

GONE FOR A SOLDIER: THE ANATOMY OF A NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARMY FAMILY

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This article discusses aspects of life in the British army in the nineteenth century. It explores the motivation of recruits and the conditions under which family life was possible for the rank-and-file soldier. Using a Scottish case study, the article shows how army life operated at the individual family level and how multigeneration army families were created. It also demonstrates ways in which the army contributed to population mobility in the United Kingdom before World War I.

The uniformed working class in nineteenth-century Britain has yet to be fully explored by social and family historians. The police constables and the railway men have received some attention,¹ but they have given less thought to the men and boys who became soldiers. Yet, many young men, among them laborers, miners, artisans, and clerks—perhaps 20,000 per year in all—chose to join the army. The element of choice must be emphasized because, unlike the Royal Navy, there was no system of impressment on which the army might depend for recruits. Because army life has been portrayed conventionally as unacceptable for all but illiterate, brutalized semicriminals, its attractions are unclear. Men who enlisted “for Unlimited Service” were cheated of their pay by innumerable deductions, cheated of their rations by army contractors, while enduring poor living conditions, limited leave, and systematic punishment, including branding and flogging.² The only attractions, compared with life in the Navy,³ were fewer opportunities for being drowned and the possibility of a Chelsea pension after discharge. Soldiers attracted little of the hero’s mythology attached to sailors but were more often perceived as a threat to social stability.⁴ In the post-Waterloo years, for example, anxiety centered on the “large rootless group of trained fighting men who converged on the cities.”⁵ The unattractive picture of life among the “licentious soldiery,” therefore, poses the question: what made men accept, if not actually seek, a long-term career in the army, and, indeed, what might make successive generations of men enlist, thus creating “army families”?

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Part of the answer lies in the thousands of attestation and discharge papers from the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries preserved in class WO97 at the Public Record Office, Kew. These provide tantalizing cameos of men's lives. However, even if filled out by the muster rolls and pay lists to be found in classes WO12 and WO16, they leave much open to conjecture at an individual level. What happened to men, and sometimes their families, who took their discharges in Australia, Barbados, Calcutta, or Pretoria? Was army life in some overseas postings so attractive that hundreds of men might volunteer out of a battalion ordered home, preferring to transfer into another regiment arriving from Britain, or one remaining on station, rather than return home?

There is some justification for the view that army life held little attraction for any but those on whom economic hardships fell heavily or who sought to escape pressing personal obligations. "O why the deuce should I repine, and be an ill-foreboder?" wrote Robert Burns, when facing economic failure in 1781, "I'm twenty-three, and five feet nine, I'll go and be a sodger."⁶ Unlike the poet, the man who did enlist received a bounty on joining his regiment, which may have helped to pay off debt, but his pay as an ordinary private was one shilling a day (with an additional one penny "beer money") until 1867. Then it became 1s. 2d., with an additional penny upon reenlistment. At the end of the 1830s, good conduct pay of 1d. a day was added after every five years, a period shortened to three years from 1860 onward. However, the man attracted by the recruiting party and flattered by their attentions seldom learnt the whole truth of his future circumstances. He probably enlisted without understanding that his rations of one pound of meat and one pound of bread a day would be stopped from his pay. Before 1870, 4½d. of the private's daily shilling was stopped as a messing allowance for the provision of meat, bread, and potatoes. Other food had to be purchased by the man himself. Further stoppages for laundry, haircutting, and for periods of sickness in regimental hospitals meant that men received little cash in hand. Even the recruit's bounty money was absorbed by charges for his kit. The problem this caused led to Army Regulations setting out the requirement that no man should receive less than one penny a day in cash.⁷ Nevertheless, despite low pay and the restrictions of army life, young men continued to join the colors throughout the nineteenth century. In the forty years between 1859 and 1898, an average of 27,145 recruits per year joined the army, although less willingly in the later years of the century, if the fall in physical standards of recruits is any guide.⁸ British society, it seems, contained an element of militarism within the working classes that supported the jingoism and Imperialism of the late nineteenth century.⁹

Although the army might offer short-term escape from some crisis in civilian life, the continual stream of deserters proved that, as a way of life, its attractions were limited. For example, the young men who formed the rank and file were likely to experience a surprising degree of ill health.¹⁰ This was assumed by contemporaries to be due to poor living accommodations and led to inquiries into the state of barrack rooms and hospitals from the mid-1850s onward. The low ratio of married to unmarried men per company was a further disincentive to any man considering the army as a career, because regiments spent so much of their time stationed overseas. The building of married accommodation did not begin until after 1858.¹¹ For married men "on the strength," there were some gains to be had: savings banks, regimental schools, and libraries at regimental depots were assets from which their children might benefit; but for the many young single men in the ranks, the regiment sought to substitute its iden-

tity as a surrogate for “family.”¹² In effect, the licentious soldiery, as Myna Trustram concluded, was “subject to a sophisticated set of rules and laws that regulated their sexual relations.”¹³

Success in the army for enlisted men depended primarily on obedience and conformity on the parade ground. Long-term success required coupling these virtues with an avoidance of behavior perceived by the army as deviant or disobedient: sloppy drill, uncleanliness, loss of kit, drunkenness, and—above all—absence from duty. Avoiding these pitfalls brought good-conduct pay, promotion, and responsibility for imposing the army’s system on others. There was one other path to promotion in which a marionette-like performance on the parade ground played little part, but it was necessarily a nonconformist one. It depended on a man possessing skills not commonly available in the ranks—numeracy and literacy—that were essential for an army unit’s communications with its commissariat and with Horse Guards¹⁴ in Whitehall.

Discharge, when it came, meant hard-won status and power evaporated instantly. Payroll entries reflect this only vaguely. Faded red-ink entries written above the name of a regimental sergeant major or color sergeant show the abruptness of the change by the man’s intended place of residence and future trade: “Laborer Galway” seems an unsatisfactory end to a successful army career, although men in some branches of the service who had worked in ordnance, or with equipment or animals, undoubtedly intended to carry on similar occupations as civilians, for example, as smiths, shoemakers, grooms, or farriers. For others, the building of new barracks in the late Victorian era provided employment as civilian staff, and the growth of the militia and the volunteer movement offered opportunities for men to retain connections with a life of male camaraderie that, despite all its hardships, drudgery, and boredom, they were often unwilling to leave.

A CASE STUDY

To test the validity of such generalizations requires substantiation by case studies. In the following example from southwest Scotland—from where the outflow of surplus population was common—the army became the agency of family dispersal. This case study covers the period 1829-1916 and begins when John McCulloch (1807¹⁵-1840), said to be a weaver by trade,¹⁶ was enlisted in the 21st Regiment of Foot (Royal North British Fusiliers) by Lieutenant Gowan’s recruiting party. In the late 1820s, the cloth-making districts of southwest Scotland were in a state of economic crisis.¹⁷ By the middle of March 1829 it was noted at Girvan that “measles are very prevalent, and many children have been thereby cut off.” It was, the writer considered, a worse year than the previous bad times in 1826, and the poor had only scanty meals of potatoes to eat.¹⁸

The promised regularity of army life may have turned a desperate young man’s ears to the blandishments of Lieutenant Gowan’s party.¹⁹ The 21st, known usually as the Royal Scots Fusiliers, was raised in 1678 and was thus the second-most senior Scottish infantry regiment. Although local affiliations did not exist formally in the 1820s, the 21st had connections with Ayrshire going back to the 1680s, although, like most regiments, it recruited widely throughout the British Isles.²⁰ John McCulloch was twenty-two when he enrolled at Ayr on Tuesday, March 10, 1829. Surprisingly, in contrast with most recruits, he was a married man who had already started a family. John had married Jean Kennedy in Ayr on February 10, 1827, and their first child, William, had

been christened at Ayr on April 13, 1828. Presumably John's enlistment left Jean to live with her parents until she could follow the regiment. Later events were to test her resilience and resourcefulness to the full.²¹

John McCulloch was probably quartered in Ayr Barracks, by the harbor mouth, learning basic infantry drills and to pipe-clay his kit until he could be sent to join the Royal Scots Fusiliers, then engaged in policing Ireland. The muster rolls and pay lists of the 21st do not show the route he followed²² but he was in barracks in Dublin by the first week of April 1829.²³ On the 8th, John was sent with one man as an escort to join the 21st at Fermoy, a distance of 142 miles. He and his escort took nine days on the march, after which he received £2. 10s. as the third part of the Bounty paid to a recruit on joining a regiment.²⁴ John was placed in No. 1 Company at a time when regimental numbers had not yet been adopted, although by 1831 he was recorded in the pay and muster lists as No. 687.²⁵ When the 21st moved from Fermoy to Mullingar in the second quarter of 1829, John was on the 140-mile march, which took eleven days from May 26 to June 5, 1829.²⁶ Between 1829 and spring 1831, the 21st was stationed at Mullingar for nearly a year but then moved to Kilkenny as the antitithe campaign developed in South Leinster. Army life for John McCulloch included two short periods in the regimental hospital, perhaps the first indication of weakness in his constitution.²⁷ During the winter of 1830-31 he was in a small detachment at Castlecomer but, as the rural agitation against tithes intensified during 1831, his perambulations increased: from Kilkenny to Carlow and back in a party of seventy-two men led by Major Colin Campbell,²⁸ from Newtonbarry and onto Tinahely; and from Carlow back to Newtonbarry in the aftermath of the tithes-auction massacre there on June 18, 1831, when the Enniscorthy Yeomanry killed fifteen people.²⁹ In mid-July, with calm restored, the detachment marched away to Wexford before returning to Kilkenny. Finally, from the September 15 to 19, John was in the main party of 193 men when the regiment marched the seventy-two miles to Dublin.³⁰ The 21st remained in Richmond Barracks there until "The regiment marched to the Quay and embarked for England on steam vessels on the 15th of October."³¹

After crossing the Irish Sea, the 21st assembled at Warrington. During the final two months of 1831, although less than 450 men in strength, it moved to winter quarters at Weedon Barracks, Northamptonshire. John McCulloch covered the distance in three stages between October 16 and November 11, 1831.³² His pay entry records him as ten days on the march and ten days in the hospital, possibly at Weedon, where he was in the hospital again from December 28-31, 1831 at the time of the third muster.³³ Early in 1832, the 21st, "now a model unit in appearance and discipline,"³⁴ marched by detachments to Chatham. John McCulloch arrived there on June 2, 1832. He had spent twenty-four days in the hospital at Weedon during the first quarter, followed by a further three days at Northampton in April. During May and early June, he spent two more days in the hospital while on the 103 mile march south from Northampton.³⁵ When and how Jean McCulloch joined her husband, bringing with her their son William, is not known; John may have been lucky in the ballot for wives to go overseas,³⁶ but Jean must have traveled to join her husband once the news of the 21st's overseas posting became known. Once with the regiment, Jean and William could have ridden on the baggage wagons.³⁷ Certainly, she was with the regiment by July 1832, as later events proved, and must have been in Chatham while John was stationed there during the autumn and winter.

From September 11 onward, the 21st began embarking detachments of men as escorts for convicts bound either for New South Wales or Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania). Throughout the autumn and winter they went aboard convict transports in parties of twenty-five to thirty.³⁸ John's pay ledger entry lists him as embarking on March 23, 1833, when he was paid in advance until July 22, 1833.³⁹ He joined the *Emperor Alexander*, a merchantman hired by the government for a single voyage to Van Diemen's Land. The guard, numbering thirty-one,⁴⁰ went on board at Deptford once "the prison" had been fitted and the next day, March 24, the ship was towed downstream to Woolwich to begin receiving convicts from the hulks. She sailed from Woolwich on March 29 and anchored off Sheerness the following day to pick up a final batch. Fully laden with 210 convicts, the *Emperor Alexander* lay at Sheerness awaiting orders to sail, with a complement of 285 men, women, and children on board. By what date Jean and their son William had joined the ship is uncertain but, on April 5, 1833, Surgeon William Donnelly recorded that he attended Mrs. McCulloch, a soldier's wife aged twenty-two, for the "one parturition" of the voyage.⁴¹

The convict registers list the *Emperor Alexander* as sailing on April 6, 1833,⁴² although Surgeon Donnelly recorded her departure as April 10. The vessel anchored again in The Downs and finally sailed on April 12. In the face of bad weather, she did not clear the Channel until April 20, 1833. Madeira was sighted on April 28. On May 2, Surgeon Donnelly treated John McCulloch for quinsy ("cynanche") and on May 18, at Latitude 3° 0'N Longitude 20° 45'W, for "Catarrhus," noting "that he complains of a troublesome cough particularly at night, and states that he has had the Cough for a considerable time." After treatment, he was pronounced "cured 24th May 1833."⁴³

On August 12, 1833, the *Emperor Alexander* anchored in Sullivan's Cove and the process of discharging began. By August 17, 1833, John McCulloch had landed at Hobart Town and was listed under "pay of guards."⁴⁴ He remained on duty at Hobart, where the regiment based its headquarters and maintained two companies,⁴⁵ until March 1836, except for a further brief spell in the hospital in November 1835.⁴⁶ During these years the regiment was split into several detachments, ranged widely from Perth in Western Australia to Sydney in New South Wales. John McCulloch remained at Hobart, with his wife and small sons, being paid at the private soldier's ordinary rate of 1s. 0d. per day, less 6d. per day "On Shore 'For Rations supplied at the Public Expence.'"⁴⁷ From July 1, 1837 he was recorded as "On Detachment at Waterloo Point"⁴⁸ until the end of February 1838, during which time he was promoted corporal on October 7, 1837.⁴⁹ For the rest of the regiment's stay in Van Diemen's Land, John remained at Hobart, apparently in better health, although he was in the regimental hospital for three days in November 1838. From February 25, 1839, in company with the main part of the regiment, he was "At sea on passage to India," where they landed at Calcutta on April 25, 1839.⁵⁰ All ten companies of the regiment moved inland up the Ganges to Chinsurah.⁵¹ The 21st remained there for a year but returned to Calcutta before going to Dinapore (Dinapur) in the spring of 1840. Jean McCulloch remained behind and gave birth to a daughter at Fort William, Calcutta, in July. By the autumn of 1840, the muster roll is full of references to men sick and to several deaths on passage to Dinapore. At the first muster (October 31) John McCulloch was listed as on a detachment in Calcutta, but by the second muster he was recorded as having "died in the Regimental Hospital at Dinapore 28 November 1840."⁵² He was thirty-three years of age and left Jean a widow with three children, one of whom was only three months old.

THE SECOND GENERATION

Alexander McCulloch (1833-1916), the second son of Private John McCulloch, was born on the *Emperor Alexander* while she lay off Sheerness⁵³ on April 5, 1833. During the six years the 21st spent in Van Diemen's Land, there is no record of Alec (as he was known to his family) nor his mother and older brother, William. They must have taken passage with the regiment from Hobart to India, and arrived at Calcutta on April 25, 1839. Alec was already a boy of six and his brother William, eleven, when the regiment disembarked. A sister, Elizabeth, was born on July 30, 1840,⁵⁴ but the fever epidemic during the autumn of 1840 threw the family into turmoil. The death of Alec's father was followed a month later by that of his elder brother, William.⁵⁵ Shortly afterward, on February 15, 1841, his mother married Lance Sergeant James Stevenson of the 21st who, at twenty-nine, was a year younger than she. The collapse of Alec's family continued with the death of his baby sister, Elizabeth, on August 16, 1841, although a year later, on September 6, 1842, he gained a half sister, Elizabeth Stevenson.⁵⁶ James Stevenson was the regiment's hospital sergeant, and Alec and his mother presumably lived in the hospital quarters as long as he was a dependant of the regiment. In India, family stability for Europeans was limited: on June 2, 1847, Alec's stepfather, James Stevenson, died. His mother's remarriage to Sergeant David Trench at Christ Church, Cawnpore (Kanpur), followed within a matter of months, on October 5, 1847.⁵⁷

The Royal Scots Fusiliers had moved to Kamptee in 1842, and later to the North-West Provinces, but saw no action.⁵⁸ They were retained in barracks at Agra until ordered to Cawnpore in February 1847. During these years, the regiment served as a surrogate family for Alec McCulloch. It was a large family: there were eighty-eight women and ninety-one children on the strength. Since his mother could not write, the 21st provided his education: "The Regimental School is established and carried on according to the rules of the Service" wrote Surgeon John Dempster in his annual report for 1847-48.⁵⁹ There is little doubt that Alec was quick with figures and writing. At any good station, there were opportunities unused by many: in an important divisional-headquarters town, like Cawnpore, "There is a very good library containing several hundred miscellaneous works, belonging to the Government, besides 300 volumes the property of the Regiment. . . . Amusements for the Men consist of Cricket, rackets, Hand and foot Ball, Quoits, etc."⁶⁰ By 1847, Alec was using his proficiency with a pen to earn his living, possibly as a civilian clerk in the regiment, but more probably for some government agency in Cawnpore.⁶¹ Also, somewhere in India, he learned to swim with unusual skill and confidence. Perhaps the regime of the 21st that the regimental surgeon recorded at Cawnpore in 1847 was particularly enlightened: "The Men Women and Children enjoyed the luxury of Bathing during the stay of the regiment at that Station which contributed much to their general health."⁶² Alec was able to use his expertise in the water to good effect more than forty years later.⁶³

Enlistment was the obvious course of action for Alec McCulloch if he were to retain links with his mother and obtain a passage to the homeland he did not know. He enlisted as a Boy, No. 2279, on April 24, 1847, soon after his fourteenth birthday.⁶⁴ He served in the 21st during 1847 without any break for ill health, despite the considerable activity of the surgeon and his staff at the regimental hospital⁶⁵ and the unsettling events that occurred upon the regiment's recall to England. Following custom and practice, all ranks were offered the right to transfer out of the 21st. Between October 11

and 13, 1847, 400 officers, NCOs and men volunteered to join other units.⁶⁶ For Alec, the presence of his stepfather, Sergeant David Trench, provided the stability of a role model. When the return journey began, Alec marched with the regiment to Calcutta, a distance of 622 miles, no doubt feeling superior because the “women, children and sick” went “by water from Cawnpore to Calcutta.”⁶⁷ Between January 15 and April 25, 1848, he was on board the ship *Monarch* on passage to England.⁶⁸ On landing, he received a man’s pay, although he was only fifteen years of age. (It is possible that Alec made himself out to be sixteen rather than fourteen when he enlisted.) In any event, at the end of fifteen years’ overseas posting, the 21st seems to have been a remarkably youthful corps. In 1847, out of a total strength of 580 men, 433, including 12 sergeants, were between the ages of eighteen and twenty. Following the volunteering out, the 21st retained not one man between twenty and twenty-nine years of age⁶⁹ and upon disembarkation at Chatham, some younger ones, like Alec McCulloch, were arriving in Britain for the first time in their lives. The 21st was held at Canterbury to be strengthened by recruits. Later, traveling by train for the first time, according to John Buchan’s account, the regiment headed north to Edinburgh Castle.⁷⁰ From May 9, 1848, Alec McCulloch was listed as a bandsman under the heading Drummers and Fifers, at 1s. 1¼d. per day. During July and August he was on a detachment at Berwick-on-Tweed.⁷¹

He served with the 21st while it remained in Edinburgh, being allowed leave for a month in January 1849.⁷² From April to September 1849, the muster roll of the 21st lists many men as “in prison,” including references to men of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders also in prison. This makes the 21st’s posting to Edinburgh Castle sound quite riotous despite John Buchan’s comment on the regiment’s reputation: “In Scotland it earned nothing but praise.”⁷³ Alec McCulloch was not immune to this unsettled behavior. In the last quarter’s pay list for 1849, the remarks, “In Provost Prison 14th December”⁷⁴ appear against his name, although since no pay was docked, it may have been merely to cool down a sixteen-year-old’s exuberance! In the first quarter of 1850, the 21st completed its posting to Edinburgh and, in April, moved its headquarters to Glasgow, with detachments at Paisley and Dumbarton Castle.⁷⁵

During April 1851, the regiment moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with various detachments in the northeast of England. On July 29, 1851, aged eighteen years, Alec McCulloch reverted from drummer to private.⁷⁶ Although this appears to have resulted in a loss of bandsman’s pay, it may have been the occasion on which he was promoted to lance corporal, a rank not recorded separately in the pay ledgers. At the beginning of 1852, the 21st moved to Hull Citadel but sent detachments to several other Yorkshire towns. In the first quarter, Alec McCulloch was “on Furlough 3rd to 15th February.”⁷⁷ The regiment remained at Hull throughout 1852 and began intensive rifle drill, though Alec was not listed among the men gaining marksmanship badges.⁷⁸ During the summer, his stepfather, Color Sergeant David Trench, received a medical discharge at the age of forty-three, after twenty-one years in the service, and went to live in Edinburgh.⁷⁹ Alec’s routine was varied only by a further period of leave from December 8 to 27. He returned to Scotland and, on December 21, 1852, aged nineteen years, married Margaret Young, in Glasgow.⁸⁰ She was only eighteen at the time. Presumably, she returned to Hull with Alec at the end of his leave to face the difficulties of army life for a married woman. Official married status was restricted to no more than six men of each company and separate married quarters were “virtually non-existent.” Had she been “on the strength,” the “corner system” was all that was available:

Wives were given a bed in the corner of the barracks, shielded from the view and attentions of others only by the protection of their husbands, and a blanket hung on a cord. For half-rations they washed, cooked, cleaned and “mothered” the men in their barrack rooms. Children lived with their parents, usually occupying a vacant bed or sleeping on whatever furniture was available.⁸¹

By 1852, however, the 21st had issued 127 vouchers “for married Men permitted to find their own Lodgings, when the Corps is in Barracks,” but Margaret McCulloch faced life alone in lodging houses during her first pregnancy until Alec could get on the Married Establishment.⁸²

When Lieutenant Colonel Ainslie took command in 1852, the 21st had become an unsettled body of men, despite John Buchan’s glowing account of its achievements and reputation.⁸³ After three commanding officers in four years, it was a natural response for Colonel Ainslie to emphasize drill and marksmanship, although the effect was by no means immediate.⁸⁴ During June 1853, the 21st moved from Hull Citadel to Dublin, where Major General Cochrane inspected it on October 19, 1853. His report suggested that despite heavy drilling, progress had been limited: “They require a great deal of Squad Drill. The men move very loosely.” He concluded, “The 21st Regiment was very much detached in England previously to its coming to Ireland, and to that cause Lt Col Ainslie attributes the unsteadiness of the men in the ranks.”⁸⁵

For Alec McCulloch, 1853 turned out to be the start of ten years spent in Ireland that changed the direction of his army career. As a twenty-one-year-old lance corporal, Alec may have begun to grow tired of the continual emphasis on the parade ground. During the regiment’s posting to Dublin, he seems to have become detached to the Ordnance Stores Company and, when his wife gave birth to their first child, David Trench McCulloch, on January 17, 1854,⁸⁶ his unit was listed, somewhat prematurely, as the Military Stores Staff Corps. It was at this point that Alec was placed on the Married Establishment.⁸⁷ Conditions for his wife, Margaret, were unlikely to have been affected, although Alec himself could then “live out” with her. Married life in the 21st was not typical of most of the army: a return of 1854 numbered 173 women legally married “on the strength” and 189 children. Of these, only 12 women lived in barracks with their husbands, the lowest figure for any regiment in the army.⁸⁸ Shortly afterward, although still only twenty-one years of age, Alec McCulloch was one of twenty men promoted to corporal on February 20, 1854.⁸⁹ More surprisingly, he was appointed orderly room clerk—a post with the rank of sergeant—on May 10, 1854, which meant a rise in pay from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 10d. per day.⁹⁰

Following the declaration of war against Russia in March 1854, the 21st left Dublin and by the autumn was camped in the Crimea on the “Heights before Sebastopol.” Alec McCulloch, however, was not with them. His obituary states “he was chosen as one for a draft to go to the Crimea, but for some reason he was withdrawn.”⁹¹ Perhaps his youth⁹² and married status caused him to be passed over but, whatever the reason, being left behind established him in the hierarchy of his regiment. In the fourth-quarter pay ledger for 1854, he was formally listed as “Orderly Room Clerk as Serjeant,” with the remark that he was appointed with the regimental rank of sergeant on October 1.⁹³ Shortly afterward, the 21st’s Depot moved to Birr, in King’s County (Offaly), and Margaret gave birth to a second son there on July 1855, who was baptized Alexander Young McCulloch.⁹⁴

The 21st was withdrawn from the Crimea in the spring of 1855 and quartered at Malta, where it remained for the rest of the decade. Throughout 1855 and 1856, Alec McCulloch was depot orderly room clerk at Birr but, when the 21st's Depot moved to Glasgow in October 1856, he remained behind with two other senior NCOs of the 21st to act as the headquarters' staff of the 13th Depot Battalion.⁹⁵ Alec had become detached from his regiment for a second time, probably at the request of the staff officers of the garrison. For a young man, patronage by a staff officer was a preferable alternative to serving in the depot of a battalion dedicated to the heavy drilling of recruits. By 1858, it seemed to have paid off for Alec, even at the risk of becoming estranged from his own regiment. At the age of twenty-four, his name appears among the colour sergeants of the 21st, as "Appointed Colour Serjeant from 1 October 1857 per authority dated War Office 22 May 1858."⁹⁶ On July 1, 1858, he mustered as on "Staff Employ at Belfast" and from October 1, 1858 as "Orderly Room Clerk Depot Battalion Belfast." Even when the 21st's Depot returned to Birr at the beginning of 1859, Alec McCulloch remained "On Staff Employ" in Belfast. He was made garrison clerk there on July 28, 1858, for which he earned an extra 6d. per day.⁹⁷ Then, disaster struck: his post was ended on May 15, 1859 and on Monday, June 27, 1859 he was "Tried by Bn Court Martial and Reduced from Co Serjeant to Private." He was placed in confinement in Belfast on June 30, released on July 5⁹⁸ and sent back to the 1st Battalion's Depot, to start serving as a private again at twenty-six years of age. During the winter of 1859-60, Margaret was again pregnant and a third son—the second to survive to adulthood—William John, was born at Birr Barracks on April 15, 1860, followed by a fourth child, Alexander Ross, on December 7, 1861.

From July 1860, Alec McCulloch's fortunes underwent a recovery: his entry in the pay ledger is crossed through in red and in the Remarks column appears "To Corporal 17th July."⁹⁹ For the last quarter of 1860, he mustered as "Depot O.R. Clerk" and by the spring quarter of 1861, the entry read "Depot O.R. Clerk To Serjeant 20th March."¹⁰⁰ With the 1st Battalion of the regiment still in Barbados, the depot staff at Birr was small, so Alec McCulloch found himself combining two posts. He served as orderly room clerk in both the 13th Depot Battalion and the depot of the 21st during 1861 and 1862, at 2s. 0d. per day.¹⁰¹ In 1863, however, he spent five days in confinement from September 2 to 6, having been charged with being absent from duty by a court martial in Dublin. Although sentenced to be reduced, the sentence was remitted.¹⁰² Whatever problems caused this offense must have remained unresolved, because on December 2, he was again confined for two days in the Guard Room and reduced to private on December 4, 1863 with the loss of all good-conduct pay.¹⁰³ With his pay down to only 1s. 0d. per day, Alec McCulloch remained at Birr until August 9, 1864, when the 1st Battalion returned from Barbados. The pay ledger records that he was one of thirty-five men transferred from the Depot Battalion "To Service Companies."¹⁰⁴

Alec McCulloch left Ireland for the last time and traveled to Anglesea Barracks, Portsmouth, where the 1st Battalion had landed on August 15, 1864.¹⁰⁵ His first good-conduct pay award was restored on December 4, 1864, so that his rate went up to 1s. 1d. During 1865, the 1st Battalion moved to Aldershot and, by the end of the year, to the Gallowgate Barracks in Glasgow.¹⁰⁶ While at Aldershot, Alec was promoted to corporal on April 12, 1865 and his pay rose to 1s. 5d. per day.¹⁰⁷ It was probably during the autumn that he took the opportunity to have two of his sons, aged five and four years respectively, photographed in Highland dress.¹⁰⁸ In Glasgow his second good-

conduct pay award was restored on December 4, 1865, and his wife Margaret was again pregnant. A daughter, Janet, was born in Glasgow on March 11, 1866. Early in May 1866, just after his thirty-third birthday, the muster roll records that 2279 Corporal McCulloch was "At Woolwich."¹⁰⁹ This proved to be his final break from the Royal Scots Fusiliers after seventeen years of service with the 1st Battalion.¹¹⁰

The Military Stores Commissariat had been formed at Woolwich in November 1865. Originally a small unit with only two officers, its other ranks were all transferred to it "on Probation" and remained listed by their parent regiment or unit.¹¹¹ Initially, the 21st sent nine privates to the Military Stores Staff Corps (MSSC) but all but two returned on March 7, 1866. In the following quarter, Alec McCulloch was listed as one of a party of fifteen men from the 21st "Attached on probation" from April 1, 1866. He arrived at Woolwich with nine others as a private on May 16. This meant a monetary loss even though he was promoted to second corporal on June 26, 1866.¹¹² Second corporal seemed to have no monetary status, since he received only 1s. 0d. plus 2d. good-conduct pay. Presumably, Alec McCulloch saw the transfer as presenting him with another opportunity to make a successful career away from a line regiment, just as he had done ten years earlier at Birr. Margaret McCulloch brought their four children to London and set up home at 37 Eton Street, Plumstead, although the new venture was marred by the death of their baby daughter, Janet, who succumbed to congenital spina bifida at the age of three months on June 10, 1866.

Alec McCulloch was formally transferred to the MSSC on August 1, 1866.¹¹³ From October 1 he had a new regimental number: 121. He served at Woolwich until the summer of 1867, when his oldest son, David Trench McCulloch, enlisted at the age of thirteen years seven months. Then, on September 1, Alec was promoted to first corporal. This coincided with a rise in pay for the army. As second corporal his pay would have increased to 1s. 9d. a day plus 2d. good-conduct pay but, as a full corporal, he was paid 1s. 10½d. a day and 2d. good-conduct pay as well. At this point the Remarks column in the ledger contains the words "Unlimited Service (Record)."¹¹⁴ It seems that, having been in the service since 1847, his was one of the remaining old-style engagements, for his name is not to be found among men paid a levy for reenlistment in the MSSC ledgers. From December 4, 1867 came a third good-conduct pay award, bringing his daily rate to 2s. 1½d. In January 1868, Corporal McCulloch was detached to serve in the Tower of London and his name appears there for each muster until the end of March 1869.¹¹⁵ This ledger lists the Married Establishment for the first time. From October 1, 1868, his name is entered together with his wife Margaret—but with only two children aged 8½ and 7½.¹¹⁶ In 1869, they were at Woolwich where Alec, apparently bored with the tedium of Army Service Corps work and the routine established by its senior NCOs, amused himself in a way that his superiors were unwilling to tolerate in a man of thirty-five. No longer the bright young man encouraged by staff officers, he was put in the cells from May 13 to 23 and court-martialed on May 24, 1869 on the charge of "preferring frivolous and unfounded complaints." Although the sentence to be reduced to the ranks was remitted, it cost Alec eleven days' pay and one good-conduct pay award.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, on February 25, 1870, he was promoted to sergeant and his money went up to 3s. 5d. per day.¹¹⁸ One month later, however, the MSSC had ceased to exist and the Army Service Corps (ASC) absorbed its personnel.¹¹⁹

Established by Royal Warrant on November 12, 1869,¹²⁰ with its headquarters at 109 Victoria Street, London SW, the ASC was not a normal unit of the British army but a permanently dispersed body whose organization is difficult to understand.¹²¹ From

April 1, 1870, Alec McCulloch was listed under “reengaged Serjeants,” although at a pay rate of only 2s. 7d. per day.¹²² He may have remained at Woolwich for a time as the MSSC had been located there but, by the census of April 1871, he was living in the New Granby Barracks, Devonport, as part of a detachment of forty men from the ASC, with his wife, Margaret, and three sons, William, Alec Ross, and George.¹²³ In July 1872, Alec was promoted to third-class staff sergeant and his pay rose to 3s. 9d. per day.¹²⁴ Just over a year later, at the age of forty years, he took his discharge to pension on August 26, 1873, having completed twenty-five years of service with the colors.¹²⁵

For one who had spent a lifetime within an earshot of bugle, fife, and drum, Devonport must have been an unsettling place for retirement, as it was full of the sights and sounds of naval and military activity. Alec McCulloch set up home with Margaret and their three children in the next street to the barracks and looked for work to supplement his pension of 2s. 3d. per day. Like many time-expired men his thoughts turned to the regularity and certainty of service life. On October 30, 1873, he applied to the Army Commissariat seeking an appointment as a “Barrack Serjeant.” He was, it was noted, a “good writer & clerk”; he was accepted for “Home Service” and appointed to the staff at Guernsey on January 31, 1874.¹²⁶ Later he was posted to the New Barracks, Lincoln, where he was stationed from about 1882 to 1887. Throughout these years his home remained a base for two of his sons as well. The elder, William John, was dispatched to cousins in Weatherford, Texas, in the mid-1870s, but returned to England soon after, although his defective eye prevented him joining the army to follow his father.¹²⁷ The younger, Alexander Ross, joined his brother David by enlisting in the 2d Battalion, Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1875, and served almost the whole of a twelve-year engagement until invalided out in 1886.

After Lincoln, Alec McCulloch was stationed at the newly constructed Britannia Barracks, Norwich. Living out in General’s Buildings, Pockthorpe, among senior NCOs and retired soldiers provided a stable social environment. Honored by the Humane Society’s Bronze Medal in 1890 for rescuing a seven-year-old boy, Arthur Watt, from drowning in the River Wensum while in full uniform,¹²⁸ and running impromptu swimming classes for local children in the River Wensum opposite the Cow Tower, suggests a strong sense of enjoyment of life that the people of Bishops Bridge Road recognized by making him a presentation.¹²⁹ The McCullochs seemed to be a close-knit family, perhaps partly because of their sons’ ill-health and disabilities. In the 1891 census, Alexander McCulloch, supply barrack sergeant, Army Service Corps, aged fifty-eight, was living at 18 Bishop Bridge Road, Pockthorpe, with his wife Margaret, aged fifty-seven; his son William, aged thirty, a time keeper or clerk; and Alexander, aged twenty-nine, a musician. William and his wife Annie, aged twenty-eight, and described as a Tobacconist, already had two children, Alice, aged eight, and Frances, aged five, who formed part of the household.¹³⁰ The dwelling is described as having less than five rooms but it was no doubt more spacious than the start of Alec and Margaret’s married life in lodgings in the 1850s. However, after Alec Ross McCulloch died of chronic pneumonia at the age of thirty-three in December 1894, the family home broke up. Alec McCulloch and his wife moved to 20 Bramford Road, in St. James’s urban district, and his son William and his family to 29 St. Leonard’s Road, Thorpe Hamlet. Margaret McCulloch seems to have gone downhill rapidly; her reaction to the tragedy of another son’s death may be imagined. She died at

Bramford Road on May 1, 1896, at the age of sixty-two, vomiting blood (hematemesis) with cirrhosis of the liver.

Subsequent postings after his wife's death brought Alec McCulloch to Essex, first to Warley Barracks and later to Purfleet Garrison. There he met Emily Haylar, the daughter of a naval captain, whom he married on November 24, 1897, in St. Clement's Church, West Thurrock.¹³¹ At thirty-eight years of age, Emily was apparently prepared to take a chance with a barrack sergeant of sixty-four, no matter her father's social status. The birth of Alexander Ernest on October 13, 1898 proved that it was more than a marriage in name. Later, a daughter, Jane Emily, was born in 1903 at King's Lynn and another son, George, was born on February 18, 1904, but died of gastroenteritis six months later.¹³² Deaths during infancy and early childhood were still common at the beginning of the twentieth century so that from both Alec McCulloch's marriages, only five children out of ten survived to adulthood.¹³³

The date of the move to King's Lynn is unclear but may have occurred when Alec McCulloch's service with the Army Service Corps Barrack Department ended. However, while he had a dependent family, he could not "retire." For a time, he lived in Union Place and later at 5 Regent Street, while he was the caretaker of the Congregational Chapel. Then, at the age of seventy-two, on Tuesday, July 4, 1905, he was appointed assistant librarian and porter at the new Carnegie Library at 12/- per week.¹³⁴ He continued to work at the library until Thursday, October 12, 1916, when he "suddenly became ill outside the library."¹³⁵ Taken home by ambulance to 1 York Road, King's Lynn, he remained bedridden until October 20, 1916, when he died at the age of eighty-three. Although his second marriage had taken place in an Anglican Church in 1897, the funeral service was held in the Congregational Chapel on Monday, October 23, 1916, as befitted his Presbyterian origins. Alec McCulloch left no will and his widow, Emily, lived on in King's Lynn until May 1935.

THE THIRD GENERATION

David Trench McCulloch (1854-?) was born at Kilmainham, Dublin, on January 17, 1854. He was brought up as the eldest child of an army family and, at the age of thirteen years and seven months, took the oath of attestation to enlist for twelve years of service at Westminster Police Court on August 28, 1867. He was only 4ft 4½ in. tall, with a fair complexion, hazel eyes, and brown hair. His medical examination was carried out on August 12, 1867 and approved at 9 Depot Battalion, Preston, on August 30. David Trench McCulloch served as no. 2144, in the 2d Battalion, Royal Scots Fusiliers from 1867 to 1888.¹³⁶

He began his army career as an underage boy enlisted for ten years, with the possibility of a second engagement. He became a drummer on September 10, 1868 and remained in the 2d Battalion's band until March 26, 1873, when he reverted to private. A true McCulloch, he was given two days' imprisonment by his commanding officer for insolence on May 10, 1871, and a further seven days for the same offense on August 1, 1874. This second charge cost him the first good-conduct pay award made to him the previous day, July 31, 1874! David continued to serve as a private until February 19, 1876, when he was promoted to corporal. His good-conduct award was restored on September 29, 1876 and he was made sergeant on April 1, 1878. David married Eliza J. Meade at Woolwich on February 18, 1878 and was placed on the regiment's Married Establishment on May 24, 1878.¹³⁷ He was appointed color sergeant

on February 20, 1879 to make up the battalion's establishment before they sailed for South Africa, where he gained the South African War Medal and Clasp.

The 2d Battalion Royal Scots Fusiliers' experiences in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 were mixed. The years 1878-79 marked the last great upsurge of flogging for maintaining discipline in the British army¹³⁸ and, under Colonel Hazlerigg, the 2d Battalion shared in this revival. After shipping east from Cape Town to Durban, the battalion marched up country to Pietermaritzburg, which was reached on April 5, 1879.¹³⁹ Lists of fines for drunkenness became extensive and between April 13 and June 15, 1879, flogging took place on eight occasions while the men were engaged on fort construction, most notably June 13, 1879, when one sergeant and six privates were flogged. In all, eighteen men were punished before the main battle against Cetewayo, at Ulundi, on July 4, 1879, when the battalion held the corner of the British square facing the main Zulu attack.¹⁴⁰ Only eleven men were wounded in this action, but in a further engagement to capture Sikukuni's kraals in the Transvaal on November 28-29, 1879, three men were killed and eighteen wounded.¹⁴¹ What part David McCulloch had played cannot be determined from the records but he kept his rank and good-conduct pay in the face of the tensions in the battalion and the further floggings that occurred in the first half of November. By the end of 1879, the battalion was sent to Pretoria, where it remained for most of 1880. David reverted to the rank of sergeant on March 5, 1881, having reengaged in that rank to complete twenty-one years of service.

From South Africa, David McCulloch was posted to India, sailing from Durban to Bombay in January 1882. In India, the 2d Battalion relieved the 1st Royal Scots Fusiliers at Secunderabad, and David remained there until posted "to England" on January 26, 1884.¹⁴² With the end of a second term of service in sight, he was posted to the permanent staff of the 1st Roxburgh and Selkirk Rifle Volunteers, at Galashiels, in September 1884. From 1887, the Volunteers were transferred to the King's Own Scottish Borderers, and David was promoted color sergeant again in 1888. He remained on the Rifle Volunteers' staff until discharged on December 13, 1890, after twenty-three years and 108 days of pensionable service.¹⁴³

Alexander Ross McCulloch (1861-94) was the fourth son of Alexander McCulloch, born at Birr, King's County, on December 7, 1861. Like his brother, David, little is known of his childhood before he enlisted in the 2d Battalion, Royal Scots Fusiliers in 1875. He joined at Guernsey on July 26, 1875, aged thirteen years eight months, and took the oath at 11:30 a.m. on July 27, 1875. He was then sent to the 61st Brigade Depot at Ayr before joining the battalion. His enlistment papers¹⁴⁴ describe him as of a fresh complexion, with hazel eyes, and light brown hair. In physical stature he was only 4ft 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. tall and had a chest circumference of 26 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. His muscular development was described as slight; he had been vaccinated in infancy. During service as a boy his medical record lists only minor ailments.¹⁴⁵ Alec Ross served as a boy, no. 304, until 1878 when, while still only seventeen, he was rated as a private on November 27. He received his first good-conduct pay two years later on November 27, 1880. He was appointed a bandsman in the 2d Battalion on March 31, 1882 and received a second good-conduct pay award on November 27, 1884. Alec Ross was described as of "Steady, Good, Temperate" habits and had gained a Second Class Army Education Certificate.

Alec Ross McCulloch was "effective" at each muster in 1877 while the 2d Battalion was stationed at Portsmouth where, between July and September, he served as a cook. From October 1, 1877, the 2d Battalion was transferred by sea to Fort George on the

Moray Forth, and he spent five days on board and was on leave from December 1 to 30, 1878.¹⁴⁶ In April 1878, a further six days of passage by ship took the 2d Battalion to Dublin until October, when they were at the Curragh Camp. Alec Ross was on leave from the December 1 to 8, 1878 and on February 20, 1879, was sent to the regimental depot at Ayr, where he was based until the end of 1880. His first good-conduct pay was awarded on November 27, 1880. Alec Ross McCulloch was sent with a draft to South Africa on December 23, 1880 and had joined the 2d Battalion in the Transvaal by April 1, 1881, although by then the First Boer War was over.¹⁴⁷ In the autumn, the 2d Battalion moved to Durban, in Natal, from where it was ordered to India. After landing at Bombay, it took station at Secunderabad, relieving the 1st Battalion. From the autumn of 1883 onward, Alec Ross was mustered as effective until, by December 1884, the 2d Battalion, then numbering 850 officers and men, had taken up station at Thayetmyo, in Burma.¹⁴⁸ During the following year they were “scattered over the country in different moveable columns,”¹⁴⁹ although Alec Ross was not on “Field Service” and remained at Thayetmyo. In 1886, he contracted tuberculosis.

Alexander Ross McCulloch was discharged as medically unfit on July 17, 1887 from the Royal Victoria Hospital at Netley¹⁵⁰ and went to live with his parents in Lincoln. He was with them in Norwich in 1891, at the time of the census, in which he was described as a single man and a musician.¹⁵¹ He died there on December 27, 1894.¹⁵²

CONCLUSION

The events outlined above are unusual in their detail but show how the lives of men in Britain’s armed services can be traced with a great degree of exactness, even without autobiographies, diaries, or letters. What occurred in the case of this family is that once the first enlistment took place in 1829, many links with home and relations were broken. Long service abroad, death, and remarriage completed the separation. No family correspondence has survived to show how family linkages may have been maintained, although there is no doubt that these existed, as evidenced by the Scottish pattern of naming children. Alec McCulloch’s one son not to enter the army was not exempt from the family diaspora: despite his disability, William John McCulloch (1860-1951) was sent abroad at the age of fifteen years to join relatives in Texas in the hope that he might make his fortune. He later spent some time in South Africa in a similar vain quest.

This case study also confirms that army life could be attractive to families and might offer stability and status to those who survived the vagaries of its disciplinary regime, the low wages, and the never-ending changes of station. If married soldiers were to have anything approaching a family life, the burden of following an army unit from posting to posting by wagon, train, or ship fell on wives and children, whose activities are barely acknowledged by official records.¹⁵³ This continual movement of servicemen and their families to and from overseas postings, and from place to place within the United Kingdom, created floating populations in several garrison towns and other places where the army’s presence attracted labor and employment. Chatham, Colchester, Dublin, Edinburgh, Netley, Shorncliffe (Folkestone), Woolwich, and—above all—Aldershot exemplified this trend. A smaller but similar movement of army families occurred after the territorial allocation of regiments to “county” towns in 1873. The building of new barracks, and the linkage of regular battalions to local volunteer and militia units in the counties, led to the establishment of permanent

depots, staffed mainly by older men and NCOs who were nearing the end of their engagements and seeking local employment of a functionary kind.¹⁵⁴ The presence of numbers of elderly servicemen and veterans contributed to a spread of militarism in late Victorian society. From the 1880s onward, local newspapers began to publish weekly commentaries on activities at the barracks in regimental towns, the Volunteers' parades and camps, the bicycle platoons, the rifle shooting, and various sporting competitions.¹⁵⁵ There were also annual reports of veterans' dinners celebrating the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny. In York, for example, "Military Sunday" was an annual event,¹⁵⁶ while both Queen Victoria's Jubilees in 1887 and 1897 were celebrated with military spectacle. Newspaper accounts show not only how far the ethos of militarism extended into the local community but also the extensive mobility of servicemen and army pensioners within Britain.¹⁵⁷ This mobility ran counter to the attempted localization of regiments by counties in 1873 and 1881. Instead, the settlement of servicemen's children through marriage or remarriage in areas to which service postings had taken their fathers contributed to the breakup of local, traditional communities and to the urbanization of the United Kingdom. Army families were part of this process of social change during the nineteenth century: its continuity, however, was interrupted abruptly in August 1914.

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NOTES

1. See C. Emsley, *The English Police: A Political and Social History*, 2d ed. (London: Longman, 1996), for chaps. 9-10, in particular, and its extensive bibliography. Also P. S. Bagwell, *The Railwaymen*, vol. 1 (London: Allen & Unwin, 1963).

2. See Peter Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army? 1815-1868" and also Edward Spiers, "The Late Victorian Army 1868-1914," in *The Oxford History of the British Army*, ed. D. Chandler and I. Beckett (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), esp. 165, 168-69, 190. A. R. Skelley, *The Victorian Army at Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1977) provides a more detailed analysis, as does S. H. Myerly, *British Military Spectacle from the Napoleonic Wars through the Crimea* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996). J. Masefield, *Sea Life in Nelson's Time* (London: Methuen, 1905), established the view that naval life was as harsh or harsher than the army, while impressment and discipline are central themes in C. Lloyd, *The British Seaman* (London: Paladin, 1970). However, for a contrasting view of mid-eighteenth-century naval life, see N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London: Fontana, 1988).

3. The contrast with the Navy was greater for, as Dr. N.A.M. Rodger points out, the Navy could not be joined in the way a man enlisted in the army. In the Navy, a man signed on for a king's ship and in time of peace, at least, was discharged when she paid off. Rodger, *The*

Wooden World, 113. There was no standing Navy before the Continuous Service Act, 1853. See Lloyd, *The British Seaman*, 252-54. Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 1, puts forward the view that the British army was no more than "a collection of regiments" acting in combination, but this is not analogous to the Navy.

4. However, Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, emphasizes the wider appeal of the army for British society.

5. See Joany Hichberger, "Old Soldiers," in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, vol. 3, *National Fictions*, ed. R. Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), 50-63, and "The British Tar as Proletarian Hero," in F. Rahill, *World of Melodrama* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1967), 152-60.

6. *The Complete Works of Robert Burns*, ed. J. A. Mackay (Ayr, Scotland: Alloway, bicentennial ed., 1986), 56. Later Burns favored emigration to Jamaica rather than the army. Note Myerly's comment in *British Military Spectacle*, 199, footnote 15: "Service for Scotsmen was generally considered more respectable among poor but decent families . . . Scottish units were often run in a more humane fashion."

7. For this account, see Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, 182-88, and James Clark (late Sergeant Royal Scots Fusiliers), *Historical Record and Regimental Memoir of the Royal Scots Fusiliers* (Edinburgh: Bank & Co., 1885), 122-23, App. no. 5 "Long, Long Ago!" Clark explained that the Bounty was to cover the cost of kit, which totaled £5. 10s. The recruit was therefore in debt for the first six months of his service and received only 1d. per day for cleaning materials and pocket money. See Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 53-54.

8. Calculated from Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, app. 4, 320. In part, lower physical standards reflected the lower ages at which recruits entered. See Skelley, 25-26. See also Spiers, "The Late Victorian Army," 190, regarding special enlistments of underage, undersized recruits.

9. R. Price, *An Imperial War and the British Working Class* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), saw Jingoism in 1899-1902 as a middle-class phenomenon to which most of the working class were, at best, indifferent. However, H. Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History 1859-1908* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 108-17, 153-55, records the extent to which volunteer companies provided institutionalized sport and recreation for working-class men. Anne Summers, "Edwardian Militarism," in *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity*, vol. 1, *History and Politics*, ed. R. Samuel (London: Routledge, 1989), 236-56, notes on page 242 that after the Boer war even social reform was discussed in militaristic terms.

10. Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army," 165; Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, 22-25. Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 27, notes the effect of heavy kit on the soldier's health.

11. Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, 30-36; also Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army," 172-74.

12. See Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 7-8. Myna Trustram, *Women of the Regiment* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 68, suggests that service families had to accept that the army "sought to loosen any expectations of family obligations which men and women might have brought from the civilian world."

13. Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*, 146.

14. The term used by the nineteenth-century army for the Office of the Secretary of State for War.

15. His birth date is uncertain and his Attestation Papers have not survived. In the Public Record Office, Kew (PRO), ADM 101/25/8, his age was given as twenty-five on May 2, 1833 and twenty-six on May 18, 1833. If correct, that would mean he was born in May 1807. However, the New Register House computer index to the Old Parish Records for Ayrshire records no birth or baptism of a John McCulloch around that time. Most probably he was the son of William McCulloch and Janet Doak, born at St Quivox, Ayr, on December 6, 1807 (Frame 191 612.1/1).

16. Information supplied on Alexander McCulloch's marriage certificate of 1897.

17. The cotton trade was severely depressed. From Girvan came news that about half the 2,000 looms in the district were idle and those working faced reduced prices. *Ayr Advertiser*,

March 12, 1829, 4 (pages unnumbered). Most workers in Glasgow were reported to be on two-thirds time and some on half-time. Stone breaking had been introduced as a labor test. *Ayr Advertiser*, March 26, 1829, 3.

18. *Ayr Advertiser*, March 19, 1829, 4.

19. Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 54-55, discusses the complex motivation of recruits. For John McCulloch's enlistment, see PRO, WO12/3799, fol. 60.

20. The 21st had raised its 2d Battalion for the Napoleonic Wars in Ayrshire and southwestern Scotland.

21. Old Parish Registers 578/12, frame 225 and 578/12, frame 2745; Jean Kennedy, the third child of "Gilbert Kennedy horse breaker in Ayr and Elisabeth Campbell his spouse" was born on February 28, 1811 (578/6, frame 1002). See also n. 41 below. Jean's married life was not quite as anonymous as that of many army wives. In *Women of the Regiment*, 143-47, Trustram cited few examples of individual women's lives except from the Poor Law Commissioners' correspondence (PRO, class MH12).

22. J. Strawhorn, *The History of Ayr* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 92. Between 1794 and 1873, when it burnt down, the Barracks was a converted Sugar House on the site of Ayr Fort. It is mere speculation that he might have been put aboard a ship sailing from Ayr toward Dublin. The *Hawarden Castle*, a collier, and the *Arthur and Eleanor*, with coals and potatoes, both sailed on March 21, 1829.

23. PRO, WO12/3799. See fol. 44.

24. PRO, WO12/3799, fols. 44, 58, and 60. However, see Clark, *Historical Record*, 122-23, app. no. 5 "Long, Long Ago!"

25. Regimental numbers first appeared in 1831, after which allocations to companies ceased to be recorded. In the last quarter of 1830 a preliminary numbering system was used in the pay ledger. In that list John McCulloch was no. 378. See PRO, WO 12/3799. However, by fol. 16 of WO12/3800, a renumbering of the battalion made him no. 687.

26. PRO, WO 12/3799. See fol. 58 for details of the marches.

27. PRO, WO 12/3799. No illnesses were specified but sore or blistered feet were common causes of hospitalization. However, see PRO, ADM 101/25/8, fol. 11, case 8, for a specific diagnosis of his pulmonary condition in 1833.

28. PRO, WO 12/3800, fol. 56. Colin Campbell (later Field Marshal Lord Clyde) commanded the Highland Brigade in the Crimea.

29. See G. O. Tuathaigh, *Ireland before the Famine, 1798-1848* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972), 178. For details of events in Newtonbarry, see the *Wexford Independent* and *Wexford Herald* during July 1831.

30. PRO, WO 12/3800, fol. 109.

31. PRO, WO 12/3800, fols. 133 and 147. The novelty of being "on board steam vessels" was inserted in the record of marches in a different hand (fol. 147).

32. PRO, WO 12/3800, fols. 171 and 185. On October 16, 1831, 18 miles from Liverpool to Warrington with the main body of the 21st; November 2-5, 56 miles from Warrington to Stafford; November 6-11, Stafford to Weedon. The record of marches notes that the heavy baggage was conveyed from Liverpool to Weedon by canal.

33. PRO, WO 12/3800, fol. 171.

34. See J. Buchan, *The History of the Royal Scots Fusiliers (1679-1918)* (London: Nelson, 1925), 190.

35. PRO, WO 12/3801.

36. Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*, 86, notes that *King's Regulations* allowed only six wives per 100 men, apart from India where the ratio was twelve per 100.

37. *Ibid.*, 91; or on the baggage barges by canal.

38. PRO, WO 12/3801, fol. 200; WO 12/3802, fol. 70.

39. PRO, WO 12/3801 refers to "on command with convicts voucher no. 3."

40. Details of the voyage have been taken from PRO, ADM 101/25/8, Journal of His Majesty's Hired Convict Ship Emperor Alexander, William Donnelly, surgeon, between March 13 and August 16, 1833. The lieutenant commanding the guard and four other ranks were from infantry regiments other than the 21st. WO 25/3503 Embarkation Returns 1815-38, shows the 21st Regiment allocated one sergeant, twenty-six rank and file, and five women to this voyage, but Surgeon Donnelly recorded that six women and nine children were on board. The difference in number may reflect the smuggling of women on board without leave. See Carolyn Steedman, *The Radical Soldier's Tale* (London: Routledge, 1988), 112, for John Pearman's comment on four young married women being embarked illicitly by men of the 3d King's Own Light Dragoons at Gravesend in 1845.

41. ADM 101/25/8. She was born Jean Kennedy in 1811 (although in the 1840s her name was usually recorded as Jane). On the occasion of her third marriage at Christ Church, Cawnpore, in 1847, she gave her father's name as Gilbert Kennedy. See British Library, India Office Library (IOL), N/1/72/261.

42. See PRO, HO11/9, fol. 19. Most of the convicts had been sentenced to seven years at Assize Court Sessions in England and Wales between the summer of 1832 and January 1833. A few were sentenced to fourteen years or life.

43. PRO, ADM 101/25/8, fol. 11, case no. 8.

44. PRO, WO 12/3802, fol. 91. WO 25/3503 Embarkation Returns 1815-38 gives no disembarkation date.

45. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 193. His account is based on Clark, *Historical Record*, 43: "Only two companies, with band and staff, remaining at headquarters." The regiment's depot was at Chatham throughout this overseas posting.

46. PRO, WO 12/3804.

47. Payments for wives' half rations are not shown in the ledgers.

48. PRO, WO12/3806, fol. 51.

49. PRO, WO12/3806, fol. 88. He had not previously received any good-conduct pay. See *Historical Record*, 122, app. no. 5 "Long, Long Ago!" Clark states that good-conduct pay was not granted until December 1845.

50. PRO, WO 12/3807. When at sea, 6d. per day was stopped for food supplied. At the end of 1838, the 21st was 735 men strong. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 191, places the disembarkation at Calcutta.

51. See PRO, WO 12/3808 pt. 1. There were still two detachments left behind in Australia.

52. PRO, WO 12/3809, fol. 80. The details are confirmed on fol. 104 under the list of numbers "added to or reduced or discontinued in the Regiment."

53. The obituary in *The Lynn Advertiser, Wisbech Constitutional Gazette and Norfolk and Cambridgeshire Herald*, October 27, 1916, 5, col. 1, is incorrect in stating that he was born on board a troopship bound for India while the ship was leaving the port of Ayr. In the 1891 census, Alexander McCulloch gave his birthplace as Sheerness. The reference to Ayr sounds like a family memory, since his father John had a last view of Scotland from a ship leaving Ayr.

54. IOL, N/1/56/119. She was baptized on August 9 at Fort William, Calcutta.

55. IOL, N/1/58/127. John was buried on November 28 and William on December 3, 1840. Both died of "fever."

56. IOL, N/1/62/114. The cause of death is given as "Dentition"; N/1/63/279 baptisms.

57. IOL, N/1/72/261. James Stevenson's cause of death is described in PRO, WO 334/19, fols. 15-16, as "attributable to the intense heat of the weather in May and June." The "Hospital Serjeant James Stevenson Ætat 34. who was taken ill with Fever on the 29th May and was seized with Apoplexy on the 2nd June which carried him off in less than half an hour." Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*, 92: remarriage was "the only means of survival" for most women. See Steedman, *The Radical Soldier's Tale*, 142-43. In India, Sergeant Pearman noted (fols. 60-61): "We had 14 or 15 widows in the regit. and most of them was married in a month after our return

to quarters soon forgot the one dead some of them had had 3 or 4 husbands one that was Married made her Sixth Husband.”

58. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 192. The 21st remained in a policing role and took no part in the Afghan campaign of 1839-42, the conquest of Sind in 1843, or the Sikh War.

59. Jean made her mark in the register for her second and third marriages. See PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 4, for the Annual Report of the Regimental Surgeon.

60. PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 4.

61. On his discharge, he gave his occupation at the time of enlistment as “Clerk.” See PRO, WO 12/10469, fol. 202. In 1847, Cawnpore contained a civil magistrate, a special law commissioner, and a commissioner of revenue besides the army’s pay, clothing, ordnance, commissariat, and public works departments. See F. Clark, *The East India Register and Army List for 1847* (London: W. H. Allen, 1847), 43 et seq. In PRO, WO 334/19, there is only an oblique reference to Alec’s enlistment. See fol. 5: “No recruits joined from England and only 3 boys were enlisted at Head Quarters.”

62. PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 3.

63. His aptitude was recognized both by the Royal Humane Society and by the people of Bishops Bridge Road, Norwich, who made a presentation to him in 1894, for teaching children to swim. See nt. 129.

64. PRO, WO 12/3816. He appears with another boy “enlisted by special authority (as Special Cases) 24th. Inst. Attested 26th Inst.” Alec first received a man’s pay on April 26, 1848. Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, 251, points out that until 1847 enlistment was for life or until a discharge on medical grounds was granted. He based this statement on the *Report of the Commissioners Appointed to Enquire into the Present System of Recruiting in the Army* (C.2762) 1861, v.

65. PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 5. See Disease table. From April 1 to December 31, 1847, Surgeon Dempster treated 1,532 cases of fever, 135 for dysentery, 209 for diarrhea, 135 “venereals,” and 38 for “delirium tremens.”

66. PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 1. By 1847, after fourteen years away from home, the regiment numbered an average of 669 men. The strength of regimental loyalties stressed by Myerly might be reconsidered in the light of the practice of volunteering out. See Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 7-8. Pressure may also have been put on men to volunteer. In his report, Surgeon Dempster noted, “since the Corps’ arrival at the Presidency the Government have ordered another Volunteering to the extent of 50 men which is to take place on the 5th or 6th instant.”

67. PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 1, and Clark, *Historical Record*, 44, both date the march from November 1 to December 30, 1847. The *East India Register* put the distance as 628 “British Miles.”

68. PRO, WO 12/3817, fol. 26.

69. PRO, WO 334/19, fol. 1. There were thirty-seven sergeants in all. Older men between thirty and fifty years of age numbered 109. Long service overseas changed the composition of a regiment: a “Constitution of the Corps” listed the 21st with 580 men of whom there were “English 285, Irish 205, Scotch 90.”

70. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 195. In total, 470 men joined at Canterbury.

71. PRO, WO 12/3817, fol. 100. In WO 12/3820 he was identified as a drummer. Myerly, *British Military Spectacle*, 85, notes the “low status” of “field musicians” and their duties of administering floggings. Yet, their pay was greater than that of the private soldier.

72. PRO, WO 12/3820, fol. 266, Remarks column: “On furlo’ from 1st rejoined 30th Jany.”

73. PRO, WO 12/3818. See Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 196. Buchan may have been assessing the regiment’s condition in 1854, the date at which his chapter ended. However, the 21st had not been quartered in Scotland since 1850!

74. PRO, WO 12/3818. See fol. 6 for that quarter. However, he suffered no loss of pay and is not listed on Form 9 as “in confinement.”

75. PRO, WO 12/3819; Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 195.

76. PRO, WO 12/3820, fols. 58-59.

77. PRO, WO 12/3820, fols. 40-41. He was recorded as not entitled to beer money for that period.

78. PRO, WO 12/2821, fol. 42. See Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 195, for the introduction of Minié rifles and a marksmanship competition.

79. PRO, WO 97/417. David Trench enlisted in Glasgow in May 1831, describing himself as a shoemaker. He was 5ft 6½ in. tall, with grey eyes and fair hair, born in the Cannongate Parish of Edinburgh. He joined the 21st at Kilkenny on June 1, 1831 and served twenty-one years twenty-seven days in the regiment. The medical reason for his discharge is illegible in the micro-filmed copy of his papers.

80. PRO, WO 12/3821, fol. 42. A marriage certificate for Lance Corporal Alexander McCulloch is in the 21st Regiment's Registry of Marriages. The minister officiating was D. Macfarlan, principal of Glasgow College. In addition to his duties as principal of the university, he was also minister of the High Church, Glasgow. Margaret Young gave her birthplace as Ireland in the 1891 census of England and Wales.

81. See Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, 30; Burroughs, "An Unreformed Army," 172-74, 185.

82. PRO, WO 12/3821.

83. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 195-96.

84. PRO, WO 27/430. In May 1853, Major General Arbuthnot's inspection report criticized drill and officer turnover.

85. PRO, WO 27/430, question 39 and p. 13.

86. See birth certificate. The child's names were chosen in honor of his stepfather, Color Sergeant David Trench, rather than the Scottish naming pattern by which the eldest son would have been named after the paternal grandfather (William). The baptism was carried out by the garrison chaplain rather than the regimental chaplain. See below for the formation of the Military Stores Staff Corps in 1865.

87. PRO, WO 12/10945, fol. 66. The first appearance of Form 58 (Sheet E) in the pay lists of the Military Stores Staff Corps in October 1868 gives the initial date when a man was placed on the Married Establishment. Against no. 121 First Corporal Alex' McCulloch is written "Jan'y 54."

88. Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*, 35, Table 3.4.

89. PRO, WO 12/3822, fol. 12: the First Muster column has "From Privates. 20 Feb 1854 per authority dated War Office No 48,500/101" written vertically against twenty names.

90. PRO, WO 12/3823, fol. 4.

91. Obituary, *The Lynn Advertiser*, October 27, 1916, 5, col. 1.

92. In *The Victorian Army at Home*, 128, Skelley states that there was a minimum age for overseas postings but does not specify it.

93. PRO, WO 12/3823, fol. 4. He was listed on the strength of the Regimental Depot which, according to the cover of the pay ledger for 1854, was "Dublin Buttevant & Birt," as "Probationary O R Clerk. . . . Promoted to Serjeant 12 August vice Bennett." In *Queen's Regulations and Orders for the Army 1859* (London: HMSO [Parker & Son and Clowes & Sons], 1859), the probationary period of service as regimental orderly-room clerk is given as one year if a private, eight months if a corporal, and two months if a serjeant.

94. Alexander McCulloch was described as "Staff Serjeant Battalion Clerk" on the baptism certificate of August 15, 1856. Margaret Young, his wife, born in Ireland in 1834, may have lived through the Irish Famine in her adolescence. If so, it is possible that the privations of the 1840s were reflected in her children's health. Her oldest son, David Trench, survived and later enlisted in the 21st, but the second, Alexander Young, must have died before 1861 when her fourth child was given the name of Alexander. Her third son, William John, suffered from infantile cataract or xerophthalmia, which led to the loss of one eye, and her fourth son, Alex-

ander Ross, died aged thirty-three years. He suffered numerous chest complaints before contracting tuberculosis in Burma in 1886. Janet, a daughter, died in infancy from congenital abnormalities. A fifth male child, George, for whom no details can be traced, was born about 1868 but died before adulthood.

95. PRO, WO 12/3825. The 21st's muster list numbered Alec McCulloch among the sergeants but listed him "On Command at Birr." WO 27/470 lists Depot Battalions, 1857. It confirms that the 21st's Depot was in Glasgow. The garrison at Birr contained the depot battalions of the 18th (Royal Irish Regiment), the 62d (Wiltshire), 63d (Manchester), and the 76th (West Riding) regiments.

96. PRO, WO 12/3827.

97. PRO, WO 12/12923, fol. 50, Form 10.

98. PRO, WO 12/12923; WO 12/3828, fols. 5-6. Folio 45 Account of Soldiers in Confinement. He was charged 2s. 6d. for five days subsistence. Strangely, there is no entry for this trial in WO 86/10 District Courts Martial 1858-9, although WO 12/3828, fol. 45 indicates that it was a military offence. Whether the regime in the cells followed the pattern of stone breaking and shot exercise set out in *Queen's Regulations, 1859*, cannot be ascertained.

99. PRO, WO 12/3829, fol. 26.

100. Ibid., fols. 11-12 (matching entry in muster roll on fol. 8).

101. PRO, WO 12/3830, 3831. In the ledgers, he was repeatedly entered in error as 2297.

102. PRO, WO 12/3832; WO 86/13 District Courts Martial 1863-64, fol. 131.

103. Ibid., but WO 86/13 has no entry for a court-martial in December 1863.

104. PRO, WO 12/3833.

105. Ibid. See Clark, *Historical Record*, 61. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 221, records the formation of the 2d Battalion at Paisley in April 1858.

106. PRO, WO 12/3834. For details of movements, see Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 223-24, or Clark, *Historical Record*, 62.

107. PRO, WO 12/3834, fol. 26. The pay rate was 1s. 4d. plus 1d. good-conduct pay.

108. Photograph in author's possession.

109. PRO, WO 12/3835, fol. 8. The posting is dated from May 16, 1866.

110. PRO, WO 12/3835-3839. Fuller entries explain that the M.S.S. Corps was the Military Stores Staff Corps. From July 1866 he was listed as "Supernumerary. M.S.S. Corps Woolwich" and similar entries were inserted in the muster rolls for the next three years until early 1870, by which time the 1st Battalion of the 21st had moved to Dublin, to the Curragh, to Enniskillen, and had set off once more for India, leaving its Depot behind at Shorncliffe Camp, Folkestone.

111. It was commanded by a lieutenant colonel, designated the "Staff Officer," with a lieutenant as deputy assistant superintendent, plus a quartermaster.

112. PRO, WO 12/10944, fols. 21 and 41.

113. Ibid., fol. 8 "per H[orse]. G[uards]. order 20 July."

114. Ibid., fol. 8.

115. PRO, WO 12/10945. Except March 1868, for which nothing is entered.

116. Ibid., Form 58E.

117. PRO, WO 12/10946: The cryptic comment in the ledger is "Tried and sentenced to be reduced 24th Restored." See also WO 86/18, District Courts Martial 1869-70, fol. 72.

118. PRO, WO 12/10946, fol. six sergeants; fol. eight 1st corporals, see also fol. 58: "From Rank & File Roll 9 March." Whether the family's accommodation improved is unclear.

119. PRO, WO 12/10946. April 1, 1870 lists 121 Serjeant McCulloch but at a rate of only 2s. 7d. per day. On fol. 50, Form 58E records: "The whole of the Married Establishment, as per March pay list . . . has been transferred to the Army Service Corps from 1st April."

120. For the absorption of the Military Stores Staff Corps (MSSC) into the Army Service Corps, see C. H. Massé, *The Predecessors of the Royal Army Service Corps* (Aldershot, UK: Gale & Polden, 1948), 62, or J. Fortescue, *The Royal Army Service Corps: A History of Trans-*

port and Supply in the British Army, vol. 1 (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 187.

121. It fell into three separate categories: men at Headquarters, the Transport branch, and the Supply branch. Until the late 1870s, when men are listed by companies, there is no evidence where men were stationed, unless individual entries of postings such as "To Gibraltar," "To Newfoundland" appear in the pay ledgers.

122. PRO, WO 12/10462, fol. 9. He had a new regimental number, 1103. Some extra "Departmental Pay" is recorded per a Royal Warrant of April 11, 1870: twenty-six days at 1s. 0d.; twenty-four days at 8d. This ledger also contains a married establishment on Form 58E.

123. PRO, WO 12/10462 gives no details of his posting but he is listed in the Barracks on the date of the census (April 10, 1871). See RG 10/2134, fols. 78-79. The children entered on the Census Schedule do not match the numbers and ages shown on the 1870 Married Establishment (WO 12/10462) which continued to list one child already dead. The youngest child in the 1871 census is George, aged two years, born in Woolwich, Kent, for whom neither birth certificate nor death certificate can be traced.

124. PRO, WO 12/10466, third quarter, fol. 23.

125. PRO, WO12/10468, third quarter, fol. 16. See also WO 12/19469, which forms pt. 2 of the 1873-4 ledger. On fol. 178, it gives the details that he had enlisted at Cawnpore and was to reside at Devonport. He was given an "Allowance on Discharge" of 20s. 0d.; fol. 202, giving details of men become noneffective, also lists him as follows: "Place of Birth—At sea"; "Trade when enlisted—Clerk"; "Date of Enlistment—24 April '47"; "How non effective—To Pension." In WO121/227, Royal Hospital, Chelsea Register 1871-79, fol. 144, Army Service Corps, he is listed as having twenty-two years 102 days pensionable service.

126. PRO, WO 61/11, fol. 76. His address was given as 36 Marlboro Street, Devonport.

127. Alec McCulloch was a witness when his son William married Annie Vickers in Lincoln on August 7, 1882. Their eldest child, Alice Rose, was born at Lincoln Barracks in 1882.

128. *The Argus, Norwich*, Tuesday, June 24, 1890, 2, col. 5; *The Norwich Mercury*, June 25, 1890, 2, col. 3. For details of the rescue on June 21, 1890, see the Humane Society's committee meeting of July 21, 1890, entry no. 933, Bronze Medal Award no. 24933. "The Sergeant ran 100 yards plunged into the river with full uniform on, swam to the boy and succeeded in bringing him safely out."

129. *The Norfolk Weekly Standard and Argus*, Saturday, September 8, 1894, 4, col. 6. He was given a matched set of an umbrella and a walking stick. The silver mounting on the stick reads: "Presented to Alec McCulloch [sic] by Grateful Pupils for Teaching Swimming 1/9/94."

130. RG 12/1521, fol. 105. Other families listed at the same address included the bandmaster of the 8th Hussars and another barrack sergeant pensioner.

131. Emily was described as a spinster on the marriage certificate, but entries on her children's birth and death certificates give her surname as Haylar, formerly Harding. Whether she was a widow when she married or was William Haylar's stepdaughter is not known. Local newspapers do not help: neither the *Grays and Tilbury Gazette* nor the *Grays and Tilbury Standard* have survived in the Newspaper Library, Colindale, for the later part of 1897. William Haylar appeared on the marriage certificate as Captain R. N. but cannot be traced in the Navy List for this period.

132. The death certificate for George is dated August 18, but the notice in the *Lynn News and County Press* gave it as August 22. At the time, concern was expressed in the local press about the town's water supply in view of a typhoid outbreak. Jane Emily died on January 29, 1919, from pulmonary tuberculosis. The birth date of her sister, Mabel, has not been traceable.

133. See nt. 94 for the children of the first marriage.

134. *The Lynn Advertiser*, July 7, 1905, 5, col. 5. Alec McCulloch may have obtained the post with the assistance of Rev. E. W. Bremner of the Union Chapel, who was a member of the Public Library Committee, and who later officiated at his funeral.

135. *The Lynn Advertiser*, October 27, 1916, 5, col. 1.

136. PRO, WO 97/3348.

137. *Ibid.* Additional details from WO 16/1549. On Form 30 Remittances, he sent Mrs E. J. McCulloch £5 from South Africa in the April-June quarter of 1879 and a further £5 on August 25, 1879.

138. Skelley, *The Victorian Army*, 150-51. Flogging was formally abolished in 1881, but “in 1878 it was revived in all its former vigour to maintain discipline among the forces in South Africa.” The Army Act restricted it to units on active service. Anne Summers, “Edwardian militarism,” in *Patriotism*, vol. 1, *History and Politics*, ed. R. Samuel, cites A. Griffiths, “Military Crime and Its Treatment,” *Fortnightly Review*, November 1901, for the continuation of flogging in the Boer War.

139. For details of the campaign, see Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 238-41.

140. PRO, WO 16/1549, fol. 27. The pay lists do not distinguish between men detached to garrison the forts and those who took part in the battle.

141. Buchan, *Royal Scots Fusiliers*, 242-43. Spelling of Zulu names follows Buchan.

142. PRO, WO 16/2809.

143. PRO, WO 97/3348. See also WO 16/2944. On April 1, 1887, the Roxburgh and Selkirk Rifle Volunteers and their staff were transferred from the Royal Scots Fusiliers recruiting district to that of the King’s Own Scottish Borderers. David McCulloch was promoted color sergeant on August 27, 1888 by the King’s Own Scottish Borderers at the end of his second term of service, and his engagement was extended beyond twenty-one years. On discharge, his next of kin was given as Mrs. E. McCulloch, with four dependent children younger than fourteen years.

144. PRO, WO 97/3348.

145. He suffered from general debility soon after enlistment on August 26, 1875, and a year later from tonsillitis at Portsmouth on August 4, 1876. The following year at Fort George on the Moray Firth, he was treated for an ulcerated finger on October 18, 1877.

146. PRO, WO 16/1548 fol. 23.

147. PRO, WO 16/1550.

148. PRO, WO 16/2809. Later, with a draft mainly from the 1st Battalion arriving on November 2, 1885, the battalion’s strength was twenty-seven officers and 945 NCOs and rank and file.

149. PRO, WO 16/2809. Letter from Colonel Winsloe to the undersecretary of state, War Office, explaining the lateness of the battalion’s returns.

150. PRO, WO 97/3348. Chelsea no. 27,312. His illness is described as “severe non-recovered.” His next of kin was given as his father, of New Barracks, Lincoln.

151. PRO, RG 12/1521, fol. 105. See Joany Hichberger, “Old Soldiers,” in *Patriotism*, vol. 3, ed. R. Samuel, 58, on ex-soldiers as musicians, particularly street musicians.

152. The notification of death by A. McCulloch, widow, is an error on the death certificate.

153. The anonymity of women’s lives is fully illustrated by Trustram, *Women of the Regiment*. See 143-47, for the limited evidence provided by Poor Relief records. Army wives were treated as if they “had no settlement” and were transferred to their husbands’ parishes.

154. Employment opportunities for ex-servicemen increased in the late nineteenth century, particularly in uniformed occupations. See J. Gildea, *Naval and Military Funds and Institutions*, 3d ed. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898). The Army and Navy Pensioners’ Employment Society was established as early as 1855, followed in 1859 by the Corps of Commissionaires. By the end of the century, the Civil Service Commission, the Prison Commission, the Post Office, and the railway companies all offered employment to ex-servicemen. Cleaning work, chiefly in the London area, was offered by the Army and Navy Labour Corps, while work as night-watchmen, clerks, and musicians was offered by the National Association for the Employment of Reserve Soldiers and the Employment Register for Reserve or Pensioned Soldiers from Regiments Abroad, which had been established at the Gosport Discharge Depot in 1890. After short-service engagements were introduced in 1870, discharged soldiers were commonly still in their twenties, and the demand for employment increased. However, employers were often

unwilling to employ reservists who might be called up to the colors. See Joany Hichberger, "Old Soldiers," in *Patriotism*, vol. 3, ed. R. Samuel, 58. Also Steedman, *The Radical Soldier's Tale*, 52-55, notes that in the mid-nineteenth century, ex-soldiers were not popular with the new police authorities, who associated them with low levels of literacy and an addiction to drink.

155. See nt. 9 above. H. Cunningham, 108-19, emphasizes the social activities and growth of clubs associated with volunteer companies.

156. P. Dietz, *Garrison: Ten British Military Towns* (London: Brassey's Defence, 1986), 40. Military Sunday parades in York began in 1885 as a memorial to General Gordon's death in Khartoum.

157. For the less fortunate, see R. Samuel, "Comers and Goers," in *The Victorian City: Images and Reality*, vol. 1, *Past and Present/Numbers of People*, ed. H. J. Dyos and M. Wolff (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, paperback ed., 1976), 124. A Charity Organization Society report of 1891 estimated that old soldiers and army reservists constituted "not less than one-fourth or one-fifth of destitute homeless persons" on the tramp.