince of Wales, also stopped at the island on his way home from India, according to Pindar.⁵⁰⁵ The future King Edward VII arrived on April 5, 1876, and stayed for a “few happy and colorful days,” one among many visits.⁵⁰⁶ “[T]he whole island turned out then,” Pindar proclaimed, with “bands playing, banners of all kinds floating in the breeze, and military demonstrations” taking place. Pindar highlighted this unusually celebratory welcome.⁵⁰⁷

The sense of belonging of the British regiments and the depth of feeling experienced by the people of Malta demonstrate their long-standing affection for and pride in their British heritage as subjects of the Crown, reflecting one more layer of identity within the British empire. Responses such as the Maltese residents’ hearty welcome to both the British royals and British regiments highlight this deep connection. Furthermore, British rule went back to Admiral Nelson’s 1800 blockade of the island from continued French domination after Britain claimed Malta for her own. Culturally as well, British influence extended to the small island, but Malta influenced Britain in turn. Sir Walter Scott set his final Waverley novel, *The Siege of Malta*, on the island after having become so inspired by its romantic atmosphere.⁵⁰⁸ The royals also had a history of visits, with Queen Adelaide, the widow of King William IV, Victoria’s predecessor, arriving at the island amidst a joyous welcome when she spent three months on Malta for

⁵⁰⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 155, 160.

⁵⁰⁶ Galea, “Malta,” 54.

⁵⁰⁷ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 160.

⁵⁰⁸ Galea, “Malta,” 46-48.

her health.⁵⁰⁹ Adelaide's influence extended to her building a Church of England edifice with her own money, the Collegiate Church of St. Paul, in Valletta, in 1839, seeking to counteract dissent that began to take hold on the island.⁵¹⁰ Later British governors also left their mark, building up Malta's urban center of Valletta, by improving significant places such as St. John's Square and the Grand Harbor.⁵¹¹ The heavy historical influence Britain had over Malta was inveterate, and Pindar experienced the fruit of it during his own late-century stay. Moreover, Malta in particular prospered bountifully and created a mid-Mediterranean post from which Britain could dominate the sea. Strategically placed, with Gibraltar on the far west and Malta conveniently near the coast of Italy in the heart of the Mediterranean, these British colonies provided strategic maritime positions that helped define the British empire in the East.⁵¹²

Although Pindar relished his extensive travels, wherever he served as a British soldier, he distinguished moments in which he gloried in being Scottish. After his long march through the "land of barbaric pearl and gold" of India, he "long[ed] for a wander once more through the green fields and lands of bonnie Scotland" where he could hear the "'wee birdies singing frae ilka green tree.'" ⁵¹³ When his ship arrived home in Scotland, he wistfully recognized the "tranquil plains of Fife" on the northern coast of the Firth of Forth, remembering the "sweet wee 'kingdom' which contained all [he] held dear

⁵⁰⁹ Galea, "Malta," 58, cf. 54; Mary F. Sandars, *The Life and Times of Queen Adelaide* (London: Stanley Paul, 1915), 175-76, <https://archive.org/details/cu31924028050601>.

⁵¹⁰ Sandars, *Life and Times*, 275.

⁵¹¹ Galea, "Malta," 50, 51.

⁵¹² Bradford, *Gibraltar*, 162, 178.

⁵¹³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 20.

in this world.”⁵¹⁴ When he served as sentry at Edinburgh castle near “old Mons meg”—that 15,000-pound, four-hundred year old cannon when Pindar saw it—Pindar appreciated the “magnificent” view from his “elevated position,” especially because it “command[ed] a glorious stretch of the surrounding country,” whose hills “reared their majestic heads towards a lovely Scottish sky.”⁵¹⁵ Finally, quintessentially representative of the Scot, Hogmanay brought to mind home-centered reminiscences in every one of Pindar’s stations, and he happily recounted many of his New Year’s celebrations.⁵¹⁶ In Ireland, for example, he wrote that when the “clock strikes twelve . . . cheering, shouting, and hurraing takes place in the barrack-square”; the band plays Scottish national tunes; and soldiers participate in the “Scottish custom” of “exchanging glasses” and “pledging each other’s health.”⁵¹⁷ In Gibraltar, the soldiers spent Hogmanay regaling each other with tales of “many an old comrade,” and Pindar described this important holiday as including “pleasant recollections” that “awakened . . . the breasts of Scotia’s sons.”⁵¹⁸ Pindar’s Scottish roots bolstered his experiences as a British soldier in the midst of his empire journeys.

While Pindar embraced his Scottish roots, this Scottish identity more fully intertwined with his beliefs as a Christian and in what he called the “simple faith” of the

⁵¹⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 34.

⁵¹⁵ Claude Gaier, “The Origins of Mons Meg,” *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* 5, no. 12 (1967): 426; Pindar, *Autobiography*, 43.

⁵¹⁶ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 98.

⁵¹⁷ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 55.

⁵¹⁸ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 107, 98.

“Presbyterian creed.”⁵¹⁹ Throughout his memoir, Pindar generously conveyed biblical allusions and references to God, but he began his account with the source of his faith, the Bible. He named the Bible as the “primary book of [his] country,” Scotland, and argued strongly that the soldier’s significance emerges from that tome: Abraham’s fight to rescue Lot, Moses and Joshua’s routing of the Amalekites and Canaanites, and the “Sweet Singer of Israel”—David—and his “oft-repeated encounter[s]” with the Philistines and Goliath all point to the value of the warrior soldier. Pindar wrote, “[I]t seems to me more of Christian charity ought to be bestowed upon those who take their life in their hand to keep an insulting foe within bounds.”⁵²⁰ This biblical foundation helped him negotiate his experiences. When he knew that the young family on his first embarkation to India would never be together again, he reflected with relief that “[w]hen the grave yields up its charge the re-union [*sic*] of these fond hearts will, methinks, be a scene over which angels will preside.”⁵²¹ Pindar also spoke in awe of what he called the “great First Cause”—probably a reference to Alexander Pope’s 1738 poem, “The Universal Prayer”—when he experienced the “thunder and lightning, rain and sand storms” of India, whose creative power he felt directly pointed to “Almighty God.”⁵²² When he visited the “famed” St. John’s Church on Malta, he was stunned by the incredible beauty within the church: the floor of vari-colored marbles, portraits of saints depicted by “the most eminent painters of Italy,” and statues and “wealthy decorations” around the “niches

⁵¹⁹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 96.

⁵²⁰ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 4-5.

⁵²¹ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 9-10.

⁵²² Pindar, *Autobiography*, 21; cf. Alexander Pope, “The Universal Prayer,” Poetry Foundation, <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/50590/the-universal-prayer>.

and corners.” Pindar expressed, “I can never forget the feelings that rose within me when I first entered that edifice.” A “holy awe” stole over him, he said, and he felt as if he were in heaven. While Pindar loved this church, he also recognized that in spite of the dramatic and opulent contrast with his own “simple Presbyterian kirk,” the congregants in both faiths “each in their own manner [strove] to worship the same great Infinite Being.”⁵²³ Indeed, according to Pindar, “[w]hether on the banks of heathen rivers, or midst the ruins of Hindoo temples,” the Scottish minister offered “faithful preaching” and a “holy earnestness” that “made us [Scots] feel the hallowing influences” of a Scottish Sabbath at home.⁵²⁴ As he ended his memoir while in Malta, Pindar clarified that he would soon return to his homeland to his “auld kirk-yard of Glenvale,” and, although his parents had perished, he “Still [had] a Friend” who “watched over [him].”⁵²⁵ The power of the Christian faith impacted Pindar’s personal and emotional responses, sealing him more tightly to his Scottish roots.

Pindar’s intimate personal association with Protestant Christianity as seen in his own Presbyterian faith manifestly represents the definitive British religious perspective, suggesting a complete image of the Victorian British subject. As Carey asserted in her analysis of the British colonial missionary movement during the nineteenth century, “Scottish identity was not extinguished by the creation of the United Kingdom, but continued as a national sub-theme, particularly through the ministry of the Church of

⁵²³ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 138.

⁵²⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 97.

⁵²⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 169-70.

Scotland.⁵²⁶ But Scots also located themselves within the broader British culture, embracing what Carey called a “common Christianity”—and this Christianity celebrated “uniquely British” virtues of “freedom, tolerance, justice and civic duty.”⁵²⁷ These British qualities were augmented by the Scottish cultural phenomenon of the *lad o’pairts*, with its emphasis on both the meritocratic citizen, as well as on the Christian conviction that any young person could advance educationally, signifying that the Scottish soldier would be a distinct asset to British culture.⁵²⁸ Indeed, Colley, in her foundational text, *Britons*, argued that not only was Protestantism in Britain inherent to the British psyche, but as the nineteenth century advanced, it compelled more active participation in society among the lower classes, serving to pervade the culture.⁵²⁹ Furthermore, Colley asserted that, in the case of Britain, war sealed her hold on the empire.⁵³⁰ Colley wrote, “For most Victorians, the massive overseas empire which was the fruit of so much successful warfare represented final and conclusive proof of Great Britain’s providential destiny.”⁵³¹ Pindar’s personal experience fits perfectly into this panorama. His conviction that the role of the warrior soldier is not only biblical but admirable and his love and respect for Christian tenets characterize the nineteenth century British worldview. While Said asserted that the “Orientalist”—that is, westerners—“makes it his work to be always

⁵²⁶ Carey, *God’s Empire*, 209.

⁵²⁷ Carey, *God’s Empire*, 5.

⁵²⁸ Graham A. Duncan, “John Knox and Education,” *HTS Teologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 73, no. 3 (2017), 2, 3.

⁵²⁹ Colley, *Britons*, 370-71; 29, cf. 368-69.

⁵³⁰ Colley, *Britons*, 52.

⁵³¹ Colley, *Britons*, 368.

converting the Orient from something into something else,” lamenting contrived modifications by outsiders, the British worldview of the nineteenth century, which included Protestant values, viewed empire as a “force for good.”⁵³² Christians sought to “further the worldwide spread of the Gospel,” which Pindar regarded as a civilizing power and worthy of “awe.”⁵³³ Pindar’s personal and soldierly global reach, his membership in a strongly Protestant society, and his intimate identity as a Presbyterian Christian all combined to embody in him the distinct British subject who loved God and wanted the world to know Him. Such a potent and representative influence penetrated British culture and advanced throughout the empire what Britons viewed as beneficial transformation in their world.

Victorian Imperial Exemplar

In the global reach of the sweeping British empire, Pindar embraced every locale in which he served, whether it was in the United Kingdom, India, Gibraltar, or Malta, and transformed perspectives of the British empire through his provocative observations as he spent time in his beloved role as “a son of Mars.”⁵³⁴ With a deep love for serving his country, Pindar saw his appointment as a soldier as “a taste of life” as he coursed through his many military environments.⁵³⁵ Experiencing the sophisticated transformations his era was known for in technology and social and political reform, Pindar was a man who typified the imperial British soldier. From his Cape journey, an experience that only a

⁵³² Said, *Orientalism*, cf. 7, 191, 67; Carey, *God’s Empire*, 14.

⁵³³ Colley, *Britons*, 368; cf. Pindar, *Autobiography*, 27, 138.

⁵³⁴ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 2.

⁵³⁵ Pindar, *Autobiography*, 9.

smattering of contemporaries underwent; to the transformation of railroads in India that changed her landscape; and to the fresh engineering in the form of the Suez Canal, whose construction Pindar lived through and which offered a faster route to the east—all represented the substantial industrial and cultural shifts taking place throughout the world. Furthermore, as a late-century soldier, Pindar enjoyed all the benefits of decades of gradual but steady army reform, with the century culminating in modifications resulting from the Cardwell model that orchestrated the job of change desperately needed since the beginning of the century. Pindar encountered the sublime power of the British empire as he served in the center of its widespread territory, the Mediterranean, experiencing spiritual and emotional joy in his deeply felt relationship with God, even as he aided Britain in protecting her assets. Colley illuminated both the powerful role that war plays in binding a people together and the deeply held Protestant faith of Britons, whose intertwined combination worked together to forge a renewed “British national identity.”⁵³⁶ This universal sentiment gave authority to British convictions that God had also blessed them in their empire.⁵³⁷ As a subject of the British Crown and a member of his dearly loved Presbyterian “kirk,” Pindar possessed pride in his homeland—particularly Scotland—delighted in British mastery around the world, and remained devoted to his Christian faith as he exemplified the British imperial subject that defined the long Victorian century.

⁵³⁶ Colley, *Britons*, 52-53, 18.

⁵³⁷ Colley, *Britons*, 368.

CHAPTER V

Nineteenth Century British Soldiers: Agents of Imperial Transformation

The personal life stories Joseph Donaldson, William Douglas, and John Pindar shared with the British public as a result of their intimate experiences with war provide an unparalleled window into their own biographical circumstances, as well as nineteenth century history. Because the genre of memoir by its very nature illustrates personal events, internal reactions shine in response to life circumstances. While memoir is also characteristically limiting through the restraints of personal response, the genre provides an organic fuel—a bottom-up perspective—for understanding historical current as seen by the ordinary individual who lives it. In the case of these soldiers, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar highlighted transformative change, particularly when their autobiographical recollections are taken as a whole. Spanning the early nineteenth century years from 1809 in the case of Donaldson, through the 1850s of Douglas, and to the late 1870s of Pindar, these memoirs offer reactions to the wars that occurred over the century, the changes in technology that hallmarked the time, the advancements in reform that heaved the army towards the fin de siècle, and the deepening of Britishness into the culture that emerged from the swirling historical forces throughout the nineteenth century. The power of these soldiers' voices resonates richly through their detailed chronicles of their lives, permitting a deeper understanding of the immediacy of their experiences, infusing life into the historical record. Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, through the gradual shifts of change in the encounters and exchanges they experienced, served as instruments of change that cultivated, strengthened, and nuanced the British empire in the world.

Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar naturally highlighted historical, cultural, and environmental incidents of their respective times, living the transformations they discussed. These episodes serve to demonstrate that soldiers such as they guided many aspects of empire and established the empire's character. Underpinning the process of change was the soldiers' mobility. As agents of the British government, they journeyed across the globe officially, claiming new environments for Britain. Through their traversing these landscapes, they gained new knowledge that cemented a more complete understanding of the British world. This mobility of the soldier also brought about the dramatic army reform that took place as the century passed. Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar discovered weaknesses in the system while they traveled and served that directly affected their soldierly experience. New stations in new locations underscored different living environments that highlighted the needs that should be alleviated. Seen clearly over time, the process of reform occurred as each generation of soldier—seen through Donaldson's, Douglas's, and Pindar's writings—challenged elements of a fragmented organization. The transformation of British identity was more subtle—but it also occurred through the army's global mobility that stimulated soldier's encounters with diverse nations and peoples. Through these interactions, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar took on a new perspective of what it meant to be British: henceforth, not only would being British comprise those perpetual lands of the British Isles, but now it would include a wide range of cultures, languages, and environments—an expanded Britishness that reflected more accurately the multifaceted empire. Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar then communicated these perspectives to people—in journals, their memoirs, and in poetry; their views and experiences became a part of the British publishing panorama, an inherently

transformational arm of Victorian culture. Through this dissemination, the British public learned of new places and new cultures, whose characters soaked more deeply into an expanded British world.

Key to Donaldson's, Douglas's, and Pindar's agency were the conflicts and locales with which they engaged over the century. Donaldson eloquently described the battles in which he participated in the Peninsular War, but he also wrote about his boyhood journey to the West Indies, his travels throughout Iberia and France, and his stay in Ireland, concluding his narrative with a discussion of his discharge that resulted from his father's deathbed request.⁵³⁸ In the middle of the century, Douglas illustrated his journey throughout the east, and, although he limited his discussion of his army exploits in India, he nevertheless identified deeply with India's culture. He also emphasized his time in the Middle East, particularly his six-week sojourn in Egypt and conflicts in the Crimean War, ending his record with a call for reform in the army he loved. Pindar, having served in India, Scotland, Ireland, Gibraltar, and Malta—stations throughout the British empire—most thoroughly embodied the British imperial soldier of the late 1870s when the empire experienced a resurgence in power. Indeed, Pindar's locations served as strategic dots on the landscape, almost as stepping stones allowing travelers to journey from India to Britain without leaving the empire. Taken as a whole, these soldiers highlighted change—change in the form of technology leaping from early century seeds of growth in steam, to an inchoate telegraph communication system, through the explosion in the railroad industry. Change also took place more slowly in the form of a breaking down of hierarchy within the British army, forcing reform to occur that

⁵³⁸ See Donaldson, *Recollections*, 332.

strengthened the army gradually and influencing military service overseas. Change also took place as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar encountered a variety of people groups around the world: Donaldson closer to home with the Spanish, Portuguese, and French in Iberia; Douglas with Indians, Egyptians, Turks, French, and Russians in the east; and Pindar with Indians, Gibraltarians, Maltese, and Britons inhabiting the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean, and the waters of the United Kingdom. These varied experiences add up to a recognition that the rank and file, the common, ordinary soldiers, through their global wanderings and wide range of involvements, were the ones who directly influenced the growth of empire in their conflicts and encounters around the world.

The expansion in publishing became key to communication in the world of the nineteenth century and would transcend barriers such as large land masses, wide-open seas, and political constraints. Limited to the aristocratic and middle classes in the eighteenth century, literacy began to infiltrate the culture at the time of Donaldson, and education became more prevalent for the masses as the century progressed.⁵³⁹ Donaldson himself learned to read as a young boy and profusely enjoyed the new genre of fiction. As an adult, he published his memoir initially in three volumes with some success, as well as anonymous works in the periodical press.⁵⁴⁰ He also completed a manuscript, *Life in Various Circumstances*, which was lost *en route* to France.⁵⁴¹ Douglas also partook in the boom in periodical culture in the middle of the century. To a populace voraciously consuming a wide array of new journals, Douglas contributed his chapter “Lost in the

⁵³⁹ See Altick, *English Common Reader*, 41, cf. 5.

⁵⁴⁰ Donaldson, *Recollections*, iii, v; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2006), s.v. “Donaldson, Joseph.”

⁵⁴¹ Donaldson, *Recollections*, v-vi.

Jungle” to Charles Dickens’s *All the Year Round*, along with a chapter on the Battle of Balaklava and one on reform at Woolmer to the military publication, the *United Service Magazine*.⁵⁴² Indeed, publications such as the *United Service Magazine* dedicated themselves to catalyzing reform, with the *United Service Magazine* particularly considered a firebrand.⁵⁴³ Pindar, as well, took advantage of the burgeoning culture by publishing in his local newspaper, becoming known as the “Lochgelly Poet.”⁵⁴⁴ An admirer, Reverend A.M. Houston, edited a collection of Pindar’s poems, *Random Rhymes*, in 1893, and, more recently, James Campbell compiled this poetry collection, Pindar’s memoir, and other poems in a 2016 anthology.⁵⁴⁵ Both Douglas and Pindar experienced first-hand the influence of the publishing world while they served around the globe. Douglas spoke of the excitement those in India felt when the news showed up, allowing the people to finally hear the reports of what was going on in Europe.⁵⁴⁶ Pindar’s experience on board ship around the Cape of Good Hope typifies the intrinsic acceptance of the exciting new publishing culture, in what could be considered a hometown publication on board ship, with travelers as contributors, a dedicated editor, weekly publication, and a ship community reading the news together—a microcosm of the broader British public worldwide. The flourishing publication culture allowed all three men to promote new and strategic perspectives from around the world, whether addressing wartime adventures, new cultures, or reform. Their messages functioned in a

⁵⁴² Douglas, *Soldiering*, vi.

⁵⁴³ Strachan, *Wellington’s Legacy*, 21.

⁵⁴⁴ Stark, “Pindar—The Complete Works.”

⁵⁴⁵ Stark, “From Pit to Poet.”

⁵⁴⁶ Douglas, *Soldiering*, 12.

similar way to correspondents' reports, bringing home information and stories about faraway lands that were a part of the British empire, allowing everyone a glimpse into their larger world. Successfully engaging in the fresh acceleration of publishing, these soldiers served as connectors of culture between the globe and Britain. Through their publications, they conveyed transformations all around them, functioning as builders of empire.

Arguably the most observable change during the nineteenth century that allowed soldiers such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar to travel the globe for Britain was the technological revolution, which empowered their ability to take in unique adventures and in the process strengthen imperial relations. While Donaldson ventured closest to home, he still settled in a variety of places, including Scotland, on Jersey in the English Channel, and in the Iberian Peninsula. He memorably viewed the north African coast and shores of Cadiz, including the memorial location of Admiral Nelson's recent defeat of the French, and was gripped by the passionate Spanish response to bullfighting even as he recognized his own nation's ardent reaction to prizefighting that reflected a parallel sense of patriotism. Douglas, by contrast, personally experienced the dramatic advances in technology that quickly transported him throughout the east, including India, Egypt, Crimea, and Turkey. Steamships improved by shifting to a screw propeller, allowing more space on board and speeding up mobility. Cairo especially enlightened Douglas, where he became familiar with donkey-riding and received visits from the Pasha. Douglas also marched the Overland Route to Alexandria in order to sail to Crimea, enduring the arduous but celebrated journey to the mid-century port on the Mediterranean. He also viewed the fairy-like environment surrounding the Crimean

landscape, acknowledging his own place in history as he associated the craggy panorama with the historic past. Pindar also experienced the flourishing of great technological change as he criss-crossed the globe. The Cape of Good Hope, that classic, time-honored journey still served the British empire, allowing consistent but time-taking adventures on board a ship that also functioned as short-lived communal living. Railroads advanced considerably while Pindar was in India, and he completed service in Gibraltar and Malta, two of the strategic gems in the Mediterranean Sea that represented British power. Indeed, the strength of the Rock—Gibraltar—impressed Pindar, and he saw deep British royal connections at Malta. The Suez Canal also came of age while Pindar was in the army, and, while he never traversed it, he recognized the significant milestone that it was and saw the fruit of that influence in Malta. These soldiers' adventures served as a form of "mass tourism," replacing the eighteenth century aristocratic "Grand Tour" with a new form of visitation for the rank and file, fracturing class divisions that were slowly disintegrating.⁵⁴⁷ All over the world, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar traveled, and this travel by its very nature branded their footprints into the lands and seas they visited, directly advancing the spread of imperial power. As Stafford asserted in his discussion of Victorian scientific observation, "Exploration and Empire sprang from the same motives and mutually supported each other in defining, exploiting, and acquiring territory" and emerged from a "drive for expansion, power, and global connectivity that fuelled [*sic*] imperialism . . . and the construction of world-wide transport and communications

⁵⁴⁷ Buzard, "Grand Tour and After," cf. 38, 47-48.

networks.”⁵⁴⁸ With such global mobility, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar saw the world and reinforced relations between the world and Britain.

Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar not only strengthened Britain’s association with its empire through their travel experiences, but they saw bureaucratic weaknesses in the army that emerged from the aristocratic nature of army leadership. This deep-seated traditionalism required forms of deference between the officer class and the common soldier that influenced the public’s negative view of enlistees through much of the century, particularly in response to the Duke of Wellington’s infamous comment that they were the “scum of the earth.”⁵⁴⁹ Furthermore, the upper class disdained skills-based training, viewing it as beneath them as gentlemen, but as the middle class grew in Britain, practical training became more prevalent and valued. Moreover, the rank and file soldiers who made up the masses of the army had a reputation for drunkenness and low character that in some respects was valid, but this notoriety shifted towards a deepening respect, especially mid-century. Douglas, for example, was of the generation of Crimea, whose soldiers fought valiantly and earned the appreciation of the British people. In contrast with the aristocratic leadership of generals and colonels who ran the regiments and made decisions for battle, enlistees emerged from Crimea as relative heroes.⁵⁵⁰ In fact, it was the aristocracy that bore the brunt of humiliation from the Crimean War, an unexpected result that forced the army to make serious changes to better the military lives of the men

⁵⁴⁸ Stafford, “Scientific Exploration and Empire,” 318.

⁵⁴⁹ Quoted in Gates, “Transformation of the Army,” 145.

⁵⁵⁰ Kriegel, “Who Blew,” 5, 6; Burroughs, “An Unreformed Army?” 182-83.

who served.⁵⁵¹ While deference towards titled leadership remained, as the old guard, such as Wellington, passed away, fresh, new leadership began to make changes that had for forty years been resisted, including flattening societal divisions through marked army reform.

This gradual weakening of class lines, new perceptions of the rank and file, and strategic reformers at key moments in British army history transformed the army environment, and Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar experienced each of these changes. Those pervasive and despised abuses that so many derided and blamed on the innate character of the rank and file—common drunkenness, inordinate flogging, furtive recruiting practices—were alleviated as the century advanced and began to improve army culture, creating a more desirable environment for soldiers. Additionally, while the army would not commission ordinary enlistees, it began to expect its non-commissioned officers to be literate, which gradually strengthened the army by pulling up more qualified men into leadership. Arguably most significant, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar each witnessed the work of a key individual who effected change in the midst of his own prevailing army culture. Donaldson observed Frederick, the Duke of York, whose early ministrations alleviated some concerns, such as low pay, unqualified promotions, and, most significantly, a lack of educational and military training for soldiers. York inaugurated reform early in the century and established a crucial stepping stone for the future. The next major step in army growth occurred after the Crimean War mid-century, when Douglas experienced the changes Lord Frederick FitzClarence

⁵⁵¹ Brudenell, “Lessons in Leadership,” cf. 78, 82, 84; Warner, *Crimean War*, 218; Kriegel, “Who Blew,” 5.

integrated. Building on York's commitment to education, FitzClarence developed military training and educational manuals both in England and India. Both Donaldson and Douglas recognized the inherent leadership these two royal reformers offered and respected them as ones who cared for the soldier. Pindar's late century encounter with Lord Edward Cardwell's reforms became a rockier experience. While Cardwell strengthened key elements of army culture, such as its ability to sustain enough recruits for any possibility of war, Pindar's view denied him the long-range perspective needed to see success. Even Cardwell's upbringing was different, with his being the son of a merchant, and his most controversial change to army structure was most unique of all reformers: he broke the back of arguably the most significant and venerable tradition of army life—the purchase system. Writing in 1859, Douglas encapsulated the mid-century status of army environment, which, having incorporated some remarkable changes over the century, nevertheless still needed work. Douglas wished for a more natural camaraderie among soldiers, especially when His Majesty, Queen Victoria, visited, stating,

And it is something of this [cheerfulness and freedom from restraint] that is felt under canvas, where there is not that formality, that martinetism, which can only be satisfied by a species of humbugging—wrongly termed by some "order and discipline," but which is only the remains of the sad soldiering times of some seventy years back, those *good old times* when flogging, cocked hats, queues, tights and gaiters, were what made a soldier well conducted in quarters and brave in the field. There is still a strong leaven of that obsolete period amongst us, and

those infected can be easily known by the pertinacity with which they cling to their duties.⁵⁵²

Ironically reminding his readers of the “*good old times*” of early century standards, Douglas also challenged the still evident dominance of aristocratic, bureaucratic, and hierarchical structures that limited the army from flourishing. Douglas’s distinct irony demonstrates his recognition that so much had changed since Donaldson served in Spain and Portugal. While Donaldson experienced a wide divide between the officer class and enlistees, emanating from an elitist attitude of superiority among army leadership, Douglas recognized that his generation was a step removed from such domination. Pindar also emphasized unfair pay practices and the lack of appropriate provisions from army leadership, in contrast to dictatorial treatment that characterized earlier army generations, demonstrating a significant shift in army culture towards a more positive treatment of soldiers. The personal experiences of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar catalyzed the transformation of the army, generating a different institution that matched the freshly invigorated empire that sprawled across the globe.

Emerging as an essential characteristic of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar was their identification as Scottish sons. Underpinning nineteenth century Scottish culture, the “lad o’pairts” cultural tradition enveloped these soldiers as men with great potential who chose to serve in the British army. Indeed, Scottish values included an enduring respect for education, and evidence of this esteem poured out of their writings. Furthermore, regimental life was especially keen among Scottish soldiers, and Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar associated strongly with their respective regiments. Soldiers ate together,

⁵⁵² Douglas, *Soldiering*, 319, cf. 318.

drank together, fought together, and maintained relations throughout their lives. In addition, as they spanned the globe—and spanned the century—Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar celebrated similar holidays, especially Hogmanay, and gravitated towards those who called Scotland home. Donaldson, for example, emotionally recalled the Scottish tunes that he and his fellow Scots sang while they were in Iberia, reminiscing about home, and his regimental leader identified Scotland as the regiment’s “moral country,” accentuating a deep conviction that Scotland had the power to motivate and inspire. This attitude, coming from General Picton and spoken to all classes of men, highlighted the common bond of a love for Scotland, whether the soldier was an officer or rank and file enlistee. Douglas also was profoundly affected when he serendipitously encountered in Egypt on his way to the Crimea Edinburgh men with whom he had enjoyed boyhood experiences in Scotland, and this connection became an important memory for him as he set off for war. Pindar not only felt a sincere spiritualism as a Presbyterian Scot, but he yearned for home in much the same way Donaldson and Douglas did, memorializing Fife and the nearby environs as significant markers of his homecoming. Indeed, as Scottish soldiers, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar were among a large number of Scots who served in the empire, contributing their experiences into the vital networks of kinship that existed and thus influencing the imperial culture with a unique Scottish flavor.

Another way soldiers such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar integrated transformation into the nature of empire was through their close interaction with nations in war and service abroad. As the British army grew in its ability to move soldiers and communicate longer distances, soldiers more readily encountered a variety of people groups. West Indians, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Indians, Egyptians, Turks, Italians,

Russians, Hindustanis, Gibraltarians, and Maltese, in addition to other distinct peoples who lived among these in crowded cities, such as Jews and Greeks—as well as Britons—the Irish, English, and fellow Scots—all peopled the locales to which Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar traveled. By mingling with them, getting to know them—and fighting with and against them—these soldiers brought home knowledge of exotic and unique cultures with which Britons could connect through their writings. Some contact was disturbing, such as Donaldson's frustration with the Spanish methods of war, or Douglas's haunting reaction to the battlefield of Balaklava, or Pindar's fervent response to the Yusufzai tribes. Other exchanges, however, were more favorable. For example, as a young man Donaldson encountered West Indians on his youthful journey to the Bahamas, later appreciated the military skills of the Portuguese, and then married an Irish girl. Douglas viewed himself as a mysterious blend of Scotch, English, and Indian, proudly claiming all three, enjoyed interactions with Egyptians, and recognized the valor of the Italians in Crimea. The French were inspiring to both Donaldson and Douglas during their respective conflicts, and Pindar found a friendly and welcome reception among the Maltese. Through such wide-ranging encounters, the general populace met these groups vicariously through these soldiers, whose writings inordinately influenced British perceptions of the world. As a result, the British people became cognizant of the empire in a way that they could not have been without the soldiers' influence. These combined and shared experiences represent the great global mixture of cultures that made up the British empire, and this deep association would have been buried otherwise if not for the writings of these British soldiers.

Catholicism was a crucial characteristic of many of the peoples Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar encountered, especially the French and Irish, but treatment of those in the Catholic faith was also a hotspot of reform in Britain. Indeed, the early nineteenth century was especially rife with reformers attempting to bring political access to Catholics in Britain, with some success in the 1829 Catholic Emancipation Act. Moreover, the question of the acceptance of Catholicism in British life highlights the Protestant and aristocratic pervasiveness among political leadership that only reluctantly allowed Catholic tolerance. However, rank and file soldiers such as Donaldson, Pindar, and Douglas more openly demonstrated acceptance of Catholic individuals.

Donaldson, while he viewed negatively the overt religiosity of the Iberian culture, reacting against the passion and subservience of many adherents, minimized his views on French Catholicism as he fought against them during the war. Donaldson also described many discussions with Catholics in Ireland who shared honestly with him their perspectives on the issues of the day, such as the 1798 Irish rebellion. Donaldson also embraced many Irish Catholic friends within his regiment, bonding in a way that transcended any differences in faith. Most significantly, Donaldson later married a Catholic, Mary M'Carthy, the sister of one of his friends.⁵⁵³ Douglas, by contrast, wrote little about the Catholic religion but admired the French, seeing them as strong warriors in their united front against the Russians. Finally, Pindar most clearly demonstrated his respect for the Catholic Church as an institution, visiting a service or church wherever he settled and recognizing the heartfelt observances, devout believers, and beautiful buildings. While he appreciated these important elements of the Catholic church, Pindar

⁵⁵³ Donaldson, *Recollections*, cf. 272, 277, iv.

nevertheless was a proud and committed Presbyterian. For him this denominational faith was the epitome of being Scottish, and, while Donaldson and Douglas also claimed the Christian tradition, their spiritual focus was more generally Protestant. As Colley argued in her important and influential assertion of Britain's Protestant identity, these British soldiers identified deeply as Christian men, but they also embodied the significant shifts of British nineteenth century culture as it moved toward a more open acceptance of the Catholic faith tradition. Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar, as representative soldiers, within a churning cultural shift in religious identity, broke the conventional societal mode of the Protestant-Catholic binary that permeated political discussion in their commitment to extra-religious commonalities among the peoples they met.

This mix of cultures and traditions emblemized in the memoirs of Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar represent a complement of characteristics that combine to embody a more complete British identity. Though the Scottish ties were deep within each man, Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar also saw themselves as British soldiers in a British army: they wrote about the "British line" in war; the "British colours" in victory; the "British cavalry" at Balaklava; the "British workman," equating him with the soldier; "British rule" in Ireland; and the "British poets" of yesteryear—and placed themselves within this composite Britishness, blending with it their own Scottish flair.⁵⁵⁴ Donaldson, far from home, thought of the land of his birth in the context of the British Isles as a whole. Not just Scotland, but the United Kingdom—including England and the recently acquired Ireland—stood as the home he recognized and to which he attributed his

⁵⁵⁴ See Donaldson, *Recollections*, 232, 155; Douglas, *Soldiering*, 244, vi; Pindar, *Autobiography*, 59, 3.

patriotic leanings. For Donaldson, the English, Irish, and Scottish soldier were a part of a British association that experiences in war facilitated. Douglas, as a mid-century soldier, nuanced his British identity further. He felt his Scottishness deeply, but he also connected benevolent aspects of his work as a soldier with an Englishness that blended effortlessly into his makeup. Layering one more element onto his character, Douglas called himself an "Indian," proudly highlighting his eight years of service in India. More broadly, however, Douglas acutely identified with the honor his fellow soldiers felt through their association with the Crimean War, particularly the Battle of Balaklava. Although a Highland Scottish regiment participated in this infamous battle, the honor shared among the men was an all-encompassing experience as British soldiers. This deep connection in turn entrenched itself into British culture as the embodiment of patriotism, impacting future military pride.⁵⁵⁵ Finally, Pindar's recognition of British influence throughout his imperial stations formed a complete picture of the Britishness that became pervasive in the nineteenth century. Having experienced the command of the British military in the northwest frontier of India, political power curbing Irish nationalism, the strength of Britain's fortress at Gibraltar, and royal adoration in Malta, Pindar more thoroughly observed the worldwide impact of all these manifestations of what it meant to be British. Additionally, while Pindar overtly discussed his Protestant—albeit Presbyterian—faith, each man had a semblance of Christian faith of which they wrote, and this devotion also contributed to their British identity. Indeed, as Colley questioned, "Who were the British?" she responded, "Protestantism could supply a potent and effective answer" to

⁵⁵⁵ Kriegel, "Who Blew," 6-9; Melvin Charles Smith, *Awarded for Valour*, 41; Cecil Woodham-Smith, *Queen Victoria: From Her Birth to the Death of the Prince Consort* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 385.

British identity, “perhaps the only satisfactory answer possible.”⁵⁵⁶ Furthermore, according to Strachan, the Duke of Cambridge, as Commander-in-Chief of the British army, concluded that at mid-century, “a truly British army was being forged, made up of English, Irish and Scottish battalions,” forming a “national homogeneity.”⁵⁵⁷ Finlay took this perspective further, asserting that by the fin de siècle, a mix of “colonial and Britannic identity” augmented British bonds of unity.⁵⁵⁸ These combined characteristics of identity of men like Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar amalgamated into a full-bodied Britishness.

The composite British identity that Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar represent also contributed to the character of the British empire. These soldiers’ footprints accelerated the British empire from a dominant force in the world early in the century to one that demonstrated an expansive, worldwide enterprise. As Porter argued, Britain’s imperial state grew remarkably during the 19th century, with great advances in technology shrinking travel times, allowing a fast-moving stream of people, especially soldiers who set out from the British Isles as servants of the Crown.⁵⁵⁹ Invasion scares confronted the nation throughout the century, mostly from France, but they served as an impetus for

⁵⁵⁶ Colley, *Britons*, 53. In spite of laws preventing them, both Irish and Scottish Catholics served impressively and in significant numbers in the British army, especially at the turn of the century, offering a broader religious flavor to Britishness (Colley, *Britons*, 326). See also Carey on Ireland’s Catholic contributions to colonial missions in the British empire (*God’s Empire*, 115, 124-25); Wolffe on Anglo-Catholics asserting English and British connections (*Protestant Crusade*, 310); and S. Karly Kehoe on Irish Catholic surgeons serving in the British navy in the middle of the nineteenth century. Kehoe concluded regarding these medical professionals: “They were Irish, Catholic, British, medical, and imperial; they were individuals of multiple identities who pushed forward the field of medicine and provoked a greater degree of religious toleration in Britain’s most symbolic imperial organization.” “Accessing Empire: Irish Surgeons and the Royal Navy, 1840-1880,” *Social History of Medicine* 26, no. 2 (2012): 224.

⁵⁵⁷ Strachan, “Scotland’s Military Identity,” 326.

⁵⁵⁸ Finlay, “National Identity,” 308.

⁵⁵⁹ Porter, Introduction, 5.

reform, which prepared Britain to act. Russia often played a role in galvanizing Britain into action against British interests in India, which propelled Britain into European conflicts to protect its territorial claims. As reform took place later in the century, the hierarchical army management began to break down, becoming more cohesive and allowing efficient numbers of troops to be stationed throughout the empire. Burroughs argued that governmental actions meant to meet the empire's needs were "reactive rather than initiatory" and lagged behind, following in the footsteps of soldiers.⁵⁶⁰ Furthermore, because of the chaotic administrative structures in the government and army institutions, the soldiers' actions were crucial to transforming on-the-ground operations. While army leadership offered high-level decisions that would eventually cascade back to the rank and file, it was the soldiers who served as the force of Britain, influencing its multi-sided character. These soldiers' experiences in turn became what Burroughs described as a "continuing, adaptable product of Imperial and indigenous contributions" rather than a "one-sided creation" of British imagination.⁵⁶¹ Indeed, the fluid and dynamic nature of the wide-reaching and multicultural empire was established by soldiers such as Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar with their pervasive presence.

Joseph Donaldson, William Douglas, and John Pindar lived the transformation of empire in the nineteenth century through their employing the revolutions in technology that allowed them rapid mobility, personally experiencing new nations and cultural traditions, championing the process of breaking down the aristocratic dominance in the British army, and fashioning a multicultural British identity that embodied the British

⁵⁶⁰ Burroughs, "Imperial Institutions," 170.

⁵⁶¹ Burroughs, "Imperial Institutions," 184.

empire. Their vibrant and personal life stories and military experiences that they expressed in their autobiographical memoirs became beneficial for the Victorian British public that searched for more knowledge, and through these soldiers' accounts they connected the global world to their homeland in Britain. Indeed, the multitude of journeys of these nineteenth century British soldiers would serve as an introduction to the world—and worldly affairs—as the *fin de siècle* approached, becoming a modernizing force. Donaldson, Douglas, and Pindar each contributed to this force, using their memoirs to chronicle the transformation of the British nineteenth century.

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| Certified Tutor, College Reading & Learning Association (CRLA) Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, TX | 2016 |
| Certificate in English Language Teaching to Adults (CELTA) Cambridge English Language Assessment, University of Cambridge, UK Lone Star College, North Harris, Houston, TX | 2007 |

Teaching

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| Composition I and II - Sam Houston State University | 2019 - Present |
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| History, English, Algebra I and II, Government, Spanish - Homeschool | 2001 - 2015 |
| English as a Second Language - Ankara, Turkey | 2008, 2010 |
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Conference Presentations

“Challenging Introductory Writers: Scaffolding Discipline-Specific-X-2 Research Papers for First-Year Learners”
Professional and Academic Center for Excellence (PACE) Teaching and Learning Conference (Virtual), Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas, August 13, 2020.

“Gentlemen’s Agreement: Thackeray, Trollope, and the *Cornhill Magazine*”
Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP) Conference, University of Brighton, Brighton, England, July 25-27, 2019.

“Interpreting a Trio of Crane Stories”

American Studies Association of Texas (ASAT) Conference, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas, November 11, 2016.

“Speech Acts of Rochester in Jane Eyre as Indicators of Character Development”

The Woodlands Center Symposium, Sam Houston State University, The Woodlands, Texas, April 9, 2016.

Publication

Arensdorf, Nadia. “Current Bibliography.” *Nathaniel Hawthorne Review* 44, no. 1/2 (Fall 2018).

Scholarships

Graduate School General Scholarship, The Graduate School, 2019 - 2021

Special Graduate Scholarship, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, 2016 - 2018, 2020

Graduate Incoming Student Scholarship, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, Fall 2019

Memberships

American Historical Association (AHA)

The Conference on Christianity and Literature (CCL)

Modern Language Association (MLA)

Research Society for Victorian Periodicals (RSVP)

Academic Interests

British Nineteenth Century, including Military History

Victorian Periodicals, including *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*

Middle East, including Ottoman Empire