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Preface and Acknowledgements

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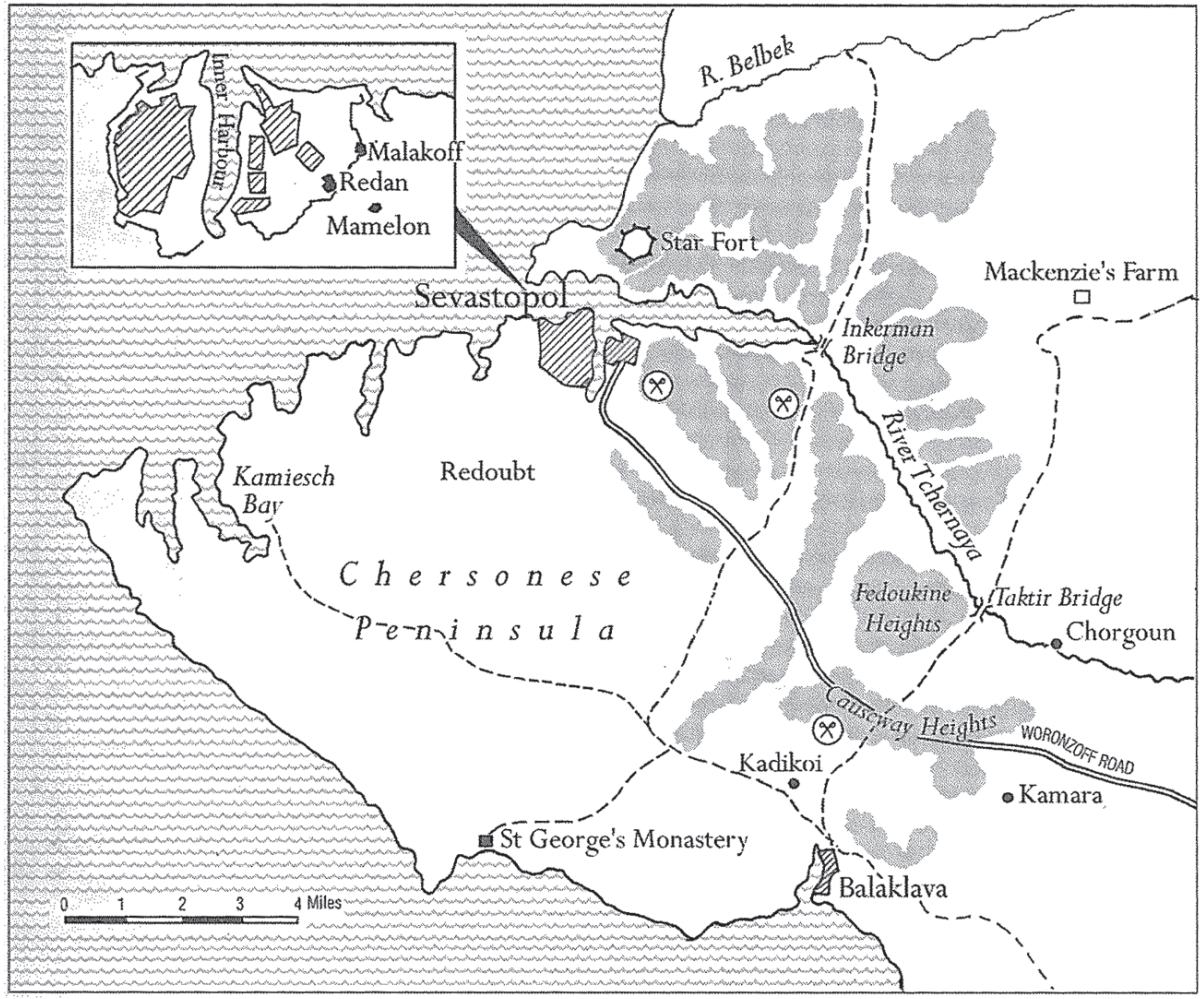
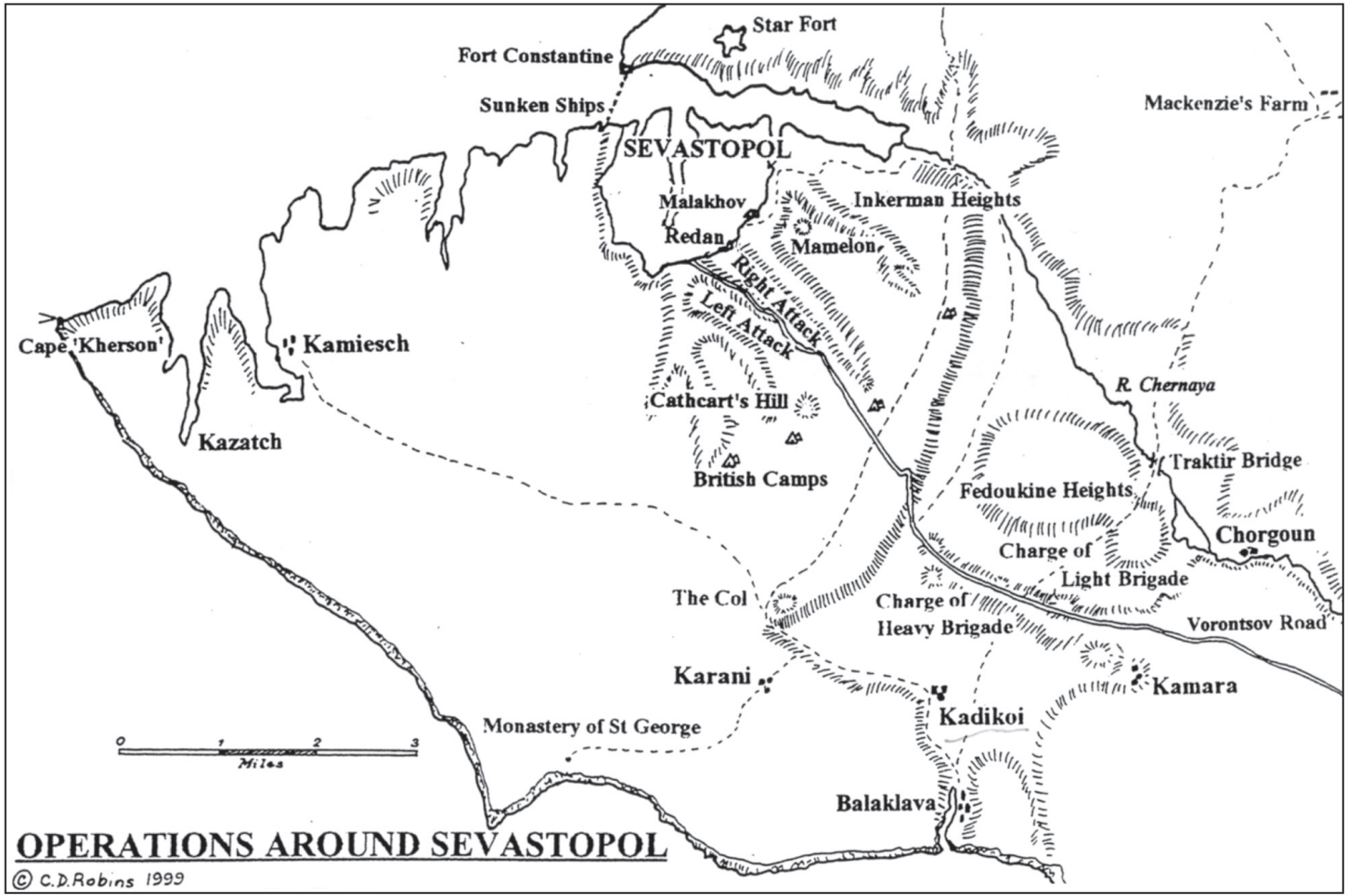
Michael Springman
Bembridge

The Black Sea.



The Crimea and the Chersonese Peninsular.



Operations around Sevastopol. C.D. Robins.

Chapter 1

British Foreign Policy and the Origins and Reasons for the Crimean War

> Trafalgar gave Great Britain control of the sea; Waterloo secured her against the domination of the continent of Europe by one nation. The maintenance of naval supremacy and of a European balance of power were the governing principles of British foreign policy, throughout the nineteenth century. The safeguarding of British naval supremacy was primarily a domestic affair, a matter of men and ships and money. The preservation of the balance of power implied diplomatic action, and, at times, the threat or the use of force. The balance of power was not a fact, but an ideal towards which all reasonable men worked.[1]

In nineteenth-century terms maintaining the balance of power was establishing an equilibrium between states or group of states, based upon an assessment of their material and moral strength. This equilibrium was always changing, as the powers of states waxed and waned, and these changes required continual adjustment. In fact, Europe never attained this equilibrium. Britain could not dictate to the powers of Europe the policy they should adopt, but she could use her wealth and influence to persuade any power or combination of powers, which wished to disturb the existing balance, to desist. No single continental power was capable of challenging the Royal Navy, and British naval supremacy was accepted as a fact by its allies. Britain's principal aim was to maintain the peace and the stability of the European state system, so that its merchants could buy and sell in European markets.[2]

Britain was concerned about Russia's aims to control the Bosphorus, including Constantinople, and its interest in taking over Mesopotamia, which would give Russia control over the overland route to India, where Britain had substantial commercial interests.[3]

In 1853 the Russian Empire stretched from Germany to the Pacific and its territory bordered the Black Sea, the Ottoman Empire, Persia and China. The

Tsar, who ruled over this immense land, was an absolute despot, whose rule was imposed by his secret police. With limited access to the sea, Russia had little foreign trade and thus was not able to develop her considerable resources. Furthermore, her road and rail links were very primitive. She lacked a warm-weather port to enable her to develop foreign trade. To further her expansionist policies, her objective was to conquer Constantinople and the Dardanelles, and thus gain entry to the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, Russia had aims to expand its empire into Turkey, Mesopotamia, Persia and India. The influence of her agents with the rulers of Afghanistan had caused the British Government considerable problems in eliminating Russian influence in this country, which threatened India's security.

In 1844 Tsar Nicholas I had made it clear to the British Government that Russia regarded the Ottoman Empire as the 'sick man of Europe' and offered Britain dominion over Egypt and Crete, provided Russia could have a free hand elsewhere. The British Government refused his offer as it had no wish for Russia to extend its borders further into Europe and Central Asia and thus to threaten the route to India.

Russia used as the occasion for their dispute with the Ottoman Empire the Tsar's desire to obtain protection over the Christian subjects in these territories, for which there were some historical precedents. Russia asked for this right in the spring of 1853, but the Sultan refused, as this would give Russia sovereignty over these lands.

The hesitation of Lord Aberdeen's divided cabinet, which faced opposition from Cobden, Bright and the radicals to any policy which risked war with Russia, encouraged Russia to take the decisive step of invading the Danubian Principalities, if Turkey did not accept their demands.[4]

In July 1853 Russia invaded Moldavia and Wallachia (modern-day Rumania). The British Government then ordered Admiral Dundas's squadron of six warships to proceed to Besika Bay, at the entrance of the Dardanelles, to join the French Navy there and, if necessary, to protect Constantinople from attack. The Austrian Government meanwhile attempted to use its influence to settle the differences between both parties. The Tsar's military might had enabled Austria to put down the recent revolt by Magyar nationalists in Hungary and he was therefore sure that Austria was his ally. The Austrian Government was disturbed by the Tsar's expansionist aims in the Balkans, which could also upset its trade in Europe, as the Danube was a major trade route. They feared Russia, which controlled the German-speaking nations and had intervened in the dispute between the German Confederation and Denmark over the ownership of Schleswig Holstein. It had succeeded in obtaining the annexation of this territory by the German Confederation. With Turkey refusing to agree to Russia's demands, Turkish resistance was stiffened by the belief that Britain and France would not allow Russia to take Constantinople.[5]

In France Louis Napoleon became President in December 1848. He was elected President for ten years in 1851 and in 1852, after a coup d'etat appointed

himself Emperor Napoleon III. He was keen to demonstrate France's power on the world stage and furthermore wanted to redeem France's reputation after its defeat at Waterloo.

The Sultan was pleased that Britain and France were supporting him against Russia and put his defences in order. In October 1853 he issued an ultimatum to Russia to withdraw their troops from the Turkish territories in a fortnight, but in November 1853 the Russian Fleet surprised and sank a Turkish squadron at Sinope on the Black Sea.

The effect on British public opinion was dramatic. The action was called a massacre, as there was antipathy towards Nicholas, who the public felt was an enemy of liberty abroad and an upholder of serfdom at home. Furthermore it was felt that Russian designs on Turkey threatened Britain's political and economic interests. Lord Aberdeen was accused of cowardice and of betraying his country to Russia. Lord Palmerston, the Home Secretary, resigned over the proposed Reform Bill, but it was generally interpreted as a result of disagreement on the policy of handling the disagreement with Russia.[6]

In January 1854 the British, French and Turkish fleets sailed into the Black Sea, as Russia needed to control this sea to be able to invade the Ottoman Empire. The British and French navies were sufficiently powerful and numerous to give the Allies undoubted command of the sea. The Russian Navy, whose warships were inferior to those of the Royal Navy, returned to Sevastopol, where Nicholas had constructed new forts and new docks. He had turned it into a strong naval base, from which he could dominate the Black Sea and plan an attack on Constantinople.[7]

In February 1854 Russia broke off diplomatic relations with Britain, but the two nations did not then declare war on one another. The Tsar was sent an ultimatum by the allies to evacuate his armies from Rumania. He failed to do so and the British Government declared war on Russia on 28 March 1854.

[**Author's Note:** Woodward, E.L., *The Age of Reform*, pages 243 to 254 explains the background to the British Government's disagreements with Russia. Royle, Trevor, *The Great Crimean War 1854–1856* gives a full account of the development of Britain's disagreements with Russia, which preceded the declaration of war by the British Government.]

Notes

1. Woodward, E.L., *The Age of Reform 1815–1870*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1938, p. 186.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 186.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 202.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 248.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 251 & 253.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

Chapter 2

The Royal Navy and the Army in the 1850s – Their Development and Relative Efficiencies

From the earliest part of its existence as a nation, England, as an island, has faced the danger of invasion by its enemies. Although invasion of parts of the country by the Norsemen took place in the first millennium, the first invasion of the whole country was by the Normans in 1066. The next major invasion was by the Spanish Armada in 1588, repulsed by Sir Francis Drake.

The Navy has always been the most important service to the English Government, with the Army being of importance only when the sovereign wanted to invade a European country, to repulse an invasion or put down a rising in a part of the country.

What is of great interest to students of the Army is how far behind the Navy the Army was in the efficient direction of its operations, manning and administration, and especially in its strategic planning for the future. The Navy built its ships so that they were capable of achieving its strategic objectives and beating its enemies' ships; it researched new materials and equipment for ships to improve their handling ability and to reduce their manning; it constantly improved its methods of preserving fleet supplies to avoid wastage and to maximize ships' ability to stay at sea. On the medical side, it almost stamped out the outbreak of scurvy and was aware of what caused typhus. The Army seemed to struggle from one disaster to another without learning from its mistakes and certainly never planned for the future.

Professor N.A.M. Rodger in his book, The Command of the Ocean, discusses in great detail, the operations, staffing and administration of the Royal Navy during the seventeenth, eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. He divides British eighteenth-century government into two parts: the Crown's and Parliament's. The Crown's government, which included the Army and foreign affairs, was based on a balance of central and local forces, as the powers

of the Crown were checked by those of the nobility and gentry. It was traditional, dispersed and inefficient. On the other hand, Parliament's government was highly centralized and precociously professional. It included the Treasury and the revenue-collecting departments, especially Customs and Excise, and of course the Navy.

Parliament had taken control of the Navy during the Commonwealth and it was able to make British sea power the ideal expression of the nation in arms, which was founded on the folk-memory of the Elizabethan age. It made the Navy an expression of the liberty of the people, while the Army was an expression of the power of the crown.[1]

The Royal Navy

The Royal Navy was originally commanded by the Lord High Admiral, appointed by the Crown, but from 1673 onwards, the post was, more often than not, put into commission. From 1709 it was permanently in commission. Its powers were then exercised by a committee of Lord Commissioners, the Board of Admiralty, headed by the First Lord of the Admiralty, who was the political head of the Navy and a member of the Cabinet. The Navy had four separate organizations. The main strategic objectives of the Royal Navy were agreed in Cabinet. The First Lord made these objectives known to the Board of Admiralty, which was responsible for carrying out these tasks. It decided policy and controlled operations, it allocated ships to tasks, it appointed the captains and officers of naval vessels, and formulated naval strategy and tactics.

The second organization was the Navy Board, which was established by Henry VIII in 1546, to oversee the administrative affairs of the Navy. It operated as a separate entity to the Board of Admiralty, put into effect the ship building plans required, repaired and refurbished ships, purchased guns, through the Ordnance Board,[2] and also warlike stores. Some ships were built in naval yards and others in private yards to the Board's specifications.

The third organization was the Victualling Board, which bought all the foodstuffs required by the fleets, preserved them and shipped them out to the fleets. It was responsible for making it possible for fleets to remain on station much longer through developing higher standards for preserving food.

In 1693 the Allied fleet was barely able to remain at sea a fortnight and returned with its crews very sickly, leaving a convoy to its fate. Sixty-five years later Admiral Hawke was able to stay continually at sea for six months, keeping his men healthy and well fed far into the winter. No professional skill or strategic vision would have been of any avail, if means had not been developed to keep squadrons at sea for long periods in home waters, and on long overseas voyages. Moreover it was precisely in these matters of administration that the British opened a decisive superiority over their enemies, above all France.[3]

British naval victualling is a remarkable story of rising standards making ever more extended operations possible. It cost approximately the same to provide

excellent victualling for 70–85,000 men during the Seven Years' War, as it did to provide inadequate victualling for 40–50,000 men during the War of the Spanish Succession half a century before.

The Board was the largest single purchaser on the London market for agricultural products. It managed the markets to encourage the growth of large firms, while at the same time promoting competition. The suppliers were paid by bills, which they could discount locally in the City.[4]

During the American War the Victualling Office coped efficiently with the victualling of troops overseas, which was transferred to it from the Treasury. There was a marked improvement in efficiency and economy.[5]

The fourth organization was the Sick and Hurt Board, which was in charge of taking care of all sick and wounded sailors. It also initiated new measures to reduce disease on board ships. Medical matters were managed in the Navy by the Board. The general issue of lemon juice virtually eliminated scurvy from the Channel Fleet by 1800.[6] Scurvy was only a problem on long sea voyages and by the end of the Seven Years' War, in 1763 scurvy was no longer a problem in British warships. Typhus was a serious problem on board a ship where men lived in close quarters, carried as it is by lice in dirty clothing. Throughout the eighteenth century British naval officers' fanatical attention to the cleanliness of their ships and men resulted in typhus occurring mainly among new recruits.[7]

The Navy avoided depending on the Treasury for providing the finance it required to run its operations. The Earl of Egmont became First Lord of the Admiralty in 1755. He bypassed the Treasury by dealing with the King direct over financing a plan of improvements for the dockyards.[8] Finance for the Navy and Victualling Boards was provided through perpetual annuities, which were first issued in 1715. The holder had no right to repayment, but was able to sell his annuity on the Stock Exchange. The Treasury could redeem these annuities at will if interest rates changed. Few of Britain's overseas trades balanced by themselves, but the system overall was balanced by bills exchanged in London. This international credit system, combined with banking, brokerage and insurance, made London the centre of a financial empire which earned large sums in invisible trade. The capital market in government stock drew capital to London from all over the British Isles, and indeed from over the Western World. The Navy was normally the largest single consumer of British public revenue, and the Army was its only rival.

Britain was a great power before she was an industrial power. By 1815, France had destroyed herself and much of Europe with her. Britain, at this time, was incontestably the dominant world trading power, but the Industrial Revolution was still in its infancy. Naval warfare was Britain's apprenticeship for commercial and industrial supremacy. There were three significant economic activities in Britain: agriculture, foreign trade and war. Foreign trade, especially the rich colonial and East India trades, generated the liquid capital which paid for wars. The effect of raising and simultaneous spending vast sums of capital acted like

a bellows, fanning the development of Western capitalism and of the nation state itself. What was spent on the Navy was nearly all spent in Britain, or spent overseas in buying from British merchants, who remitted their profits home. The economic burden of war was therefore remarkably low, except when our large armies, campaigning overseas, had to pay for what they purchased locally in cash. The Navy protected trade and protected the country. Trade generated the seamen to man the Navy and the money to pay for it.[9] This system of administration was very logical and extremely effective.

The Army

The Army suffered from two disadvantages: a divided responsibility and from the distrust of the House of Commons. The distrust arose through Charles I's and James II's attempts to use the Army to coerce the House of Commons, and through Cromwell's actions, first in excluding Members of Parliament in Pride's Purge.[10] Then in 1655 he dismissed the Parliament and closed it down. From 1655 to 1656, he ruled the country through major generals, installed in every district to enforce local order, but after two years the system collapsed. His action has left an abiding hatred of military rule in Britain. Furthermore the Putney Debates of the New Model Army in 1647 showed very clearly that the Army wished to exercise political control over the House of Commons and to have a veto over the exercise of its powers. This influence was exercised by the Leveller Movement, which wished Parliament to support its revolutionary policies.[11]

The first act of the Cavalier Parliament, after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, was to disband the New Model Army and to pay off its arrears of pay. The only exception was General Monck's Regiment of Foot, which later became the Coldstream Guards. This was the beginning of the establishment of a standing army in England, which James II used to coerce Parliament. The Commons then decided that the powers of the King to use a standing army had to be restricted.

In the Bill of Rights of 1689, it was made illegal for the Crown to raise or keep a standing army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. By passing the Mutiny Act in 1689,[12] the Commons obtained political control over the Army. This Act authorized the annual Army budget, as well as the maintenance of Military Law by Courts Martial. The Act had to be passed every year to maintain the existence of Military Law, unless the country was at war. This situation obtained until 1955, when a new Army Act was passed, which required the Act to be renewed every five years.

The Commons were determined that the Army would never be able to dominate Parliament again. They decided that the type of officer they required in the Army would be the opposite to those in the New Model Army, who were highly religious, very political and very professional. They made sure of this by ensuring that entry to the cavalry and infantry would only be by purchasing a commission, so that only men of substance could become officers. Therefore, British Army officers tended to behave like amateurs in peacetime. Consequently, the British Army

was not capable of operating in the field at the same high professional standards which the German Army was trained to achieve.

In wartime the British Army usually starts unprepared and ends a war as a highly professional army. Wellington transformed his army during the Peninsular War into a highly professional fighting force at battalion level. His army had an efficient command structure and a highly effective staff organization, handling operations, intelligence and also an efficient commissariat organization.

The Military Train, which Wellington had built up to be an efficient and effective organization for supplying the Army in wartime with arms, ammunition, food and materials, was finally disbanded in 1833 to save money. It was clear therefore that there was no adequate supply system in existence which would be able to provision an army in the Crimea.

This also happened in the First World War, but by the end of the war, the British Army was judged to be the most professional in the world. In an article on the letters of an artillery officer in Flanders 1918–19, it was said:

> Frederick Turner's war had been mercifully short. He had survived the great carnage unscathed. When he came to the front in 1918 the British Army, and at least the heavy artillery, had learned all that there was to know about trench warfare and spent the last phase of the war rigorously and victoriously applying the lessons of the three previous years, lessons which Turner, to his great good fortune, had not had to learn.[13]

Army Organization & the General Staff

The organization of the Army in 1854 was difficult to understand, as a number of autonomous bodies, each pursuing their own objectives, shared in managing and controlling its operations, and because there was no overall authority. These persons were the Secretary of State for War, the Commander-in-Chief, in charge of the cavalry and infantry, but only in this country, and the Master General of the Ordnance, in charge of the artillery and engineers, and also responsible for procuring weapons, munitions and warlike stores. The Master General was responsible as well for building and repairing forts and barracks. The Secretary at War, a different minister from the Secretary of State for War, was responsible for finance and for medical services. The Treasury managed the Commissariat, which supplied food and clothing.

All these bodies, including the Treasury, attempted to control and manage the Army. However, this confused and illogical organization made it nearly impossible to produce a coordinated plan and to give it unity of direction. This situation, as Prince Albert said, reduced the Army to a mere 'aggregate of battalions'.[14]

When peace came, there was great public pressure to reduce expenditure and these organizations had been disbanded in order to save money. The lesson that armies, to be effective, need command, operational, logistical and intelligence structures had been forgotten.

Because there was no proper staff training in the British Army, as there was in the German Army, the Army as a body, as distinct from individual regiments, was largely untrained. Out of more than a hundred officers on the staff, only nine had attended the staff course at the Senior Department of the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The officers that made up the efficient general staff, built up by Wellington during the Peninsular War, had all retired or died. In the interests of economy, the Government did not feel it necessary to keep an embryo general staff in existence in peacetime.

General officers were able to influence the appointment of the staff officers they wanted, especially their ADCs, which in Lord Raglan's case were all his relations. However, the Secretary of State for War could appoint a senior officer as Chief of Staff, as happened when General Simpson was appointed Lord Raglan's Chief of Staff.

Without divisional organizations or manoeuvres, the generals had no experience of handling large numbers of troops. The first Camp of Exercise took place at Chobham in 1853, at the suggestion of the Prince Consort, where 8,000 men were in camp.

> The men were splendidly clothed but they were led by officers who had no conception of military tactics. Units frequently got lost, were found by distracted staff officers advancing with smart determination and affected grimness on men of their own side, or were taken off the field altogether by commanding officers who thought the 'whole damned thing' was 'a waste of time'.[15] 'This Army,' remarked an officer in the Royal Artillery, with angry exasperation, 'is a shambles.' A few months later, with hope and confidence and the cheers of an admiring people, it was sent to war.[16]

The Army's uniforms were completely unsuitable for a campaign in the Crimea, let alone a winter one. The officers of the Brigade of Guards wore cut-away scarlet long-tailed coats, with large gold-braid epaulettes. The men fought wearing scarlet coats. All ranks of the Foot Guards wore bearskins for the first and last time on active service. Prince Albert had designed a side cap for the Brigade, which was worn by the sharpshooters and in the trenches. All ranks in the Brigade of Guards wore grey greatcoats, as did many soldiers in the Russian Army.

There were no reserves available either to replace casualties or to increase the size of the Army in the Crimea, except by depleting other regiments at home. The Government had to resort to raising various foreign legions to solve this problem temporarily.

No consideration had been given to the logistical problems that the Crimean Army would face, how much and what type of transport would be needed to move the troops, what systems should be set up to supply them and to keep them supplied in the field in all seasons, and how they would be provided with a regular supply of munitions and suitable food, clothing etc. The Treasury

assumed, without any basis for their decision, that the Army would be able to purchase transport and find sufficient drivers for its requirements locally, which proved to be incorrect.

All of these problems arose and were not considered properly because there was not an efficient staff organization in existence. This organization, had it existed, would have proved conclusively to the Cabinet that it was impossible to send the Army to war in its present condition.

Army Promotion and the Purchase of Commissions

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Crown and its ministers wanted to prevent the appointment of officers, like those in Cromwell's New Model Army. These men had wanted to exercise political power and wished to challenge and limit the power and authority of the Commons.

Governments wished the officer corps to consist of people with a stake in the country, who were thus unlikely to act like mercenaries, revolutionaries or political firebrands. They did not want professional soldiers, but gentlemen who would regard the Army as an occupation for an amateur with private means, before he inherited his estate.

> The Army had never been a profession for which an officer need prepare himself nor once commissioned to take seriously. It had consequently persisted throughout these years of peace, without a hard core of experts, without even an organization. It remained as it had been in the eighteenth century a collection of regiments, each a self-contained unit, efficient or no, depending upon the qualities of its commanding officer, adjutant and its non-commissioned officers.[17]

The exceptions to this rule were those wishing to become officers in the Artillery and Engineers, where entry to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich was by examination.

Those wishing to join a regiment in the cavalry, foot guards or infantry, had to purchase their commissions from officers who were retiring or were being promoted. It was not necessary for a candidate for a commission in the cavalry, foot guards or the infantry to attend and pass out from Sandhurst, until the Purchase of Commissions was abolished by Royal Warrant on 1 November 1871.

The most senior officer of any rank in a regiment, up to the rank of colonel, had the first choice to be promoted, regardless of merit, provided he paid the Regulation Fee. There was frequently an unofficial fee on top of this, which would be very low if the battalion or regiment was ordered for active service, or for service in India, which was very unpopular. It was much higher if the unit was on home service. The reason for the lower unofficial fee was that if an officer died or was killed his commission reverted to the Crown, whereas if he survived and

retired, the sum raised from selling his commission would finance his retirement. This system was very unfair to the widows of officers who were killed or who had died, as it left them without any means of support.

No fee was paid for promotions to fill vacancies caused by death on active service by the officers appointed to these posts. In the same way, appointments made because of an augmentation, an increase in the officer establishment, were normally made without a fee being charged to those appointed.

Officers who could not pay the Regulation Fee would have more junior officers, who could afford to pay, promoted over their heads. This was both unfair and inefficient as experienced officers often had incompetent or inexperienced officers promoted over them. Finding or procuring the necessary funds was required to finance promotion up to the rank of colonel.

Promotion to the rank of major general resulted in the colonel losing the right to sell his position to the officer taking over from him. It should be noted that all general officers of the same seniority were promoted at the same time, regardless of their merit, to fill vacancies which had arisen up to and including Field Marshal.

Double Rank in the Brigade of Guards

Officers in the Brigade of Guards had the advantage of holding a dual rank, their rank in their regiment and a higher rank in the Army, either captain and lieutenant colonel, lieutenant and captain, or ensign and lieutenant. The double-rank privilege had been awarded to the Brigade of Guards by King James II, King William III and the Prince Regent. This had been done partly to reinforce their loyalty to the Crown and also for their bravery on the field of battle. The double rank gave officers in the Brigade of Guards great advantages in seniority in the Army, which was reflected in the purchase price of commissions. In 1856 a lieutenant colonelcy in the Foot Guards cost a regulation price of £9,000 plus an extra 'over regulation fee' of £4,200, making a total of £13,200, whereas a lieutenant colonelcy in a line regiment cost a regulation fee of £4,500, plus an extra £2,500, total £7,000.[18] The double rank was abolished in 1871 for officers commissioned after that date, but officers still serving retained their double rank for life.

Sir Colin Campbell's position in the Crimean War provides an interesting example of the advantage of the dual rank to officers in the Brigade of Guards. Sir Colin had started the war commanding the Highland Brigade and, as he had no private wealth, he had only obtained his lieutenant colonelcy by augmentation.[19]

Captain and Lieutenant Colonel William Codrington, who had been promoted in 1846 to Colonel in the Army without any change in his regimental rank, started the war as a company commander in 1 Coldstream. In June 1854, Codrington was promoted to Major General and on 1 September 1854 became Commander of 1 Brigade of the Light Division, in the place of Brigadier General Airey, who became Quartermaster General. In June 1855, Codrington was promoted to Lieutenant General as Commander of the Light Division, when Sir George

Brown went home sick. When General Simpson resigned as Commander-in-Chief, Codrington succeeded him and not Sir Colin Campbell, who had distinguished himself in India, as well as at Alma and at Balaklava. However, Sir Colin ended his military career as a Field Marshal and was created Baron Clyde.[20] Codrington turned down the offer of promotion to Field Marshal, as he had had experience of only one campaign.

Medical

The Medical Department was a staff department, which purchased medicines, bandages etc. for the Army, but it had no doctors or medical staff under its control. Each regiment had a Surgeon and two Assistant Surgeons, who established a battalion hospital.

Badly wounded casualties were sent to one of the general hospitals. Although the surgeons wore uniforms, they were not officers and were treated by the Army as civilians. However, as civilians they were subject to the Mutiny Act (The Army Act of that period) and could be court-martialled.

No one had considered how soldiers would cook their food, as the Army provided no unit cooking facilities. No studies had been made to ensure that the soldiers' diet was suitable for the heavy tasks they had to carry out or for the hardships they had to endure.

The experience learned in past campaigns had been forgotten. No one was made responsible for the general hygiene of the Army, as Army and Navy doctors, not being officers, lacked executive power and could only recommend measures, which their superiors could and did ignore. In these times, cholera epidemics from contaminated water supplies occurred regularly in London in summer, as the Thames was used both as a source of drinking water and as a sewer since it was not then known that this disease was caused by drinking contaminated water. By 1894 effective main drainage systems had eliminated this disease in the main cities in England.

In the Crimea lack of knowledge of this fact caused some regiments to be careless in preventing their water supplies from becoming contaminated by their latrines. This caused cholera epidemics to break out both in Bulgaria and in the Crimea.

Ordnance

In 1847 the Duke of Wellington pointed out that the country was defenceless, as the Government had cut the purchase of armaments drastically after Waterloo. The Army had only seventy field guns, which had last been used at Waterloo. In 1852 Lord Hardinge, the Commander-in-Chief, and Sidney Herbert, the Secretary at War, organized the purchase of three hundred 9-pounder guns, which became the Army's moveable armament in the Crimean War.[21]

The Iron Duke had reluctantly agreed to the introduction of a new rifle, the Pattern '51 Rifle/Musket, based on the principles of the French Minie, which had

been proved to be greatly superior in trials against the standard infantry musket, the Brown Bess, and the Prussian breech-loader.[22] The Duke died in 1852 and his replacement Lord Hardinge had carried on with the gradual introduction of the Minie when he had funds to do so.

The School of Musketry at Hythe, which was established in 1852, studied the increased range and accuracy of the Minie. Soldiers, firing the Minie had to learn how to judge distances accurately and to set the sights correctly, in order to use effectively the increased range and accuracy of the Pattern '51, the Minie. This skill was not required when they fired the short-range Brown Bess.

During the war the record of inefficient and bungled supply chains, inept planning, the lack of a proper command system and an effective medical service showed that the Army organization was both incompetent and ineffective. These inadequacies and the horrific casualty lists made it clear to the public that reform of the Army was mandatory, if it was to survive as a fighting force.

The process of reform took place during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ending in the reorganization of the Ministry of Defence as a tri-services ministry. This process started in 1964 and ended in 1998 with the formation of the Joint Services Command and Staff College.

Notes

1. Rodger, Prof. N.A.M. *The Command of the Ocean*, Allen Lane, 2004, pp. 48–9.
2. The Master General of the Ordnance was in charge of the Ordnance Board, founded in 1414. He was appointed by the Prime Minister and frequently was a member of the Cabinet, providing military advice. The Board provided both services with arms, munitions and warlike stores. It also handled the building and maintenance of forts and barracks. It was not subject to Treasury control. Gordon, Hampden, *The War Office*, Putnam, 1935, pp. 14–15.
3. Rodger, p. 291.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 307.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 306.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 485.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 308.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 577–81.
10. In 1648, Colonel Pride and his musketeers excluded all Members of Parliament from entering the Commons, who had voted to reach an agreement with Charles I, which would have allowed him to continue to rule.
11. The Levellers' aims were equality for all by adopting republicanism, universal suffrage and religious toleration. John Lilliburne was their leader. Trevelyan, G.M., *England under the Stuarts*, Methuen, 1904, pp. 282–3 & 310.
12. In 1689 a regiment in Ipswich mutinied and declared their loyalty to the deposed James II. William III found he was unable to prosecute the mutineers,